

The Hawai'i Chinese: Their Experience
and Identity Over Two Centuries

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About the cover image:

Hawai'i Chinese Student Alliance. Courtesy of Douglas D. L. Chong.

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| PREFACE <i>Franklin Ng</i> | v |
| INTRODUCTION The Hawai'i Chinese: Their Experience and Identity over Two Centuries <i>David Y. H. Wu and Harry J. Lamley</i> | 1 |
| HAWAI'I'S NAM LONG Their Background and Identity as a Zhongshan Subgroup <i>Douglas D. L. Chong</i> | 13 |
| MERCHANT PRINCE Chun Afong in Hawai'i, 1849–90 <i>Robert Paul Dye</i> | 23 |
| CHANGING ROLES AND STATUS AMONG PROMINENT CHINESE IN HAWAI'I <i>Clarence E. Glick and Doris L. Glick</i> | 37 |
| THE CHINESE IN HAWAI'I Early photographs <i>Douglas D. L. Chong</i> | 51 |
| OPIUM AND THE LAW Hawai'i, 1856–1900 <i>Lily Lim-Chong and Harry V. Ball</i> | 61 |
| CHRISTIANITY AND DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S SCHOOLING IN HAWAI'I, 1879–83 <i>Irma Tam Soong</i> | 75 |
| A CENTURY OF CHINESE CHRISTIANS A Case Study on Cultural Integration in Hawai'i <i>Carol C. Fan</i> | 87 |
| THE CHINESE COMMUNITY PRESS IN HAWAI'I <i>Him Mark Lai</i> | 95 |
| ETHNICITY AND ELECTIONS IN HAWAI'I The Case of James K. Kealoha <i>Michaelyn P. Chou</i> | 105 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| FOOD AND CULTURE | 113 |
| Chinese Restaurants in Hawai'i | |
| <i>Franklin Ng</i> | |
| EATING HISTORY | 123 |
| Chinese American Gastronomy in Hawai'i | |
| <i>Judith M. Kirkendall</i> | |
| CONTEMPORARY OVERSEAS CHINESE ETHNICITY IN THE PACIFIC REGION | 133 |
| <i>Edgar Wickberg</i> | |
| About the Contributors | 143 |
| About the Editorial Committee | 145 |
| Guidelines for Manuscript Submission | 147 |
| Chinese Historical Society of America Membership Form | 149 |

Preface

In thinking about the Chinese in the United States, many people traditionally have focused on those in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, but not Hawai'i. Hawai'i, after all, occupies an unusual place in the history of the United States. It was a Polynesian kingdom until 1893, when it was overthrown by a small group of Americans. As President Grover Cleveland was not willing to annex the Islands, Hawai'i was not to become part of the United States until after the Spanish-American War in 1898; it became an American territory in 1900.

But the Chinese arrived in Hawai'i before they ever set foot in California. The first Chinese arrived on board the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia* in 1789, and the first shipload of contract laborers came in 1852 on the *Thetis*. The Chinese thus have a long history of living and working in the Hawaiian Islands. In fact, they celebrated their two hundredth anniversary there in 1989.

The rich history of the Chinese in Hawai'i has generated many books and articles, but a few are worth special note. The classic study on the Chinese experience of migration and adaptation down to World War II is Clarence Elmer Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1980). It was nicely complemented by Tin-Yuke Char's edited compilation, *The Sandalwood Mountains: Readings and Stories of the Early Chinese in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1975).

The bicentennial celebration in 1989 led to the publication of a commemorative volume, *Sailing for the Sun: The Chinese in Hawaii, 1789–1989*, edited by Arlene Lum (Honolulu: Three Heroes, 1988). Since that occasion, numerous new books and articles have come forth, of which several are noteworthy. One is Yansheng Ma Lum and Raymond Mun Kong Lum, *Sun Yat-sen in Hawai'i: Activities and Supporters* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Chinese History Center, 1999), which looks into Hawai'i's prominent role in the education and development of this founder of the Chinese Republic in 1911. Another is Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, and Hawaii, 1900–1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), which offers a comparative perspective on the role of networks in the migration process and the shaping of communities. Still another is the volume edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y.

Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), which takes a more critical view of Asian migration to the Hawaiian Islands.

This list of publications is hardly exhaustive, but for Him Mark Lai, some other essays were worthy of wider dissemination. A committed scholar of Chinese American history with an extraordinary breadth of interests and vision, he had attended a scholarly conference on the Chinese in Hawai'i in 1988 at the East-West Center in Honolulu. Having participated in the panels and proceedings, he believed that the presentations deserved greater currency and distribution. It is due to his tireless efforts that this issue of *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, with its focus on the Chinese of Hawai'i, has taken form. The introduction to the original conference proceedings, written by David Y. H. Wu and Harry J. Lamley, refers to a number of papers presented at the conference. Some of these essays are not included in this compilation because copyright permission could not be secured for them. However, two essays by Judith M. Kirkendall and Carol C. Fan, presented at the conference but not included in the original conference volume, are included here.

The preparation of these papers for publication received support from many dedicated individuals. Wing Tek Lum and Douglas Chong labored diligently to assist with contacts in Hawai'i, Laurene McClain offered timely expert advice, and Laura Lai answered key questions. Crucial support in getting the essays into the proper format, under the able direction of Michelle Louie, was provided by Sarah Choy, Theresa Cooper, Amy Hamamoto, Janice Hom, Helen Huang, Nobukai Momoi, Dian Qu, Claudia Quan, Melody Takata, Richard Tom, Imelda Ved, Carmen Wong, and Johnson Zheng.

We apologize for any typing and spelling errors, especially of Chinese and Hawaiian names, that were made in the process of retyping the original documents. The authors' own use of the various romanizations of Chinese characters was maintained. Throughout the process, the editorial board of the Chinese Historical Society of America gave much-needed encouragement and guidance. To all the above, aloha and mahalo!

Franklin Ng
Honolulu, July 8, 2010

Introduction

The Hawai'i Chinese: Their Experience and Identity over Two Centuries

David Y. H. Wu and Harry J. Lamley

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How have people of Chinese descent fared in the Hawaiian Islands over the past two hundred years? What has become of them? And who exactly are the Hawai'i Chinese today? Questions of this sort were raised at our 1988 conference on the Chinese in Hawai'i and voiced on occasion during the Chinese Bicentennial celebrated throughout the state in 1989. Such basic questions are appropriate at this juncture. The Chinese were the first Asians to reach Hawai'i, and interest in their long and continuous presence in the Islands has invariably resulted in inquiries about the background and makeup of their group. In recent years, however, these matters have taken on greater relevance for the Hawai'i Chinese as they have become more keenly aware of their roots. As a result members of their community are evidencing renewed interest in their own cultural background and ancestral ties with China and more concern as to what it has meant to be sojourners, settlers, and citizens in a multicultural society overseas.

In this introductory essay we attempt to address these interests and concerns by focusing on the experience and identity of the Hawai'i Chinese over two centuries. These themes of experience and identity are the focuses of this volume. The theme of historical experience enables us to depict the events and situations that the island Chinese have taken part in or witnessed, and to trace the changing conditions they have encountered and the adjustments they have accordingly made. The theme of cultural identity, on the other hand, allows us to conceptualize from historical and empirical data. This helps us to analyze changes in the makeup of the group and gain insights as to how the island Chinese have distinguished themselves and been perceived by others over time. By means of these dual themes we endeavor not only to present a historical overview of the Hawai'i Chinese, but also to ascertain the identity of the group at different periods and under various conditions.

The themes of experience and identity have led us to visualize the Chinese in Hawai'i from broader perspectives as well. The island Chinese have been affected by affairs in China and North America and by transpacific contacts. They have also been influenced at times by regional and national issues. Concerns relating to the Chinese in Southeast Asia in recent decades, for example, have had a bearing on the island Chinese, particularly those island Chinese who immigrated from Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia. Moreover, the current issue of what "being Chinese" basically means, both in China and elsewhere, involves global matters of significance and has renewed scholarly interest in the present state of the Chinese diaspora around the world. We also attempt briefly to relate the recent experience and changing identity of the Hawai'i Chinese to this far-ranging issue.

In this short introduction we are not able to develop these dual themes fully in their many dimensions. Our discussion of the Hawai'i Chinese experience over such a long time span is necessarily limited to historical or diachronic summaries, along with references to specific episodes and events. We likewise treat the broad theme of cultural identity in a selective manner, for the cultural and ethnic variables are complex. The island Chinese, in fact, have never formed a homogeneous community, and over time their group has become more diverse and acquired multiple identities.

A number of factors account for this diversity. To begin with, intrinsic subcultural differences, stemming primarily from distinctions in dialect and local Guangdong provenance, have always tended to set portions of the group apart from one another. In recent decades the influx of new arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and provinces of China other than Guangdong has made the community more heterogeneous. Meanwhile, intermarriage between the Chinese and other ethnic groups has long taken place in Hawai'i. This intermarriage has produced ethnically mixed offspring and created dual identities. In addition, continuous and pervasive change induced by Hawaiian and Western influences, a variety of modernization processes, and policies and trends emanating mainly from the United States and China has also brought about alterations in outlook and identity among members of the community.

Local Chinese identities were further affected by the new immigrant groups that began to settle in the Hawaiian Islands

late in the nineteenth century. Then, during the twentieth century, the island Chinese were subjected to strong Americanization pressures under U.S. governance. As a result, Chinese old-timers and newcomers alike have faced identity problems bearing on their ethnicity and on whether they are still Chinese culturally or have accommodated enough to American ways to be labeled “Chinese Americans.”

The eleven papers selected for this collection relate to the dual themes of experience and identity in various ways. In the course of our discussion we cite evidence or draw comparisons from their rich contents and in this manner endeavor to introduce each study. These papers are devoted to a wide range of topics, however, and represent to some degree the many interests of the town-and-gown mix at our conference. They yield fresh insights and new information—much more than we have been able to include in this introduction. Thus each deserves careful reading as an individual contribution to research on the Chinese in Hawai‘i.

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE IN HAWAI‘I

In this section we deal historically with the Hawai‘i Chinese and trace changes in the general makeup of their group and in the identities they have shared. We depict such changes mainly in the context of Hawai‘i’s multicultural, or pluralistic, society, which has also altered considerably over time. We refer specifically to political change as well, for dramatic shifts of rule have occurred during the past two hundred years in the Hawaiian Islands, as they have in the home country of China.

A brief political chronology suggests the far-reaching change that the Chinese have witnessed in Hawai‘i. The first Chinese arrived near the end of the eighteenth century, when Kamehameha I was consolidating his control over the major islands in the Hawaiian chain. Thereafter, the Hawaiian monarchy prevailed for almost one hundred years. During much of this period Americans and Europeans gained increasing dominance in the government. The monarchy was overthrown by pro-American interests in 1893 and replaced by a short-lived republic the following year. Subsequently, on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian Islands were formally annexed to the United States. Almost two years later, Congress passed Hawai‘i’s Organic Act, and territorial government was installed in 1900. Hawai‘i remained an American territory until granted statehood in 1959. Since then the Hawai‘i Chinese, along with the other major ethnic groups that make up the state’s population, have experienced further change and modern development, often faster than in the past.

The Early Arrivals

The Chinese presence in Hawai‘i began a decade or so after Captain James Cook discovered the Islands in 1778. The

early arrivals initially came on board sailing ships captained by Westerners who continued to explore that North Pacific volcanic chain. One such expedition may have enabled the first Chinese to set foot on Hawaiian soil, for it is recorded that a Chinese carpenter was sent ashore to fix a swivel gun on a Hawaiian double canoe in March 1789. Possibly one or several of the crew were left behind by the two British vessels, the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America*, engaged in the Hawaiian leg of that transpacific expedition. At any rate, a small number of Chinese and Westerners of different nationalities soon began to frequent the Islands as other ships carrying mixed crews made their way there.

The first few Chinese to reach the Hawaiian Islands were thus seafarers. Their arrival was conditioned to a considerable extent by Western exploration and the desire to develop maritime routes linking China with the North Pacific and the North American continent. Another important factor was the decision by certain British sea captains to sign on Chinese sailors to complement their European crews. The *Iphigenia* and a slightly larger vessel, the *Felice*, were perhaps the first Western ships to take on a sizable number of Chinese crewmen—carpenters, smiths, and sailors—“as an experiment” for the transpacific expedition referred to above. Such Chinese seafarers seem to have been accepted when they sojournd in the Islands during the early monarchy. Like the ship’s carpenter who was sent ashore in 1789, they possessed skills that were needed by Kamehameha I and the rival chiefs.

More Chinese were gradually attracted to the Islands when Hawai‘i developed into a commercial center for the Pacific fur and sandalwood trade conducted with Canton (Guangzhou) and the United States. In 1828, at the height of the sandalwood trade, around thirty to forty Chinese (of an estimated total of four hundred foreign residents) were living in Honolulu, by then the chief port of the Islands. The whaling industry, which extended to the North Pacific in the 1820s and reached its peak there during the 1840s and 1850s, also began to offer opportunities to enterprising Chinese located in major ports on Maui and Hawai‘i as well as in Honolulu. In these towns they catered to the needs of the seasonal whaling population as local merchants and operators of hotels and “victualling houses.” Meanwhile, early attempts to produce sugar commercially in the Hawaiian Islands involved skilled Chinese sugar masters and experienced laborers hailing from cane-growing areas in the vicinity of Macau.

The Macau connection is important to note with respect to the early trade between Hawai‘i and the Canton region. Prior to the Opium War (1839–42) and the existence of British-held Hong Kong, Western ships invariably stopped off at Macau when leaving the Pearl River Delta. This initially allowed the natives of Zhongshan (Xiangshan), the Guangdong county adjoining Macau, more ready access by sea to the legendary “Sandalwood Mountains” than was available to the inhabitants of other parts of the delta or province. As

a result, Zhongshan natives of different walks of life were the first to emigrate to Hawai'i in appreciable numbers. By all estimates, Zhongshan immigrants constituted the majority of the early Chinese sojourners in the Islands during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Zhongshan segment continued to be the dominant subgroup among the island Chinese after 1852, when greater numbers of Chinese began to arrive as laborers contracted for the sugar plantations.

A discernible Chinese community had emerged in the Islands prior to the influx of contract laborers. By midcentury this community was still small: the number of Chinese residing in Hawai'i was possibly less than a hundred, dispersed over most of the major islands. Their scattered community nevertheless had a structure and certain cohesive qualities. A few wealthy merchants acted as its leaders and spokesmen, while a larger group (mainly of Zhongshan origin as well, it may be assumed) shared in the trade networks that the Chinese had developed among the various islands and port towns. The Honolulu Chinatown, abutting the waterfront and close to the Hawaiian seat of government, served as the commercial hub and social center of this inter-island community.

At this early stage the Hawai'i Chinese community was composed predominantly of male sojourners, together with their Hawaiian wives and offspring, and was replenished by new male arrivals. Its menfolk maintained a distinct Chinese identity—one easily detected by outsiders—with respect to speech, dress, and food habits. Although the Chinese tended to be ethnocentric and in-groupish, they were so few in number that they were obliged to socialize with the Hawaiians and the other foreign residents. Robert Dye's paper on Chun Afong, a wealthy Zhongshan merchant who arrived in Honolulu in 1849, reveals something of the early Chinese community and its subsequent development.

The Dye paper also indicates that closer ties were forming at midcentury among the Chinese merchant elite, the Hawaiian aristocracy, and the upper stratum of the Western community. Chun Afong's marriage to a Hawaiian woman of the *ali'i* (chiefly) class and of part English descent illustrates this trend. So does the famous Chinese Ball of 1856, described in Dye's study. Staged by Chinese merchants of Honolulu and Lahaina in honor of Kamehameha IV and his new queen, and attended by Hawaiian and Western dignitaries, this gala event in effect signified formal confirmation of the high social status sought by the Chinese merchant elite. Symbolically, too, it conferred recognition upon the island Chinese (with the exceptions of the recent contract-laborer arrivals) as acceptable components of Hawai'i's blossoming multiethnic society. Indeed, it appears that the emergence of a viable Chinese community with active merchant leaders was an important factor in fostering broader ethnic interaction in Hawai'i.

At midcentury Hawai'i's pluralistic society comprised a declining native Hawaiian population of roughly eighty-two

thousand, a much smaller Caucasian group, and a Chinese community even fewer in number. In addition, it included a growing number of part Hawaiians, the issue of Hawaiian mothers and Caucasian or Chinese fathers. According to the 1850 census (the first complete one conducted under the monarchy), the part Hawaiian element totaled 558, exclusive of the 1,512 "non-Hawaiian" or foreign residents. The 1853 census added somewhat more precise ethnic categories, including Chinese and "Asiatic Hawaiians." Yet the next official census, taken in 1860, failed to identify the Chinese component satisfactorily or to take into account the inter-island Chinese community. Curiously, in Honolulu the census counted Chinese residents as natives, but in the rest of the kingdom it considered them foreigners.

The Monarchy Period

Under the monarchy Chinese sojourners and settlers witnessed a series of nation-building efforts, beginning with the unification endeavors of Kamehameha I. Many of the reforms were based essentially on Western models that, when realized, proved to be more advanced and successful than were most of the modernization ventures attempted in imperial China during the nineteenth century. The island Chinese did not participate much in the formal political process. Nonetheless, they became directly involved in the profound change brought about by reform as well as by the advent of commercialism, a plantation system, and strong local Christian and foreign influences.

On the whole the Chinese adapted well to the reforms effected under the monarchy, especially those from which they readily benefited. Several acquired ownership of their lands during the Great Mahele (land division) of 1848. Many more gradually gained title to landed property after 1850, when aliens residing in Hawai'i were given the right to own land in fee simple. Chinese individuals were not remiss in resorting to the law to settle disputes or profit from business and property settlements. A legal suit involving the probate of a Chinese estate was recorded as early as 1845, five years after the Hawaiian court system had been established by the Constitution of 1840. The island Chinese also filed suits against one another as well as against Hawaiians and Westerners. They even sued government officials, and in one celebrated case the executors of a Chinese client's estate filed suit against the trustees of the king (see the Lim-Chong/Ball paper).

Similarly, Chinese sojourners and settlers at times followed the modern practice of applying for Hawaiian citizenship in order to satisfy their needs. Some 750 Chinese are estimated to have become naturalized citizens during the course of the monarchy. As many as four hundred of them applied for naturalization between 1840 and 1871, when this formality was required of foreigners marrying Hawaiian women.

Intermarriage began early in the monarchy and denotes the generally good relations between the native Hawaiians and the few Chinese and Westerners then living in the Islands. Many of these male sojourners cohabited with or married Hawaiian women. It appears that a large proportion of the early Chinese, those who arrived prior to 1852, entered into some form of marriage relationship. During the latter half of the century Chinese immigrants continued to marry Hawaiians but did so in much smaller proportions, given the large influx of Chinese plantation workers. Romanzo Adams has estimated that from 1840 to 1899 there were between eight and nine hundred legal marriages of Chinese men to Hawaiian women, and also some twelve to fifteen hundred “informal” but permanent marriages.

A number of these marriages were polygamous; it was a common practice for a Chinese male to take a Hawaiian wife even if he already had a Chinese wife back home in China. Under the monarchy such marriage relationships were generally deemed acceptable. As Clarence Glick has noted, traditions of concubinage in Chinese society and plural marriages in Hawaiian society helped foster this acceptance. Some of these Chinese and Hawaiian wives had a hand in raising one another’s children. Chun Afong went so far as to send the firstborn son of his Hawaiian wife to his Chinese wife in Zhongshan in exchange for his China-born son, who was brought to Honolulu to be reared. Robert Dye suggests in his paper that Afong’s Hawaiian wife was agreeable to raising this son because the arrangement accorded with the *hanai* system of bringing up another’s child, practiced among most *aliʻi* families.

Close relations between the island Chinese and the Hawaiian people were evidenced in other ways as well under the monarchy. For instance, Chinese immigrants frequently adopted Hawaiian-sounding names, such as Aloiau for Wong Lo Yau and Akana for Wong Kwon. These Hawaiianized names serve as a reminder that many of the early Chinese learned to speak Hawaiian, at least to some extent, so as to be able to communicate with the local population. They also used the Hawaiian language as a common medium when they could not understand each other’s Chinese dialects. Judging from accounts of the late monarchy, many of the island Chinese still preferred to speak Hawaiian rather than English, despite the growing American influence.

As indicated in biographical studies such as the Dye paper, relationships with Hawaiians enabled Chinese individuals to become better integrated into the Islands’ pluralistic society at that period. As described in several papers in this volume, their acculturation also involved many other factors, including business acumen, participation in Christian churches, and language facility (in Hawaiian and English as well as in the Chinese dialects then current). Marriage with Hawaiian women, however, was often an essential factor. It is significant that Afong married a woman of *aliʻi* class. His Hawaiian wife, in particular, played a key

role with respect to his influence in island politics and Honolulu society.

The close, familial-type ties that formed between Chinese immigrants and native Hawaiians under the monarchy are perhaps best reflected by the *pake* identity applied to the island Chinese. *Pake* means “uncle” in Chinese, and in its extended usage in Hawaiʻi the term initially implied familiarity and respect. Apparently it was the first designation of the early Chinese used by the island population at large. It took on a derogatory cast later when anti-Chinese sentiment spread in response to the large influx of Chinese laborers. Nevertheless the term is still in limited use today among local-born Chinese and often conveys a sense of nostalgia for earlier generations and the immigrant past. Among “locals” in Hawaiʻi *pake* also has long connoted a joking stereotypical image of the island Chinese: for instance, thrifty and shrewd in handling money.

These various usages of the term have been confined to Hawaiʻi. The *pake* identity has not applied to Chinese individuals who have left the Islands. Like the Hawaiian word *haole*, which was used to designate the early Caucasian arrivals and then became more of a derogatory label applied to White residents, the term *pake* remains a cultural ascription unique to the Hawaiian Islands. Both of these identities were products of Hawaiʻi’s embryonic multicultural environment under the early monarchy. Their subsequent transformation from basically cultural designations into ethnic labels illustrates the interethnic tension and racial consciousness that had developed in the Islands by late in the nineteenth century.

The Late Nineteenth Century

The Chinese in Hawaiʻi experienced much more dramatic change over the latter part of the century, both individually and as a community. Unprecedented numbers of Chinese laborers reached the Islands, an occurrence that fostered anti-Chinese agitation among local Hawaiian and *haole* elements. This hostile sentiment evoked discriminatory measures. Meanwhile, Chinese in the Islands began to be affected by the arrival of other large immigrant groups, most notably the Japanese. Also significant were the closer links beginning to form between the Chinese community and the home country. This development led members of the merchant elite and other community spokesmen to become more actively involved in home-country politics.

The initial impetus for much of this change occurred in the 1840s when efforts were made to expand Hawaiʻi’s sugarcane production under the plantation system. The need for a large, stable workforce for the sugar plantations led to passage of the Masters and Servants Act of 1850, which enabled foreign indentured labor to be introduced in the Hawaiian kingdom. Prior to annexation in 1898, many thousands of Chinese laborers were contracted at a low wage scale and brought to the Islands under this enactment, particularly

when the demand for Hawaiian sugar and rice increased after the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 was concluded with the United States.

The first two shiploads of Chinese contract laborers, totaling 293 (including some “houseboys”), arrived in 1852. Until 1876, however, the annual number of Chinese arrivals averaged less than this and included “free” as well as indentured immigrants. The most active period of Chinese immigration, counting all arrivals, was from 1876 to 1898. According to estimates by Clarence Glick, some 46,000 Chinese reached Hawai‘i during the 1852–98 period, two-thirds to three-fourths of them to work on sugar or rice plantations. As a result of the continuous inflow of immigrants (which surpassed the number leaving the Islands), the Chinese in Hawai‘i totaled 25,767 at the turn of the century. This increase represented growth from 0.5 percent of Hawai‘i’s population in 1853 to 16.7 percent in 1900. By 1900, there were nearly as many Chinese as native Hawaiians or haole yet their number was less than half that of the rapidly growing Japanese immigrant group.

The plantation experience has generally been depicted as a disagreeable episode in the Hawai‘i Chinese past. Hard toil and abuse were the common lot of the laborers contracted for the sugar plantations. Another negative aspect of the plantation system was the plight of aged and indigent Chinese laborers discharged or retired from these plantations. Such pathetic male sojourners, lacking families or relatives in Hawai‘i and the means to return to China, became a social problem, as was widely recognized in Honolulu by late in the century.

Despite such lingering effects, the harsh plantation experience may, in the long run, be reckoned as a passing phase in Hawai‘i Chinese history. It appears that a great majority of the Chinese contract laborers left the sugar plantations as soon as they could. Although many departed from the Islands, a large number stayed on and sought better livelihoods there. The largest proportion eventually collected in Honolulu and other towns, where they became domestics, craftsmen, and peddlers. Others competed for construction jobs and worked on buildings and roads. Another portion remained in the countryside and labored on Chinese-managed rice plantations or on farms. In addition, many of the numerous free immigrants may never have worked on the sugar plantations. Most of them immigrated directly from China, but some transmigrated from California and the northwestern coast of North America or from more distant places overseas. Those who arrived in Hawai‘i with some capital were more readily able to acquire land and enter into business proprietorships.

Enlarged by the continuous inflow of indentured and free immigrants, the island Chinese community not only grew numerically but also extended into rural sections of most islands. Chinese settlements also spread in the business districts and outlying areas of towns. The composition of the

Chinese community became more diverse as well. With the exception of the first two shiploads of contract laborers, who hailed from southern Fujian Province, the immigrants were of Guangdong origin. However, many came from other areas of that province besides Zhongshan. In the peak years of this Chinese labor inflow, especially during 1895–97, sizable numbers immigrated from the See Yup (Siyi, or “Four Districts”) to the west of Zhongshan. Between 1876 and 1898, a significant number of Hakkas (members of a distinct speech group) also immigrated from Zhongshan, localities closer to Hong Kong, and more distant areas in eastern Guangdong.

The Cantonese speakers from Zhongshan still made up the majority of the island Chinese population. Their dominance within the Chinese community was signified by their claim to be *bendi* (Punti), or “local natives,” the same identity their people had assumed back in Zhongshan to differentiate themselves from the Hakka (Kejia) or “guest” minority there. The dominant position of the Zhongshan residents was often challenged, however, for as the community grew larger and more diverse, it tended to fragment into rival subcultural groupings. Competition between Zhongshan and Hakka interests reflected this tendency. Moreover, Zhongshan immigrants themselves commenced to divide into subgroups. During the 1890s this fragmentation became more evident when district (*doo* or *du*) and village associations began to form on the basis of their local Zhongshan origins. Soon thereafter, the first See Yup association was organized. The emergence of these associations evidenced further competition among subgroup interests within the Chinese community.

This divisiveness was offset to some extent as the Chinese community became more unified under Honolulu merchant leadership in response to the rising anti-Chinese agitation. However, unity was achieved only after prominent Hakka and, eventually, See Yup leaders joined members of the Zhongshan merchant elite in a combined effort to defend their community against outside attack and discrimination. Such concerted leadership was evident among prominent Zhongshan and Hakka leaders by 1880 and culminated in the formation in 1884 of a formal and more inclusive organization, the United Chinese Society (*Zhonghua huiguan*) to serve the needs of all the island Chinese.

Strong anti-Chinese agitation fed on the racial prejudice that had begun to develop in Hawai‘i shortly after the arrival of the first contract laborers. Hostile sentiment bearing on the habits and morals of these male immigrants became more deep-seated as the labor force grew. The Lim-Chong/Ball paper recalls the invidious nature of such prejudice by pointing out that from the 1850s on “it appeared to many that the ‘vice’ of opium smoking and the presence of the Chinese were inseparable.” As a consequence, problems relating to the control and use of the drug became designated as the “Chinese opium question.” This paper shows that, in reality, all the major ethnic groups and classes of

society were involved in one way or another with opium. Through a review of a forty-four-year period of legislation providing for either prohibition of the drug or its control through a "Chinese license," the authors further reveal that the island population was continuously divided over what the government's policy should be and that "these divisions cut across the various ethnic groups, including the Chinese." Nonetheless, the opium question and other racially construed issues adversely affected the reputation of the Chinese in Hawai'i. Degrading and even sinister identities were ascribed to them, despite the efforts of concerned Chinese spokesmen and the United Chinese Society to create a more positive image for their community.

Under these stressful conditions the appointment in 1879 of a Chinese commercial agent (*shangdong*) in Honolulu was a boon to the Chinese merchant elite and, to an extent, their entire community. This measure, the first formal accreditation of a local merchant leader by the Qing government through its minister in Washington, offered hope that China would strive to protect the overseas Chinese in Hawai'i. Furthermore, Chun Afong's display of the Chinese imperial flag (noted in the Dye paper) after the Hawaiian government approved his appointment as the first commercial agent symbolized the emergence of a nationality identity for the island Chinese. Afong could now represent himself and his community members as subjects of a duly recognized Asian state and as a nationality to be treated on a par with the various Western nationalities resident in the kingdom as well as with the incoming Japanese.

This link between the island Chinese and their home government soon prompted other merchant leaders to play an active role in politics. They did so more readily after a Chinatown community organization endorsed by officials of China in Washington developed into the United Chinese Society. Leaders such as Goo Kim Fui then began to function as bona fide spokesmen of the entire community and to capitalize on a common nationality identity that complemented their local influence based on wealth, subgroup support, and business and marriage ties. Chun and Goo further legitimized their political roles by acquiring Qing office titles. In this manner they nominally assumed the status enjoyed by the gentry class in late imperial China as "heads of the Chinese commoners." The Qing government required them to have this nominal overseas status when they performed as Qing functionaries in their capacity as commercial agents (and when Goo served later as a vice-consul).

At the same time new cultural links also began to form with the home country. The appearance of Chinese-language newspapers in Honolulu during the 1880s and 1890s illustrates this trend. These early Chinese newspapers started as commercial ventures to keep the Chinese community better informed of events, including those relating to China, and to offer its members more exposure to China's literary

tradition. Although they seem to have been apolitical enterprises, as claimed by the *Him Mark Lai* paper, several of the publishers had supported the Wilcox Insurrection of 1889 in protest of the "Bayonet Constitution" forced upon the Hawaiian king two years before. They also numbered among the twenty or so colleagues who joined with Sun Yat-sen in November 1894 upon his return to Honolulu and helped Sun inaugurate his first revolutionary society, the Xing Zhong Hui (Revive China Society). Others among this group of Chinese activists were concerned about Hawai'i's own revolution, which had dethroned Queen Liliuokalani in 1893 and given rise to the Hawaiian republic.

It is significant that the first Chinese publishers in Hawai'i were Christians, as were some other early political activists among the island Chinese. By the late nineteenth century, according to the *Irma Tam Soong* paper, the Chinese Christians had become a force to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, they were still few in number. Most were Hakka Protestants (some of a Guangdong Lutheran background) who belonged to missions and Chinese churches formed on the major islands. Other Chinese also joined these Anglican and Congregational bodies, various Catholic churches, or, on occasion, the Mormon Church in Hawai'i.

Soong attributes the importance of the Chinese Christians, despite their small number, to the fact that they adjusted more to Western ways than other island Chinese did and had especially cordial relationships with haole residents. Even in times of racial contention the spirit of Christian brotherhood tended to induce positive interaction between Caucasian and Chinese Congregationalists. For example, over the years that Goo Kim Fui served as a trustee of the Fort Street Chinese Church and president of the Chinese YMCA, he was able to form friendly relationships of a lasting nature with prominent Caucasians, as well as with members of the Hawaiian royalty. His experience indicates that portions of the haole and Hawaiian populations were apt to regard outstanding Chinese Christians as brethren rather than "heathen." Goo's Chinese Christian identity, like his more formal Chinese-nationality identity, appears also to have worked in his favor when he acted as a lobbyist for the entire Chinese community.

Soong's study focuses on Sun Yat-sen's early schooling in Honolulu between 1879 and 1883, and sheds considerable light on the private Christian schools then operating. There was no such institution designed specifically for the needs of Chinese students who desired to learn English and acquire a Western education. Hence Sun ended up attending two or possibly three of the private schools near the Honolulu Chinatown. Attendance at these schools offered some students an opportunity to receive a higher education abroad. Sun Yat-sen might well have enrolled in a prestigious American university (as did Chun Afong's two sons), had not his elder brother objected to his impending conversion to Christianity and sent him back to his native Zhongshan village.

Subsequently Sun received medical training in Hong Kong. There his early adult life bore parallels to those of some of his Christian-educated contemporaries in Honolulu. In the urban environment of British-held Hong Kong, and with his Western education and Christian and professional training, Sun grew disgruntled with conditions in China and ineffective Qing rule. Consequently he began to view political affairs from the critical perspective of an activist. The identity to which he soon subscribed was that of a Chinese nationalist and anti-Qing patriot. This new nationalistic identity was contrary to the nationality identity of loyal Qing subjects overseas that had developed in Honolulu while Sun was in school there.

The Twentieth Century

During the territorial and statehood periods the island Chinese experienced further change. The Organic Act of 1900 brought an end to the contract-labor system and helped give rise to a laboring class of mixed ethnic extraction. Meanwhile, a haole American oligarchy exercised control over territorial government and island politics and dominated big business and the economy in Hawai'i. The Hawai'i Chinese on the whole adjusted to these conditions by entering more into the expanding middle class composed of small businessmen and salaried employees. World War II and statehood brought an end to the relatively small haole oligarchy and its dominance in the Islands. A new era witnessed a surge of Asian Americans in island politics as well as in mainstream business and the professions. Capitalizing on the more favorable opportunities that developed in the fiftieth state, many local-born Chinese (both male and female) chose careers in these fields.

Under the Organic Act, Congress also extended American citizenship and its rights, including universal suffrage, to immigrants naturalized under the monarchy and to all persons, regardless of race, nationality, or descent, born in Hawai'i under U.S. rule. Racial prejudice prevalent on the American mainland and in Hawai'i, however, led to discriminatory enactments and regulations that prevented island residents of Asian ancestry from enjoying their full rights during the territorial period. Nevertheless, the Chinese in Hawai'i were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered and enrolled a large proportion of their children in public and private schools.

Over the twentieth century the number of Chinese residing in Hawai'i grew slowly but rather steadily to reach 56,285 in 1980, according to the U.S. census. Chinese labor immigration was not allowed from the time the Chinese Exclusion Act was implemented in the Islands in 1898, shortly after annexation, until it was repealed in 1943. On the other hand, certain categories of Chinese immigrants, including merchants, professionals, and clergy, were permitted to enter, along with their wives. These new arrivals

came primarily from Guangdong. Following World War II, a number of federal enactments containing immigration quotas allowed more Chinese migrants to enter Hawai'i. These newcomers stemmed from many parts of mainland China as well as from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and countries in Southeast Asia. By the 1980s they constituted approximately one-quarter of the Chinese population in the Islands.

Although the Hawai'i Chinese population more than doubled after the turn of the century, it grew relatively slowly compared to the other major ethnic groups, except for the Hawaiians. New waves of Japanese and Portuguese plantation workers arrived early in the century, followed by large contingents of Filipino laborers between 1910 and 1932. Meanwhile, substantial numbers of Caucasians kept moving to the Islands throughout most of the century. Proportionate to Hawai'i's overall population growth, the island Chinese registered a continuous decline; they made up just 7.4 percent of the total population by 1930 and only 5.8 percent in 1980, when they ranked fifth in size among the state's ethnic groupings. Only on Oahu did their number continue to grow. On the neighboring islands, the Chinese population had already begun to decrease before 1900.

The island Chinese community flourished, nonetheless, and early in the century its members began to take on a more normal lifestyle as settlers and permanent residents in the larger Chinese settlements that remained. This development was especially evident among the concentration of Chinese in Honolulu, where the number of Chinese females steadily increased. Over the first three decades of the century Chinese males married these China-born and Hawai'i-born women at a higher rate than previously. By 1930 Honolulu had at least three thousand Chinese nuclear families, half of which were headed by males of the immigrant generation.

The old Chinatown area in Honolulu still served as the business and cultural center of the community, even though the Chinese residents became more dispersed in other neighborhoods and in suburbs. During the first several decades of the century additional district and village associations formed in Chinatown, along with a number of surname societies, reflecting both the continuous Chinese population growth in Honolulu and the greater concern for family and kinship matters among the settlers. By around the turn of the century more of a cross-section of Chinese overseas life had become apparent, as evidenced by the appearance of Chinese craft guilds and a branch of the Hongmen (Triad) brotherhood, as well as several notable Chinatown restaurants and a Chinese theater where Cantonese opera was regularly performed until the late 1920s. Meanwhile, the local Chinatown newspapers helped identify Honolulu as a major Chinese overseas center and, according to the Him Mark Lai paper, made that city for a time the second center (after San Francisco) for Chinese journalism in the Western Hemisphere.

The Hawai'i Chinese community became embroiled in the political affairs of China throughout the first half of the century. Controversy concerning the future of China broke out when Liang Qichao, who became Sun Yat-sen's chief opponent among the Chinese reformers abroad, visited Hawai'i in 1900. During the next decade antagonism mounted locally between advocates of Sun's revolutionary movement and supporters of constitutional reform and its association, the Baohuang Hui (Protect the Emperor Society). Debate over key issues eventually split the community into rival factions, as it did other major Chinese overseas centers in North America and Southeast Asia. Indicative of the deep-seated antagonism engendered locally was the pair of rival Chinese-language schools established almost simultaneously by these factions in the Honolulu Chinatown prior to the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution in China. Keen competition ensued between these, the two largest Chinese schools in Hawai'i, for many years thereafter.

After the Republic of China was inaugurated in 1912, home-country politics continued to spark local rivalries. Contention between the Chinese consul in Honolulu and members of the United Chinese Society led to the establishment of another leading community organization, the Chinese Merchants Association (Zhonghua zongshanghui), favored for a short time by the Yuan Shikai regime in Beijing. Later on, civil discord and factional politics under warlord and Nationalist rule brought about more involvement in home-country politics on the part of the island Chinese.

When Americans were barred from the Chinese mainland following the Communist takeover in 1949–50, the Chinese in Hawai'i were cut off from their homeland. Although their sympathies with regard to the Communists and Nationalists may have continued to be divided, they became less directly involved in China-related issues. The Hawai'i Chinese community nominally recognized the Nationalist government in Taiwan via the Honolulu consulate, which continued to represent the Republic of China. Old-time Chinese residents in the Islands were unable to visit their ancestral localities in Guangdong again until relations between the United States and the People's Republic were normalized in the 1970s. By then, they had become bystanders with respect to Chinese mainland politics.

In his paper on the Chinese community press in Hawai'i, Him Mark Lai indicates the new political role that local Chinatown newspapers assumed from around the turn of the century, when the island Chinese became actively engaged in China-related politics. He deals with both the reformist and the revolutionary Chinese-language press in Honolulu and briefly discusses a local newspaper organized by the Hongmen brotherhood during the first decade of the twentieth century. He also shows that some Honolulu Chinatown newspapers continued to be preoccupied with politics in China over the first half of the century, as happened in other major Chinese overseas centers in North America.

The Chinese-language newspapers published in Honolulu suffered a decline by the 1920s due to the growing number of local-born Chinese who lacked the capacity to read Chinese. Local Chinese publishers began to introduce bilingual or English-language newspapers in an effort to attract these younger readers. Such weeklies also had difficulty maintaining enough subscribers and competing with mainstream American newspapers. In this context Him Mark Lai suggests the strong influence of Americanization on the Hawai'i-born Chinese.

Americanization, the accommodation or assimilation of immigrants and their descendants to American ways, has affected all generations of the Hawai'i Chinese to varying degrees over the twentieth century. However, the local-born of the second and third generations who were raised during the territorial period seem to have experienced undue stress in adjusting to their cultural environment. On the one hand, they were exposed to strong American influences, especially in the public and private schools. On the other hand, family and community pressure encouraged them to maintain a Chinese identity.

This pressure from the Chinese side was quite intense. By then the island Chinese not only shared traditional attachments to China, based on their cultural heritage and ancestral ties, but also had been influenced by the new Chinese nationalism and reforms developing in their home country. To many, China appeared to be transforming into a modern nation. Hence, the model of "Chineseness" that immigrant settlers aspired to emulate and transmit to younger generations tended to be perceived in a more modern context. Among members of the migrant generation, with their close ties to their native land, this effort at "resinification," as identified in Edgar Wickberg's paper, may have seemed natural and a touchstone for considerable ethnic pride. However, for local-born members of the second and third generations, already imbued with American ideals and sentiments, resinification was often a difficult matter of adjustment and redefinition, as reflected by their different constructions of such American labels as "Chinese American" and "Asian American," implying dual identifications.

Notwithstanding the strong influence of Americanization, however, members of the second and third generations were attracted by features of Republican China and sometimes stirred by feelings of pride and patriotism. Some attended schools in China or sought employment (and spouses) there prior to the Japanese invasion in 1937 and again briefly after the end of World War II in 1945. Along with the older members of the Chinese community, many also donated to Chinese war relief agencies during the intervening wartime period. Their attraction to China during the first half of the century was stimulated in part by the training many had received at Chinese-language schools in the Islands. Moreover, like overseas Chinese elsewhere, they were encouraged to support China and assume a modern Chinese identity

through the *huaqiao* ascription. This term, literally meaning “Chinese sojourners,” denoted overseas Chinese status. It was used by the revolutionary followers of Sun Yat-sen early in the century and subsequently applied by the Republic of China in a formal manner. As an expression of identity, *huaqiao* indicated acceptance and recognition by the government and people of China of the overseas Chinese, regardless of their citizenship or legal status abroad.

Americanization has usually been studied in relation to immigrant communities and their members. Yet ethnic institutions serving these communities also experienced the effects of acculturation or assimilation as they became more integrated into the American environment. The Palolo Chinese Home in Honolulu offers an example. Initially a care home for aged and indigent Chinese laborers, by its fiftieth anniversary in 1967 the Palolo Home had become a mainstream social welfare institution open to all aged U.S. residents, regardless of their race, religion, sex, or marital status. Despite its Chinese identity, the home had long been associated with American interests. Closely involved in its founding in 1917 was the Associated Charities of Hawai‘i, a haole-led agency formed to coordinate the activities of many charitable organizations in the Islands. During the mid-twenties this agency (renamed the Social Services Bureau) assumed responsibility for the financial support and administration of the home under a Chinese manager and an ethnically mixed board of directors. The transformation of the home into a mainstream welfare center occurred after 1938, when the federal government began to provide a disproportionate amount of its funding. Federal funds, administered by the territory and state, enabled local authorities to regulate the home more fully and eventually to have an enormous cultural impact on its operation and the type of treatment its aged residents received.

Chinese community leaders worked closely with members of the haole establishment by way of the Associated Charities and the United Welfare Fund (later the Aloha United Fund) with respect to the founding and upkeep of the Palolo Chinese Home. Through such inclusive public service organizations these Chinese spokesmen cooperated with the representatives of various other ethnic groups engaged in philanthropic work. On the other hand, ethnic rivalry persisted among such groups. The pride that the Chinese community has long exhibited in the Palolo Home may have stemmed in part from local Chinese efforts to emulate or outdo other groups that founded care homes for their elderly members. Meanwhile, leading organizations representing the Hawai‘i Chinese community, namely, the United Chinese Society and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (the successor of the Chinese Merchants Association), strove to safeguard the community from undue competition or pressure conditioned by interethnic rivalry.

Unfortunately, little detailed study has been made of ethnic rivalry in Hawai‘i during the twentieth century. Scholarly

opinion suggests that group-oriented rivalry was common between local ethnic communities earlier in the century, then gave way to more individualistic competition, especially following statehood, when most immigrant groups enjoyed better economic opportunities and the island population had become more broadly tolerant of cultural diversity. The Hawai‘i Chinese experience indicates, however, that both forms have persisted during the century but that intermarriage and social interaction have helped alleviate ethnic tensions and rivalries.

The Michaelyn Chou paper addresses the ethnicity issue as it pertained to local politics and the electoral process during the territorial and early statehood periods. The author acknowledges that ethnocentric voting has played a role in elections held in Hawai‘i. Nevertheless, she argues that charges of bloc voting, with ethnic groups voting only for candidates of their own ancestry, are incorrect. Between 1926 and 1966, candidates from Hawai‘i’s different ethnic groups were elected as a result of efforts by the Republican and Democratic parties to produce balanced slates, rather than of ethnic endeavors per se on the grassroots level. Chou also indicates that the local Chinese tended to vote along straight party lines. Socioeconomic factors seem to have motivated their party preferences, with Chinese candidates running on both party tickets.

Chou further indicates that because the Chinese electorate was relatively small, local Chinese running for political office earlier in the century sought the support of Hawaiian relatives and friends and their networks. Such interethnic support played a vital role in the career of James K. Kealoha, a celebrated Chinese Hawaiian politician. The son of an immigrant father and a Hawaiian mother, Kealoha gained an even wider constituency due to his affability, musical skills, and ability to speak several languages. These features made him seem more Hawaiian than Chinese to many, particularly since he never used the Lee (Li) surname of his father. Only after he had been elected the state’s first lieutenant governor in 1959 did Kealoha’s Chinese descent receive much recognition, when he was honored by a Li clan organization in Taiwan.

As mentioned in the Chou paper, the Hawai‘i Chinese tended not to venture actively into domestic politics. Local issues occasionally stirred them to collective action, however. In 1947–48, for example, the Chinese and Japanese communities launched a successful campaign to reopen the foreign-language schools that had been closed in Hawai‘i following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. The island Chinese also expressed pride when local-born Hiram L. Fong in 1959 became the first person of Chinese descent to be elected to the U.S. Senate. On the whole, though, the Hawai‘i Chinese were more attuned to business and social undertakings than to organized politics on the local or the national level.

The paper by Clarence and Doris Glick on generational groups of prominent Chinese in Hawai‘i confirms this

impression. The Glicks trace changes in the roles and status of the members of these groups from the migrant generation through the third and fourth generations, based on biographical sources published in 1929, 1957, and 1983. Yet few of the occupations or organizational affiliations they list seem to relate directly to domestic politics. Instead, the members of these groups appear to have gained recognition and elite status mainly through private or civic endeavors.

The Glick study also reveals major intergenerational changes. The differences between the migrant generation, born in China, and the second generation, born in Hawai'i, are most striking in respect to extent and kind of formal education and the tendency of second-generation members to join associations with mixed-ethnic memberships in addition to the all-Chinese societies to which their fathers' generation had generally been restricted. Similarities between the second and the third and fourth generations of local-born descendants are apparent, especially with regard to the increasing numbers who received higher education and their continuous shift from business to professional pursuits.

Changes in the outlook and socialization of the third and fourth generations are striking as well. In effect, they had become cosmopolitan Americans sharing mainstream perspectives on the state, the nation, and the international scene. Thus the Glicks not only indicate continuous cultural integration on a generational basis, but also suggest how eliteness has been redefined within the Hawai'i Chinese community. The elite-status identity formerly associated with a wealthy class of overseas merchants has given way to a modern one predicated on a more highly educated, local-born group of leaders, mainly of a managerial and professional type.

The Franklin Ng paper on Chinese restaurants in Hawai'i approaches ethnicity and identity from a cultural perspective. It suggests that such matters pertaining to the island Chinese may be more effectively gauged by their restaurants and foodways than through regulated census procedures. "Foodways are an emblem of ethnicity and identity," according to the author, and his study indicates that Chinese restaurants have long given expression to Chinese and local foodways in the Islands, reflecting the Chinese experience there. The Chinese operated most of the eating establishments (bakeries, coffee shops, and restaurants) in Hawai'i over the latter half of the nineteenth century. They became more receptive to Chinese restaurants only as the Chinese community's infrastructure and pattern of family life developed more fully. Cultural and ethnic identifications have continued to be associated with Chinese eating establishments in Hawai'i, the author points out, generally on the basis of their food and cuisine, their types of patronage, and the roles and services they perform.

Franklin Ng also demonstrates that Chinese restaurants in Hawai'i have been indicators of change and diversity. They have reflected the changing status of the Chinese over time and the emergence of a Chinese American culture in

the Islands. By their accommodation to various eating publics they also illustrate how the Chinese managed to adapt to Hawai'i and its pluralistic society and how other island inhabitants adapted to the Chinese. Moreover, the Chinese restaurant trade has reflected the recent immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China, with Hong Kong and regional styles of Chinese cuisine coming into vogue. The proliferating array of Chinese restaurants reflects the diversity of the Chinese population in Hawai'i. The author asserts that this diversity in region, dialect, generation, class, and acculturation has resulted in "culinary pluralism with multiple standards of evaluation."

DIVERSITY AND THE FORMATION OF MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

The Franklin Ng paper serves as a reminder that diversity (along with change) has played an important part in the Chinese experience in Hawai'i. Cultural diversity, an enduring trait among the island Chinese, has long given rise to separate identities that have distinguished and set apart components of their group. Again, various contacts and influences from outside their community have created dual identities of a less discrete nature. In this section we shall discuss these multiple identities and their formation and endeavor to compare the Hawai'i Chinese experience in this respect with that of Chinese overseas groups elsewhere.

As indicated earlier, differences in speech and provenance led Chinese immigrants in Hawai'i to assume sub-group identities among the Zhongshan Cantonese speakers, the Hakkas, and the See Yup people. Further distinctions in subdialect and native-place origin also brought about sub-identities within the dominant Zhongshan group. In recent decades similar differences have prevailed among the Chinese arrivals from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and parts of the Chinese mainland; accordingly, diverse identities and subidentities have developed among them as well. These discrete identifications not only distinguish each grouping but also set off these Chinese newcomers from the old-time residents who still constitute a large majority of the Hawai'i Chinese population.

Institutional religious affiliations have also enabled various Chinese immigrant groups to maintain distinct identities in the Islands. The Hakkas formed early Protestant congregations and churches that provided leadership and guidance for their people. Recently, new arrivals from Hong Kong and Taiwan have organized Cantonese, Mandarin, and Taiwanese (southern Min or Hokkien-speaking) congregations. These church groups, along with secular social organizations, have helped distinguish such recent Chinese groupings and enclaves in Hawai'i by place of origin and language. Considering the many functions that Chinese Christian congregations and churches have served within the Chinese

community as well as in island society at large, they too may be regarded as significant subculture groupings among the Hawai'i Chinese.

Intermarriage and acculturation, on the other hand, have fostered dual identities among the island Chinese. From early on, Chinese cohabitation and marriage with native Hawaiian women led to complications concerning the ethnicity and identity of their offspring. Clarence Glick has noted, for example, that few children in Chinese Hawaiian families became part of the Chinese community; rather, they were more closely associated with their Hawaiian and part Hawaiian relatives on their mothers' side. Yet Robert Dye's paper shows that at least some of these mixed offspring were raised as Chinese, and Michaelyn Chou's study indicates that even James Kealoha, who is remembered as a part Hawaiian "local boy" politician, was an outstanding student at a Chinese-language school in his youth. It is clear that distinct plural identifications were readily ascribed to this new Chinese Hawaiian segment. By the mid-nineteenth century separate "part Hawaiian" or "Asiatic Hawaiian" census categories had been established under the monarchy. Later on, acculturation gave rise to another form of dual identity when strong Americanization influences brought about a Chinese American designation among local-born children and grandchildren of the migrant generation. During the territorial period this designation reflected the tensions of cultural adjustment by members of the second as well as the third generation under American rule.

These two forms of dual identity involving the acculturation of offspring allowed for situational ethnicity. That is, in both cases people of Chinese descent had some choice in selecting between ethnic identities according to the situations in which they were interacting. As conditions change, situational identities of this type tend to vary in significance and extent of use. The Chinese Hawaiian identification, although still meaningful to individuals and families claiming such mixed descent, now seems less distinctive to many islanders in the context of Hawai'i's present-day pluralistic society. Consequently, this identification has tended to merge into the more general "part Hawaiian" one. Meanwhile, the Chinese American designation may have become outmoded in respect to today's younger generation of well-adjusted island Chinese. As Douglas Chong notes in his paper, assimilation has been rapid and members of this generation have

tended to lose much of their cultural heritage. However, a dual Chinese American identity may still be of significance to those offspring of recent immigrants who are experiencing problems of adjustment in an American environment.

As we have pointed out, the construction of American labels of identity, such as Chinese American and Asian American, has reflected efforts of adjustment and redefinition by earlier generations of migrant descendants. Variations in these situational identities, though, have also indicated societal differences among members and generations of the Hawai'i Chinese community. In particular, distinctions in class and occupational status, type of education (American and/or Chinese), and language fluency (Chinese and/or English) have had a bearing on cultural integration as well as on matters concerning ethnicity.

Various China-oriented political identities have also been ascribed to the island Chinese, as to overseas Chinese elsewhere. Chinese-nationality and nationalist identities arose in Hawai'i prior to 1900, followed by factional and party identifications over the next several decades. The influence of modern Chinese nationalism often made such political identities linked with the home country more pervasive in the Islands. The *huaqiao* ascription, as utilized by the Republic of China, has also been effective in fostering political allegiance to the home country in the Hawai'i Chinese community.

Since the 1960s, new *huaren* and *huayi* labels have been employed by the People's Republic of China in place of *huaqiao*. The term *huaren* denotes people of Chinese descent living outside of China, and *huayi* applies to descendants of Chinese overseas immigrants, born and living abroad. Both are more neutral terms politically as far as the legal status and citizenship of overseas Chinese are concerned, and have been adopted by resident Chinese who have acquired host-country citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. The Nationalist government in Taiwan (since 1949), on the other hand, continues to regard the overseas Chinese and their descendants as *huaqiao*: that is, as Chinese nationals sojourning abroad, irrespective of their foreign status or citizenship. Old-time Hawai'i Chinese have become accustomed to the *huaqiao* designation; they appear to be aware of these new terms and continue to refer to themselves as *lao huaqiao* (old sojourners). In similar vein, they call the new immigrants, at least those from Taiwan, *xinqiao*, or "new sojourners."

Hawai'i's Nam Long

Their Background and Identity as a Zhongshan Subgroup

Douglas D. L. Chong

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The Nam Long people of Zhongshan county in Guangdong constitute a distinct speech group among the various Chinese subcultural groupings in that county.¹ They are one of several Zhongshan speech groups that migrated from the coastal Min region to the northeast in present-day Fujian Province, beginning over a thousand years ago. Eventually they formed a discrete enclave of village settlements in Zhongshan (called Xiangshan until 1925). There they retained elements of their Min dialect and adhered to time-honored traditions, including that of bringing in brides from the mother's or sister-in-law's family or from an aunt's or a grandmother's village. Family histories and extended genealogies thus reflect complex patterns of close-knit kinship ties through affinal connections and attest to the clannish nature of Nam Long villages. So strong has been their ethnocentrism that, while the Nam Long people have adopted the standard Zhongshan or Shekki (Shiqi) speech (a subdialect of the Yue or Cantonese dialect) in school and business, their ancestral tongue has persisted in their villages along with traditional customs and inbred bloodlines.

In Zhongshan the name "Nam Long" (Nanlang), literally "southern brightness," also refers to an area of fifty to fifty-five square miles inhabited by the Nam Long people and to the large marketplace that for centuries served as its central hub. This village area is located in the eastern portion of the county within the See Dai Doo (Sidadu) district (renamed the Fourth District). It fronts the Pearl River estuary and is situated across from Bow On (Baoan) county, which lies to the north of Hong Kong and Shenzhen. The Nam Long area is only a twenty-minute car ride from Shekki, Zhongshan's county seat and commercial center (Ching and Chong 1987: 37). Throughout this study the name "Nam Long" applies to this specific area or enclave and the subtype of Min dialect spoken there, as well as to its native inhabitants and its over-

seas emigrants and their descendants—that is, the Nam Long people.

By the mid-nineteenth century adventurous Nam Long males had begun to emigrate abroad. Their initial sojourns entailed long ocean passages to California as prospectors during the Gold Rush and to South America as laborers or gamblers. During the latter part of the century more appreciable numbers of Nam Long laborers migrated overseas to three major destinations—North America (principally California); South America (including Cuba, Panama, and Brazil); and the Hawaiian Islands. Hawai'i's Chinese community was formed mainly by emigrants from Zhongshan, who made up nearly 70 percent of the Islands' Chinese population. As a result, Hawai'i has for generations claimed to have the largest Zhongshan community in the world outside of China. This overseas community, however, was formed by sojourners and settlers from many Zhongshan districts. Nam Long people stemming from See Dai Doo are merely one component of the Islands' Zhongshan population.

The initial emigration of Nam Long laborers to Hawai'i occurred over a century ago. Nowadays the majority of the fourth- and fifth-generation descendants are well assimilated into Hawai'i's multicultural society and seem totally unaware of their Nam Long identity. Most younger-generation Chinese from well-known Nam Long families in Hawai'i cannot identify themselves as descendants of native Zhongshan stock, much less as being of Nam Long ancestry. The significance of their Fujian origins and Min "roots" also holds no meaning for the younger generation. In contrast, a few third-generation elders who belong to the See Dai Doo Society in Honolulu are still aware of their Nam Long identity and background and are earnestly striving to discover more about their heritage. Within the past five years a few Nam Long descent groups associated with native-place village and surname organization in Hawai'i have become more interested in their origins and Min roots as well. With the exception of a few linguistic studies, however, there has been virtually no research done on the origins of the Nam Long people.

My objective in this brief paper is to link the Nam Long people in Hawai'i with their home area in Zhongshan. I shall deal with their immigrant experience in the Islands, their

historical background in China, and finally Nam Long marriage ties and their distinctive speech. In particular, I wish to establish more clearly the identity of the Nam Long people as a separate subcultural group. Hence I include an account of their Min forbears' migration southward from Fujian and subsequent resettlement in the Nam Long area of present-day Zhongshan.

MIGRATION PATTERNS AND SETTLEMENT IN HAWAII

Nineteenth-century Nam Long migration to Hawai'i mainly followed the common Zhongshan pattern of labor recruitment for work on the Islands' sugar and rice plantations. However, many Nam Long villagers also emigrated to South America or to California, where at first the gold rush was a major attraction. Nam Long families in Zhongshan still talk about the time of their great-great-grandfathers' generation, when some brothers left for South America and others for California or Hawai'i. These villagers always recount that those ancestors who left early for South America and became sugar, cotton, and tobacco laborers eventually returned home as wealthy businessmen and gamblers, while those who sojourned in Hawai'i initially as sugar plantation laborers returned as comfortable rice farmers and store owners. Some of the early Nam Long emigrants to South America came to dislike the lifestyle there and eventually transmigrated to Hawai'i to join their kinsmen living in the Islands. Nevertheless, in a few cases the reverse was true. In other cases, relatives living in South America returned to China for a visit and ended up taking their village nephews back with them to South America.

Nam Long emigrants who transmigrated to Hawai'i after the California Gold Rush oftentimes arrived with at least some savings. This personal capital enabled them to enter into farming pursuits on their own and encouraged the more successful among them to become settlers in the Islands rather than merely temporary sojourners. The family of Mrs. Tom Chung, which stems from the rice-farming village of Sai Chin (Xicun) in Nam Long, offers an example.² Her maternal grandfather emigrated to California and joined many other Nam Long prospectors in their search for gold throughout the Sacramento delta during the late 1850s and early 1860s. A decade later the rest of her family also left for California. After gleaning a tiny fortune in gold dust, they used their resources to seek a more stable livelihood in Hawai'i. Enduring much hardship, her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ching Kan You, eventually settled the family on a small but secure rice plantation in Kaluanui, Oahu. The Chings tilled the soil and comfortably raised a large family in Hawai'i before retiring after the turn of the century and returning to China.

Other Nam Long settlers in Hawai'i also profited from their California Gold Rush experiences either before they

arrived in the Islands or before they permanently settled there. Tin-Yuke and Wai Jane Char (1979: 24, 104) provided several examples among the old-time Nam Long rice planters on Kauai. One was Hee Fat, who was a successful planter and among the earliest recorded Hawai'i-born Nam Long Chinese. His parents moved to Kauai from California following the gold rush, and Hee Fat was born in Anahola, Kauai, on August 23, 1858. Another Nam Long settler, Ching Duck Pui, the progenitor of the Ako descent group of Kauai, reached Hawai'i in 1846, along with Ching Alana. Both left for the California Gold Rush several years later. After a year of prospecting in Northern California, the two men returned to Hawai'i with gold nuggets and gold dust. Ching Alana settled in Honolulu, and Ching Duck Pui went on to start a rice plantation in Waimea, Kauai.

Most of the Nam Long people who left California for Hawai'i initially engaged in agricultural pursuits. They tended to congregate in settlements with kinsmen and fellow villagers who had immigrated directly from Zhongshan, usually as laborers contracted for the sugar plantations. These immigrant Nam Long farmers, in turn, were instrumental in bringing over additional villagers from their home area to help reclaim coastal swamps and valley terrain and turn such land into productive rice acreage. As experienced cultivators, they realized the potential for rice planting in Hawai'i.

Nam Long immigrants persevered in their reclamation efforts and eventually set up and operated large, profitable rice plantations in Hawai'i. Their mutual support enabled them to succeed in these ventures and to establish good-sized communities centered around their flourishing plantations. On the island of Oahu they settled along the windward coast from Kahaluu to Kahuku, opening up rice plantations and cooperatives there as early as the 1860s. James Chun (1983: 13) relates that "with few expectations the [rice] planters had come from the Nam Long area of See Dai Doo in Chungshan [Zhongshan] county. Many were actually *heong li* [*xiang li*], people from the same village. On top of that, so many of them were related to each other, either by blood or marriage."

Others also remember Nam Long rice farmers who flourished in windward Oahu. Mrs. Chun Mun Chu (1972) has related the story of her maternal uncle, L. Akuna (Lee Mou Chung), who had been a gold miner in California. By the late 1870s, Akuna had married a native Hawaiian, opened acres of rice paddies, and built his own mill at Kaalaea in the vicinity of Kahaluu. More recently, Henry C. F. Lau (1988: 94–96) has recalled a number of Nam Long rice farmers with the surnames Ching (Chen), Au (Ou), Wong (Wong or Huang), Chun (Chen), and Yim (Yan), along with some from other Zhongshan districts, who settled in Kahaluu and Waikane. Lum Pui Young (1975) has further elaborated on the Nam Long rice-farming lifestyle in Waiahole, Waikane, and Hakipuu. Similarly, Mrs. Kam Mun (1972), a ninety-three-year-old retired storekeeper living deep in the Kahana Val-

ley, has vivid recollections of the many Nam Long folk who reclaimed old taro patches for rice cultivation there well over a century ago.

James Chun (1983: 14) has written of the large number of Nam Long farmers who settled farther down Oahu's windward coast in settlements at Kaaawa, Kahana, Punaluu, Kaluanui, and Hauula. They engaged in the thriving rice industry around the turn of the century. Chun also has described the large Honolulu Chinese businesses that retained major interests in rice farming. According to Chun, "the principal firms involved in the rice plantations (not merely those in Punaluu) were Wing Sing Wo, Wing Hong Yuen, and Wing Wo Tai. Wing Hong Yuen, which was owned by Nam Long people, probably got the bulk of the Punaluu business."³

The island of Kauai was also the location of several noted Nam Long settlements. Some of these dated back to the late 1850s, when the founders transmigrated from California Gold Rush districts or else immigrated directly from their native villages. Other flourishing settlements sprang up thereafter, each with prominent, rich planters among its Nam Long inhabitants. For example, a well-known old-timer, Ching Kin Moi, arrived in 1879 and began reclaiming swampland in Hanapepe in 1881. Eventually he was able to derive a comfortable living from rice plantations he had established. Hanapepe Valley later became a popular settlement for Nam Long farmers and merchants as well as for Sam Heong (Sanxiang) immigrants, members of another Zhongshan speech group whose ancestors also emanated from Fujian. Moreover, other early Nam Long rice farmers bearing the common surnames of Ching, Wong, Lum (Lin), and Hee (Xu) sought out prime lands in the lush valleys and seaside deltas of Waimea, Hanapepe, Wailua, Kapaa, Anahola, and Hanalei.

Wong Lo Yau (Aloiau), one of the early successful Nam Long rice "kings" of Kauai, operated numerous rice plantations in Anahola and Kapaa beginning in the early 1880s. His biography, written by a great-granddaughter, Mrs. Violet L. Lai, records Aloiau's early years in China (Lai 1985: 3–4):

When school was out, Aloiau would often walk about one and one-half miles to Nam Long, the marketplace. For nine days a month, on the dates that ended in 2, 5, or 8, the market would be in full force . . . one could buy anything at Nam Long. It was not only a place for buying, selling, and haggling over goods, but also a common place for meeting friends, engaging services for letter-writing, and even matching couples for marriage.

In his teens, Aloiau spent more and more time at the Nam Long marketplace talking to the sailors and adventurers back from far-off lands, who dazzled the young man with their small pouches of gold and exaggerated stories of boundless opportunities in the Gold Mountains (California) and the Sandalwood Mountains (Hawai'i).

In 1865, Aloiau left his village in the Nam Long area for Hawai'i. He spent an interlude of about five years in Honolulu, where he worked for a kinsman at the latter's duck ponds in the Moiliili-Waikiki district and rice fields in Kapa-

hulu. When he left Oahu for Kauai around 1870, Aloiau was thoroughly familiar with the methods of rice cultivation and knowledgeable about plantation management as well (Lai 1985: 7, 10–12, 17).

Although many Nam Long settlers had left for Honolulu and elsewhere by the turn of the century, others stayed on in Kauai and became successful rice plantation owners and businessmen. A number of first- and second-generation Nam Long families were still living in the above-mentioned Kauai farming settlements around the 1920s (Lee 1988: 88–93). In the Hawaiian Islands, the largest Nam Long communities continued to exist along the northwest coast of windward Oahu and in the valley flatlands of leeward Kauai.

Through their concentrated farm communities and kinsmen dispersed in Honolulu and other locations, the early Nam Long immigrants and their descendants were able to create networks of local ties. Entrepreneurs of the second generation, intent on economic gain and social advancement, capitalized on the Nam Long trait of close mutual support basic to such relationships. They jointly invested in cooperatives, rice mills, marketing agencies, stores, restaurants, and banks in partnership with other Nam Long associates. Meanwhile, early Nam Long settlers in Hawai'i continued the practice of arranging matched marriages, as was customary in their native area of Zhongshan. It was not until the third and fourth generations, which came of age during the World War II period or thereafter, that the tenacious local bonds formed by Nam Long bloodlines disappeared in Hawai'i.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS AND MIN "ROOTS"

Who exactly were the Nam Long people, and where did they come from? Their historical origins can be traced back over two thousand years to various regions in North China. Nevertheless, Fujian scholars (Zhu 1985: 142, 149–50) have long regarded Guangzhou and Shouzhou, areas located in present-day Henan Province, as the homeland of the main bands of Han Chinese migrants who settled the Min coastal regions.

Intermittent disturbances and incursions of tribal peoples into North China led to such southward migrations, beginning in the late third and early fourth centuries. The mountainous Min region remained relatively isolated from the rest of China, however, until the seventh and eighth centuries, when many Chinese surname groups, led by aristocratic elites, entered the region (Bielenstein 1959: 108; Luo 1971: 157–69). During the turbulent tenth century an autonomous Min Kingdom prevailed under Chinese rulership (Schafer 1954: vi–xii). More aristocratic families and their retainers then settled in the region to seek refuge. The population continued to increase during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), when Fujian became an integral part of imperial China, and even more so over most of the Southern Song period (1127–1279), until the region's commercial

economy and flourishing maritime trade faltered in the thirteenth century.

Although the settlement of Fujian has been generally documented, any specific migrations of the Han Chinese to the Putian area of Fujian are difficult to trace. Evidence confirms that this midcoastal area (present-day Putian Diqu), situated to the southwest of Fuzhou (Foochow), the provincial capital, is indeed the ancestral area of the Nam Long people. Yet Nam Long genealogies, when tracing back early descent lines to North China, frequently leave gaps of ten to twenty generations during the periods of migration into Putian and give few indications as to exact periods of settlement there. These gaps occasionally are bridged by references to a few minor heroes, scholars, or figureheads who purportedly existed during some of the unrecorded generations. By and large, though, genealogical data provide little mention of Putian prior to the migrations southward into Guangdong that occurred during the thirteenth century near the end of the Southern Song.

Putian, however, remains a familiar name associated with the origins of a number of Nam Long families in Zhongshan, as attested by genealogies and local histories. For example, the *Xiangshan xian zhi xubian* (Supplement of the Xiangshan County Gazetteer) records that Lum Meng Chut (Lin Mengqui), founding ancestor of Lum Ook Bien (Linwubian) village in the Nam Long area, migrated there directly from Putian during the Lizong region (1225–1264) of the Southern Song (Li 1923: juan 3, 31a). The *Catalogue of Chinese Genealogies in Taiwan* corroborates the origins of the Lum Ook Bien village group by citing five extensive genealogies of Lum lineage branches that remained in Putian. Again, some other Nam Long descent groups bearing the surnames Lum, Chun, Wong (Huang), Situ (Xiao), and Lai (Li) clearly evidence Putian ancestral origins in their respective lineage genealogies, according to this catalogue (Chen 1987: Nos. 2,623–36).

Connections between the Nam Long people in Zhongshan and their Putian ancestral area have likewise been ascertained through the study of Chinese dialects. Nicholas C. Bodman (1981), one of the few Western linguists to have studied the Nam Long speech, has traced both the Nam Long and Loong Doo (Longdu) subdialects current in Zhongshan back to a northeastern Min speech group close to Fuzhou.⁴ Moreover, Yuen Hung Fai (Ruan Henghui), a professor of linguistics at Fudan University, claims that Putian is definitely the home area of the Nam Long speakers in Zhongshan, for their subdialect derives from the native speech that prevailed in Putian near the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty (Yuen 1983: 1). It is significant that Professor Yuen, native of the Nam Long area, traces his own lineage branch back to an ancestor who immigrated from Putian during the Southern Song. In effect, linguistic research combined with genealogical evidence confirms that Putian is the home area of the Nam

Long people, although admittedly not the sole location of all Nam Long progenitors.

Even though little is known about Chinese migration and settlement patterns in Putian, one may infer that the Nam Long ancestors stemmed from groups of aristocratic elites and their retainers who gradually congregated in coastal and river localities of that mountainous and relatively isolated area. These immigrant groups, like others that eventually reached the Min region from North China, most likely settled in Putian in greater numbers from around the eighth century. Subsequently, many Nam Long ancestors immigrated from Fujian during the late Song and early Yuan dynasties (1280–1367). Hence one may conjecture that the period in which the Nam Long's Min "roots" were formed generally lasted about five or six centuries. It was during this period of more intensive settlement and population growth that Putian speech apparently developed into a Min subdialect distinct from others spoken in the neighboring areas. Like the Min and Yue dialects in general, though, Putian speech emerged as a form of Middle Chinese that had evolved from an older North China dialect.⁵ Besides this dialectal development, the emergence of other traditions attributable to the Nam Long's Min roots may also have preceded the Putian ancestral period.

SOUTHWARD MIGRATIONS AND NAM LONG SETTLEMENTS

The southward migrations from Fujian by Nam Long forbears were also complex, but more information is available concerning the time periods and patterns involved than is the case with the earlier movements into the Putian area. Much of the southward migration occurred during the thirteenth century near the end of the Southern Song and in the early Yuan period. However, some emigrant groups headed south from Fujian about three centuries prior to the troubled time of the Mongol invasion, and this population movement continued to an extent well into the succeeding Ming period (1368–1643).

The more massive exodus from Fujian that began near the end of the Southern Song has been largely attributed to the Mongol takeover. Zhu Weigan, a modern-day historian and native of Putian, figures that Fujian lost over 50 percent of its registered households during the troubled Song-Yuan interregnum. Nevertheless, he indicates that Putian (called Xing-hua under Song and Yuan rule) suffered only about a 5.5 percent decline in household count (Zhu 1984: chart, 393–94). Thus other factors, such as setbacks in local commerce and the maritime trade, banditry, the intrusion of new "guest" groups on their treks south, and the incessant peasant disturbances that transpired in Fujian over much of the Southern Song (Zhu 1984: 344), must have had a more long-term effect in stimulating Putian emigration.

Then, too, the relatively small amount of arable land available, along with the mountainous and barren coastal terrain, undoubtedly prompted many impoverished Putian inhabitants to migrate southward in search of fertile frontier land. The author recalls that in the early 1980s some Nam Long natives of Hang Mei village still recounted traditional tales that their parents had told them about the misery in Fujian: "There the soil was so poor, mounds of sweet potatoes were frequently mixed with the little rice to stretch the staple. When famine came, the rice disappeared and the potatoes stayed; when the potatoes left, our people had to leave!"

Overland routes of migration to Guangdong and the Nam Long area can be traced by means of genealogies, local gazetteers, and a few extant maps. Some Nam Long and other Zhongshan settlers may also have come by sea. Several Western linguists, who tend to regard coastal Min speakers as a seafaring population, have depicted a seaborne settlement of Zhongshan. Soren Egerod (1956), for example, acknowledges that the manner of original settlement there may have varied, but claims that "most [Min-speaking groups] have arrived by sea. The settlers were very largely seafarers, fishermen, and traders and possibly also pirates in some cases." The sources available for this study, however, indicate that Nam Long or Zhongshan migrant groups followed overland routes from area to area, usually over long periods during their gradual movement southward. Their migration patterns were similar to those of Hakka and other Min-speaking groups that reached Guangdong in roughly the same span of time, the tenth to the fifteenth century.

Many recorded migrations from Fujian to Zhongshan followed inland routes that traversed present-day Jiangxi Province to the border area of Nanxiong (Nam Hoong) in northern Guangdong. Some Nam Long forbears settled in Nanxiong or other mountainous border areas in the region for extended periods before passing through the so-called Gate of Nam Hoong on their way south.⁶ There they followed tributaries of the North River (Beijiang) and then the course of that major waterway to where it flows into the Pearl River estuary. Next they mainly traveled along the upper shores of that estuary and settled in present-day Dongguan (Doong Goon) county southwest of Guangzhou (Canton City). Later on, crossing at the mouth of the upper Pearl River brought immigrant groups into Zhongshan.

Nam Long lineages have recorded variations of this general itinerary in respect to time or place. An account of the Hee lineage, Nam Long for over twenty-two generations, suggests that the Hee forbears departed from Fujian and arrived in Nam Long relatively late (Hee et al. 1986: 118–19). Hee aristocrats fled Honan following military invasions, and eventually some descendants reached Fujian, where they dwelt for many centuries. In the fourteenth century the Hee descent group migrated to Nanxiong, joining other Hee-surname groups that had settled there some seven hundred years previously. From Nanxiong, the Nam Long Hee

forbears followed the riverine route south of the Dongguan. Finally, around the fifteenth century an ancestor crossed over to Zhongshan and founded Poon Sa (Pansha) village in the Nam Long area.

Members of the "three-stroke" Wong (Wang) lineage, situated in the Wong Ook (Qangwu) neighborhood of the same village, claim that their ancestor also left Dongguan and settled in Poon Sa (or Pun Sha), possibly about 1468. According to the Wong genealogical record, their forbears emigrated from Fujian as well (Lai 1985: 248–49). On the other hand, Yuen Hung Fai relates that his ancestors departed from Nam Hoong after their trek from Putian and settled in a Loong Doo village of Nam Long in about 1250. Ten generations later, a descendant moved to Tso Bu Tau (Zuobutou) village in Nam Long and founded the Yuen lineage there (Chong 1985: 3).

Accounts of extensive migrations by surname groups also reveal different patterns of southward migration as well as earlier periods of entry into Zhongshan and the Nam Long area. Harold Ching and Douglas Chong have chronicled a branch of the Ching surname that forms one of the oldest and largest lineages in Nam Long. They record that around the fourth century, the Chings began to migrate southward from present-day Anhui Province. A few branches settled in Suzhou (Soochow) in Jiangsu Province and also near Fuzhou. Around 1070, during the Northern Song, a Fujian descendant was assigned to an official post in Dongguan county. From there his son, Ching Paak Hong (Cheng Beifeng), was dispatched to govern the Nam Long area, where he died in office. His four brothers remained in Nam Long and established three early villages (Ching and Chong 1987: 3).

The Supplement of the Xiangshan County Gazetteer (Li 1923: juan 3, 31a–34b) reveals more diverse patterns of immigration into Zhongshan and the Nam Long area. From this source, together with the above accounts of ancestral migrations, one can conclude that in general, first-generation village settlement in Nam Long derived from three migratory patterns. The most predominant pattern involved settlement by forbears who left northern Guangdong settlements like Nam Hoon for Dongguan and eventually Zhongshan following the Southern Song period. (The case of the Ching ancestors who came directly south from Fujian due to an official assignment and pioneered in the early settlement of Nam Long is exceptional, based on the historical records on hand.) A second pattern entailed the founding of Nam Long villages by ancestors who had settled in the Sam Yup (Sanyi) region closer to Guangzhou prior to relocating in Zhongshan during the Ming. The third led to settlement by other neighboring groups, like those from the Loong Doo district and See Yup (Siyi) counties to the west of Zhongshan, which moved into Nam Long during the Ming and early Qing (1644–1912) dynasties.

Moreover, a fourth pattern of Nam Long settlement developed when new villages were established by Nam Long lineage branches that left their original village sites due to

overpopulation and adversities stemming from lineage feuds. An example of this localized pattern occurred when a Ching lineage that had originally settled in one village branched out into three villages after four generations, then subsequently divided into seven different villages following the sixteenth generation. Similarly, after a number of generations, certain Lee (Li), Leong (Liang), and Lum lineages each split into over half a dozen villages housing separate lineage branches.

From the perspective of the Nam Long people the criteria of surname or lineage descent, along with specific village identity, have remained the key demarcations of their rural communities. According to my research and an American Consulate General report (1963), thirty-four different surnames now exist among the Nam Long population. However, nine large surname and lineage groups have long dominated the area. By far the largest surname group is the Chun aggregate, which established sixteen villages throughout the Nam Long area. Next in size are the Wongs, who settled in ten Nam Long villages. The Ching lineage, the largest group claiming common descent from a single ancestor, is spread over seven villages. Nevertheless, its lineage branches are centered around the three main ancestral villages of Hang Mei (Hengmei), Tin Bin (Tianbian), and On Dung (Anding) and the two subvillage settlements of Sai Chuen (Xicun) and Chunk Hum (Chikun). The Leong, Yuen (Ruan), Lum, Wong (Wang), Hee, and Yim groups are the other large Nam Long lineages or surname aggregates.

Of the twenty-five other surnames existing in Nam Long, a few claim to have descended from old Fujian lineages that have lost their genealogical records. Others trace their local origins to ancestors who stemmed from other Zhongshan areas or neighboring counties. Yue-speaking surname groups, like Lau (Liu), Mark (Mai), and Kan (Jian), and even a few Hakka groups such as Kam (Gan), Ho (He), and Char (Xie), adopted the Min speech and social practices traditional to the Nam Long people when they settled in their villages.

NAM LONG INSULARITY: MARRIAGE TIES AND SPEECH

Throughout this paper mention has been made of the clanish nature of Nam Long society. This characteristic has persisted over many centuries, for most Nam Long village families have lived and died within the confines of their insular area in eastern Zhongshan. The distinctive Nam Long speech has enabled these inhabitants to maintain a separate identity and to set themselves off from outsiders, even from neighboring villages bordering their enclave. Carefully arranged marriage ties have also served to perpetuate the close-knit and inbred features of Nam Long society.

Nam Long families have traditionally intermarried among their own villages and have much less often taken wives from

outside their area. While marriages within the same surname were disallowed, matched marriages with first and second cousins of the maternal branches were frequently arranged. For countless generations rotating matches with affinal lines occurred as well. This Nam Long practice was often followed when a father would take a daughter-in-law from his mother's or wife's village and likewise would marry his daughter off to a branch of his maternal relations. Existing genealogical records of the Ching, Hee, and Wong descent groups indicate such common marriage practices. For example, Ching Yook Gwong, a native of Sai Chuen, claims a family pedigree that includes twenty-odd generations of female forbears identified by the rotating Nam Long surnames of Yim, Lum, Sen (Sun), and Lee.⁷

Notable exceptions to such involuted marriage practices, as recorded in these genealogies, were cases in which wives were acquired from nearby villages: Ngai Hau (Yakou), Choy Hang (Cuiheng, the birthplace of Sun Yat-sen), and a few others. Although situated close to Poon Sa, the southernmost Nam Long settlement, both Ngai Hau and Choy Hang are definitely outside of Nam Long's communal and linguistic borders.

Only in recent times has the Nam Long area been infiltrated by numerous outsiders. Simultaneously, the boundaries of various villages have slowly been eroded through expansion and urbanization. I have observed, nevertheless, that Nam Long villages have tenaciously held onto their native tongue and customary practices. As in the old days, most outsiders who have recently moved into the Nam Long area have soon found themselves speaking the Nam Long dialect and following the traditions of this proud and insular subethnic group.

To outsiders, the most striking characteristic of the Nam Long people is their speech, a Min subdialect, which in Zhongshan constitutes a local subdialect as well. The Nam Long speakers are one of three Min speech groups located in Zhongshan. The other two, the Loong Doo and Sam Heong (Sanxing), are situated in the western and south-central parts of the county, respectively. The Loong Doo and Sam Heong people also trace their ancestry back to Fujian. In Zhongshan they too live in discrete enclaves and, as is the case in Nam Long, each of their areas has its own large marketplace and an extensive network of villages that preserve, to a degree, the traditional Min speech and social patterns.

Linguist Nicholas Bodman (1981) claims that the Nam Long speech was derived from a northeastern Min dialect spoken in the Fuzhou region. Bodman also has noted unique features of the Putian dialect that tend to make Putian a discrete speech region, one of eight such major regions in Fujian. Another linguist, Jerry Norman (1977: 326–48), who has attempted to classify the many types of Min speech existing in Fujian and elsewhere in South China, contends that the Nam Long dialect is only one of 450 forms of the Mindong or Eastern Min dialect.

Having concentrated in the Nam Long area, settlers of Putian or Eastern Min extraction perpetuated their Min ancestral speech. Yuen Hung Fai (1983) has traced the Ming subdialect, presently spoken by native Nam Long inhabitants, back to the Eastern Min dialect as it prevailed in Putian during the late Southern Song. On the other hand, the development of the Nam Long dialect was affected locally by centuries of contact with Cantonese speakers. Bodman (1981) points out that the Shekki dialect, in particular, has had a strong influence on the Nam Long syntax and lexical usages. Yuen even considers Nam Long speech to be a variant of the Shekki, a five-tone Yue subdialect that is the standard Zhongshan vernacular.⁸ However, he acknowledges that Nam Long speech has retained its old Putian roots. It is also evident that the Nam Long vernacular still has nasal and phonological features that identify it as a Min rather than a Yue dialect.⁹

In Zhongshan, Min and Yue dialectal characteristics are readily apparent in the local vernaculars. The three Min speech groups share traits that make their village subdialects mutually intelligible to some degree. Based on my fieldwork among informants in the three separate Min areas, I estimate verbal communication between a Nam Long and a Loong Doo native, each speaking his own vernacular, to be about 60 percent mutually comprehensible even if neither party has previously had much exposure to the other's dialect. However, when either a Nam Long or a Loong Doo attempts to communicate with a Sam Heong without much exposure beforehand, the comprehension rate might be only 30 to 40 percent. Besides, the speakers may suffer rather intense frustration, for the sounds and tones they both use have familiar "Fujian" qualities, yet their phonemes and syntax do not correspond in exact patterns of speech.

There are also similarities and differences between Nam Long and the standard Shekki dialect, as spoken in Zhongshan and Hawai'i. For instance, although both dialects have about the same number of tones, their tonal ranges and pitches seem to be of different scales. Shekki tones are a more even blend of Cantonese—straight and mellow—while, in contrast, the Nam Long pitch is deeper, higher, and nasal. Moreover, although both Nam Long and Shekki have a rather limited number of initial and final phonemes, these sets do not frequently correspond. Thus most "ch" initial sounds in the Shekki dialect become a "d" or "dy" sound in Nam Long, while an initial "h" sound in Shekki is pronounced "k" in Nam Long. Other striking contrasts arise from differences in vowel and tonal sounds and the use of totally different terms for the same meaning or expression.¹⁰

Zhongshan immigrants in Hawai'i, including Hakkas from that county, spoke local vernaculars representing the three major dialects of southeastern China: Min, Yue, and Hakka. Nevertheless, most seem to have been conversant, if not fluent, in the Shekki speech. Hence Shekki, or "Heungshan" (Xiangshan), became the standard Zhongshan dialect in Hawai'i as well. Since Zhongshan immigrants made up a

large proportion of the Islands' early Chinese population, the Shekki speakers regarded themselves as Punti or "natives" within the local Chinese community (Soong 1988: 41–42; Chong 1988: 17–18).

In Hawai'i, the Nam Long people enjoyed some advantages linguistically within the Punti grouping. They could, with practice, communicate intelligibly with the other Min speakers from Zhongshan, the Loong Doo and the Sam Heong. Moreover, because they had lived with easy access to Shekki City, Nam Long immigrants may have been more proficient in the standard Zhongshan dialect than some Min, Hakka, or even Yue speakers who stemmed from village enclaves more isolated from the county seat. They also stood to benefit from their status as prestigious Punti in their dealings with "outsiders" hailing from other Guangdong counties or regions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The historical background of the Nam Long people has been described mainly in respect to their migrations and eventual settlement in Zhongshan and Hawai'i. Their distant forbears emanated from North China, but only after many centuries did migrations funnel into the Putian coastal region of Fujian where their Min ancestral "roots" formed. Subsequent southward migrations, generally along more fixed routes, brought about the settlement of the Nam Long people, who developed into a close-knit, insular subgroup.

During the nineteenth century Nam Long people emigrated to the Americas and Hawai'i in search of wealth and new frontiers, as had their forbears during their southward migrations within China. In fact, Nam Long migration patterns to Hawai'i, including transmigrations from California and South America, call to mind the divergent routes that had led earlier settlers to Fujian and then Guangdong, and finally to the Nam Long area. However, their migratory routes to Hawai'i extended overseas rather than overland. Furthermore, during this later period of emigration the Nam Long people maintained a distinct subcultural identity within larger migrant groupings composed of Zhongshan and other Pearl River Delta natives, due mainly to their close-knit kinship and village ties and their Min subdialect.

Nam Long settlements in Zhongshan and Hawai'i also differed in many ways. In Zhongshan the Nam Long villages became concentrated within the borders of their enclave, while in Hawai'i major communities founded by Nam Long farmers and rice planters spread over coastal areas of two of the major islands. Moreover, like other Chinese settlers in Hawai'i, the Nam Long immigrants and their descendants were attracted to urban areas, particularly Honolulu. Therefore, their rural settlements tended to remain small or decline in population over time. In contrast, the Nam Long people have essentially remained villagers even though change and

modernization have affected their area. Today, for example, a main highway serving the eastern sector of Zhongshan county cuts directly through the Nam Long area, and the three dozen major villages are served by two centrally located marketplaces instead of only one as before.¹¹

Over time, differences in the social environment and settlement patterns in Zhongshan and Hawai'i have affected the Nam Long identity in contrasting ways. In Zhongshan, as in many other parts of Guangdong, subcultural groups have long tended to dwell in discrete communities. The Nam Long enclave is a good example. Neither modern reforms nor revolutions have been able to erase the cultural boundaries of that village area or eliminate the traditions from which the inhabitants derive their common identity. Modern education, for instance, has not led the Nam Long natives to forego their Min speech and switch totally to Cantonese or the Chinese national language (Guoyu). Neither have schooling and revolutionary policies made them forsake their traditional and ancestral background. Even the practice of matched marriages, or at least the effects of the custom, seems still to prevail and further bolster the Nam Long identity in Zhongshan.

In contrast, Nam Long immigrants and their descendants in Hawai'i have had to adjust to a developing multicultural society. In this setting they have been exposed to the forces of modernization and social change, but in a Western context and with almost continuous contact with other nationalities and ethnic groups. Under such conditions Nam Long settlers and their offspring soon began to depart from their time-honored customs. They also became more dependent on "foreign" languages, English and Hawaiian, and by the second generation were exposed to new ideas and practices through American schooling. Accommodation to Hawai'i's multicultural society then became apparent. After nearly two generations, Nam Long families in Hawai'i started to discard their traditional practice of matched marriages. By the third and fourth generations intermarriage with non-Chinese became common until, by the early 1960s, Nam Long descendants intermarried with other ethnic groups at a rate of about 50 percent, as did the Hawai'i Chinese in general (Tseng 1974: 28). In such an environment assimilation was rapid and the loss of the Nam Long speech and identity in Hawai'i almost inevitable.

NOTES

1. At present Zhongshan has a population of over a million and is listed as a municipality (*shi*) within the Foshan Municipal Administrative Division (Foshan Shi Xingshengguhua). Guangdong Sheng Diming Weiyuanhui 1987: 86.
2. The following information concerning the Ching family was gained from an interview with Mrs. Tom Chung in 1968. She left China as a child in 1880 and died in 1976 at the age of 105.
3. Ching Wah Chan (1988: 98–100), another third-generation Nam Long resident, has briefly dealt with the background of

the Punaluu Chinese. The early settlers of Punaluu came from at least ten villages in the Nam Long area in Zhongshan, he claims. Ching also lists forty-one Punaluu families bearing characteristic Nam Long surnames that populated this Nam Long settlement during the early 1900s.

4. Although both Nam Long and Loong Doo may have stemmed from a northeastern Min dialect, Soren Egerod (1979) has noted that the two subdialects "belong to different Fujian strains and have quite a different history" in respect to their subsequent development.
5. Linguistic studies have shown that present-day Min and Yue are closer in form and sound to so-called Archaic Chinese of North China than is present-day Mandarin. Bernhard Karlgren's terms "Archaic" and "Ancient Chinese" have now generally been replaced by the more conventional terms "Old Chinese" and "Middle Chinese," respectively. Norman (1988: 23).
6. Among some old Cantonese families the fact that their lineage forbears had passed through the "Gate of Nam Hoong" on their migrations southward has been a matter of great prestige. Therefore, some genealogies that trace ancestral lines to Nam Hoong may contain blatant fabrications. Some Nam Long lineage records mention Nam Hoong, but others do not. Undoubtedly, many Nam Long forbears settled in the numerous northern settlements of Guangdong around the area of Nam Hoong, such as those of the Cheong (Zhang) descent group, who are recorded to have settled in Cook Gong (Qujiang), slightly southwest of and downstream from Nam Hoong.
7. This information is to be found in the personal genealogy and family record of Ching Yook Gwong.
8. Yuen (1983: 235) maintains that the Zhongshan dialects may be divided into four main subgroups: Shekki, Siu Larm (Xiaolan), Dou Moon (Daomen), and Sui Seong (Shuishang). Although Yuen claims that Nam Long speech is closer to or a variant of the Shekki, he acknowledges that their roots are different.
9. Norman (1988: 228) states that "despite the very considerable differences found among the Min dialects themselves, this [Min] group is, next to Mandarin, the most distinctive and easily characterized group of Chinese dialects." Nasalization occurs in the Southern Min dialects as well (*ibid.*, 237) and is an attribute that tends to set off these coastal Fujian tongues from other local vernaculars.
10. For example, in the Shekki dialect one would say *faan hee* to mean "go home," while a Nam Long speaker would use an old Fujian phrase, *ko yen*.
11. A map of See Dai Doo, published by the See Dai Doo Society (1987), lists twenty-one Nam Long villages in the northern section of the district and fifteen in the southern section.

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Merchant Prince

Chun Afong in Hawai'i, 1849–90

Robert Paul Dye

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In 1849 Chun Kwok Fun left his Zhongshan village for Honolulu to get rich. In 1890, widely known as Chun Afong, the Merchant Prince of Honolulu, he returned to China to get richer. His first fortune, made in Hawai'i as a planter and merchant, fueled his Pearl River Delta enterprises and funded his philanthropic works. For his philanthropy he was granted official rank by the Qing government, and to honor him memorials were erected in his home village of Meixi, located about nine miles north of Macau. The memorials still stand on the entrance road to the small agricultural village, but the villagers who bicycle past them today have no knowledge of the man who, a century before, commanded a business empire that stretched from the Pearl River Delta across the Pacific to San Francisco.

Chun Afong's personal wealth was believed to be enormous and was used by him to elect Kalakaua to the Hawaiian throne and by his eldest sons to help topple the Manchus from the throne of China. His own political career in Hawai'i was cut short when it was feared he would use his financial power to move Hawai'i out of the American sphere and into the Chinese. He lived in the grand style—a mansion on the Praia Grande in Macau and another on Nuuanu Avenue in Honolulu; a villa on Waikiki Beach; and his estate at Meixi, which included six stone mansions protected by a high wall anchored by small forts at each end.¹ It was there that Hubert Vos, the portraitist of the rich and famous, painted him as the wealthy mandarin he had become.²

Chun Afong was born in 1825. His father, Chun Cheong, a farmer, died when Afong was fourteen. He had two older brothers and four sisters. When he sailed for Hawai'i, he left his wife, Lee Hong, to live with his mother, Tsum Yun.³ Afong's family life was fictionalized in a famous short story, “Chun Ah Chun,” by Jack London⁴ and in a Broadway musical comedy, *Thirteen Daughters*, by Eaton Magoon Jr., a great-grandson of Afong.⁵

Afong's three decades in Hawai'i as an eminent Chinese entrepreneur and as China's first official representative to the Hawaiian Kingdom are the subject of this paper.

BACKGROUND

When news of the California gold discovery reached Honolulu in June 1848, almost every merchant and mechanic in Hawai'i began packing tools, goods, and food for the trip to Eldorado. “Everybody is on the go—goods are ‘going’—and money is ‘gone,’” noted an editor.⁶ A missionary wife lamented, “Our market is likely to be stripped of eatables, and we may be reduced to fish and poi.”⁷ Honolulu's economy was in the doldrums and hundreds of men—Hawaiian, haole, and a few Chinese—looking to change their luck were off to California. In October 1848, the king's yacht *Kamehameha III* carried not only fortune hunters but fortune—\$50,000 cash from Hawai'i merchants for investment in gold dust. With money gone, merchants could not replace the goods shipped to California, and with farmers gone, the crops went unharvested.⁸ Aggravating the local shortages, hundreds of California miners with gold in their pockets and a chill in their bones headed to Honolulu for recreation and replenishment until the miserable weather moved off the Sierra slopes. Prices soared and “California Gold was strewn about with reckless hands, but no alchemist's skill could change it into bread.”⁹ In effect, a new market for consumer goods and services was created.

With so many people coming and going, it was noticed when anyone took up permanent residence in Honolulu, especially when the newcomer wore a queue and dressed in the elegant style of a wealthy Chinese merchant. There were only about a hundred Chinese in the entire kingdom when Afong arrived. He was in his midtwenties, of average height (about five and a half feet) and sparingly built; it was his piercing black eyes that people remembered.¹⁰ His arrival (the date is not recorded) must have caused a stir because he brought goods to a market stripped of everything merchants could lay hands on, including their own worn clothes.

Afong made a visit home late in 1850 on the American bark *Sea Breeze*. He travelled with four other Chinese merchants, and between them they carried back five strongboxes said to contain \$9,400.¹¹ All four of the men were associated with Hungtai & Co. and were in one way or another related to the firm's founders, Chun Hung and Atai. Hungtai & Co. was a successful mercantile, real estate, and agricultural firm and operated one of three Chinese-owned stores in Honolulu.¹² It was located close by the site of an early Chinese enterprise—a public kitchen patronized by sandalwood traders at Honolulu Harbor in 1810.¹³ Just when Afong returned to Honolulu is unknown, but in June 1854 he and a partner, Tong Chun, leased a store on the northeast corner of King and Maunakea streets from a Chinese merchant named Aiona for \$1,600.¹⁴

On the evening of July 7, 1855, flames from the torching of cloth sets and paint stored at the back of the Varieties Theatre, fanned by trade winds, spread to Afong and Tong Chun's store. The alarm was sounded and the first people to respond kicked in the doors and made off with all the goods they could carry.¹⁵ Afong's store was a total loss and his creditors offered to take whatever assets he had, cancel the remaining debt, and extend him new credit. Although his loss was great, Afong refused their offer. He made a quick trip to China for more capital and goods, and while he was there fathered a son named Lan, born to Lee Hong the following year. He was back in business within a few months in what had been a saloon.¹⁶ The following year, when Stephen Reynolds's old store by the waterfront was put up for auction, Afong bought it for \$1,368.75 and moved his business there.¹⁷ About the same time he bought a house and lot in a rich Caucasian neighborhood behind the main center of town in the Nuuanu Valley.¹⁸

The Chinese population of Hawai'i changed markedly with the introduction of contract laborers from Amoy in 1852.¹⁹ Unlike their entrepreneurial predecessors, the men from Amoy had little in common with members of Honolulu's predominantly Zhongshan community, who spoke a different dialect. But more than language barriers were to separate Hawai'i's Chinese. In Kwangtung there had historically been hostility between the original Cantonese settlers, who alluded to themselves as *bendi* (Punti, or natives), and *Kejia* (Hakkas or "guests"), who were the last to arrive. Daily hostility between the groups resulted from the contemptuous way the *Punti* treated the Hakkas, whom they did not consider to be Han Chinese. In turn, the Hakkas were aloof and proudly clung to their own customs and dialect. More annoying, they were aggressive competitors for land and jobs. Contention finally erupted in communal warfare that took thousands of lives. For thirteen years (1854–67) fighting raged over the southwestern corner of the Pearl River Delta.²⁰ To escape the conflict many Hakkas shipped to Hawai'i, only to find themselves again settled among *Punti* types. History, it seemed, was about to repeat itself.

Other problems surfaced among the newcomers, some personal. During the first year three men committed suicide by slashing their throats. A Koloa plantation laborer stove in the head of a haole sugar boiler and one at Lihue burned down a coolie house. In 1853 a White rancher beat a coolie to death and was acquitted by a jury of his peers—all White males. When in 1856 a Chinese named Ayou murdered a native Hawaiian, he was publicly hanged. No Chinese attended Ayou at his execution, and last words for him were said by the White marshal.²¹ As yet, Hawai'i's Chinese had formed no organizations and, unlike most other foreign groups, had no national consul to represent them.

Hawaiians and Caucasians drew a distinction between resident Chinese merchants and the imported field laborers. "It is to be regretted that the Chinese coolie emigrants . . . have not realized the hopes of those who incurred the expense of their introduction," said King Kamehameha IV in a major address on immigration. "They are not so kind and tractable as it was anticipated they would be; and they seem to have no affinities, attractions or tendencies to blend with this, or any other race."²² The king failed to designate an official to see that the rights of the new laborers were respected.

The marriage of Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho, to Emma Rooke on June 19, 1856, set off a round of social events in the foreign community. The Chinese merchants' turn to honor their majesties came on November 13. Invitations were shamelessly sought after and the sponsors decided to accommodate all those who wanted to attend. Afong and other leading merchants raised \$3,700 from Chinese businessmen at Lahaina and Honolulu to ensure the event's success. The haole chef at the Chinese-owned Canton Hotel roasted six sheep and 150 chickens and prepared most of the other dishes, but the Chinese merchants themselves prepared the pastries and sweetmeats. When the guests (perhaps a thousand people over the evening) arrived, they were greeted by hosts dressed in formal Chinese gowns. The opening dance was a polonaise. Leading the dancers to the floor was lovely Queen Emma, escorted by the handsome and urbane Yung Sheong, who spoke excellent English. Afong partnered the marshal's wife. The *Advertiser* editor grumbled that the crowd was "excessive" and the invitees an "indiscriminate assemblage of all Honolulu" but added, "If their efforts are an indication of their hearts, they as yet stand far above us outside barbarians in our efforts to 'honor the king.'"²³

The two events, Ayou's hanging and the Chinese Ball, symbolized the social, political, and economic condition of the two Chinese populations in Hawai'i: the new group in bondage and alienated, and the old group free traders and established. In Honolulu, no organization united the Chinese community. In San Francisco, by contrast, within a year after the news of the gold find had reached Hong Kong, community associations were maintaining internal order and acting as a liaison with the larger community. Moreover, in 1851, two *huiguan* were organized there to provide services

to newly arrived countrymen.²⁴ However, not until 1854 did Honolulu's Chinese merchants form any organization at all, and that a cemetery association, the Manoa Lin Yee Wui. Hawai'i's first Chinese fraternal association was not established until fifteen years later.²⁵

Before the first five-year coolie contracts expired, the sugar market softened and some plantations released their Chinese workers to cut costs. These men drifted to Honolulu where alarmed White residents demanded their arrest as vagrants.²⁶ Nevertheless, not all suggestions on how to deal with the idled men were punitive. One idea was to loan unemployed Chinese empty taro land and give them rice seed to plant so as to turn them into a "new source of wealth."²⁷ Whites were also concerned when indigent Chinese stole medicinal opium. One night thieves got forty pounds from Dr. McKibbin's pharmacy.²⁸ A law had been passed in 1856 to prohibit opium sales to Chinese laborers, mainly to protect their owners' investment. "The use of the drug not only renders the coolie worthless as a servant but works the certain destruction of his life and health," claimed Chief Justice William Lee.²⁹ The law gave a monopoly to licensed physicians to prevent the exploitation of Chinese opium addicts and to allow Caucasians continued access to opiates—morphine, laudanum, paregoric.³⁰

AFONG FOUNDS A HAWAI'I FAMILY

A curious legal notice signed by Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, the former missionary doctor, appeared in March 1857. Titled "Julia Fayerweather," it read: "Having eloped or been enticed away from my guardianship, I forbid all persons harboring or trusting her, under penalty of the law."³¹ A pretty girl, Julia had been orphaned in 1850.³² When her first guardian was ruled insane, she was placed under the legal care of Dr. Judd.³³ The reason Judd placed the notice was soon clear. In late May Chun Afong became a naturalized Hawaiian citizen, a requirement for foreigners who wished to wed native Hawaiian women, and a few days later married sixteen-year-old Julia. The ceremony took place at Afong's Nuuanu home and was performed by the Reverend Lowell Smith of Kaumakapili Church.³⁴ The Reverend Smith, who had also married Julia's parents, had studied sacred theology at Auburn Seminary under Julia's great-uncle, the Reverend Dr. James Richards.³⁵ That he had now married his theological mentor's niece to a man who was already married and the father of a son in China seemed to cause the minister no ecclesiastical problems. Nor did the situation cause the government that issued the license any legal problems. If they could afford it, Chinese were expected to have wives at home and wives where they sojournd.³⁶

The Reverend Smith also married Afong's future business partner, Achuck, to a native Hawaiian. The marriage took place shortly after Achuck arrived from Zhongshan in 1849.

The bride, Kamana, had been Smith's student at Kaumakapili Church School and the ceremony was conducted in Hawaiian, which the groom did not speak. Kamana was twelve years old. There is no evidence that the Reverend Smith searched his conscience as to the consequences of joining a twelve-year-old child to a mature man with whom she could communicate only in pidgin.³⁷ But the Reverend Smith was a practical man who lived in the here and now. "As for metaphysical discussions on the subject of religion," he wrote, "I think them unprofitable and worse than vain."³⁸ A few years later Achuck charged Kamana with adultery, divorced her, and sued her seducer, a fellow Chinese merchant. An all-White jury awarded Achuck \$650 in damages.³⁹

Afong's marriage to Julia was a good match. Julia was no less convinced of the superiority of her Hawaiian culture than her husband was of his Chinese culture. Although she was three-quarters English and American, she strongly identified with her Hawaiian family. While her husband traced his ancestry back thirteen generations, she traced hers back twice as far—and to a Hawaiian king.⁴⁰ As a baby she shared an *uma uma* (wet nurse) with Kalakaua, the future monarch, and the two children were reared as brother and sister. She seemed easily to accept her husband's Chinese marriage. Polygamy among ali'i (Hawaiian royalty) and concubinage among wealthy Chinese were rooted in tradition and considered preferable to the informal arrangements sought by early China traders. Until missionaries arrived in the 1820s there were no resident clergymen to perform Christian marriages. Julia's grandmother, the chiefess Ahia, married Captain George Beckley, one of "Kamehameha's haoles" and the first commander of the Fort of Honolulu, in a traditional Hawaiian ceremony.⁴¹ The couple were devoted; Ahia sailed with her husband on many of his voyages and was thought to be the first ali'i wahine to visit Canton.⁴²

As for Afong's China son, it was agreed that Julia would raise him and allow his mother to raise their first-born son in China. The result was that each boy learned about another culture and its languages and customs so as to be prepared for major roles in his father's international business ventures. Again, the idea was easy for Julia to accept. Hanai, the Hawaiian system of raising another's child, had been practiced by her family, as it had in most ali'i families. Her sister Mary Jane was raised by the high chiefess Kamakahonu and her mother Keopuolani, the "sacred queen" of Kamehameha the Great.⁴³

Julia brought little money to her marriage, but she did bring access to family land and strong ties to the reigning Kamehamehas and, of course, to Kalakaua. Her father, an American, had been a respected businessman, associated with the firm that came to be known as C. Brewer, and was a pioneer sugar planter. He had been master of the Masonic lodge, an officer of the Oahu Charity School, and a founder of the Sandwich Island Institute, an "association of gentlemen" that established Honolulu's first lending library and public museum and published a quarterly journal.⁴⁴

Afong probably met Julia at dancing school when he and other Chinese merchants were learning quadrilles for the Chinese Ball. But Western dancing and English speaking, both of which he learned for business reasons, were his only concessions to Western tradition. He dressed and ate in the high style of a wealthy Chinese. Gossips said the cook at the Afong home had two menus for each meal—Cantonese for him and Hawaiian for her.⁴⁵ Fortunately for a man of his culinary tastes, many of the ingredients for Cantonese cooking—green beans, sprouts, lettuce, watercress, chili peppers—would grow in Hawai‘i, as did pineapples, guavas, and papayas. Afong introduced to Hawai‘i the “apple banana” and some other plants from his home village.⁴⁶ Other Chinese did the same until it was possible, with Hawaiian pork, fowl, and fish, to prepare a splendid Cantonese dinner. But the rice had to be imported in those early years.

Afong and Julia’s first child, Emmeline Agatha Marie Kailimoku, was born on May 13, 1858. According to family tradition, perhaps apocryphal, Afong showed little interest in the baby because it was a girl, so Julia took the baby to her old nurse, Keaka, now a retainer at Princess Ruth’s house, to be raised. When Dr. Judd called at Julia’s to see the child and learned it was being raised Hawaiian style, he marched to Princess Ruth’s and ordered Keaka to return the child to Julia. Not wanting to disobey Judd or Julia, Keaka solved her dilemma by packing up her family belongings and with her husband and the baby moving into Afong’s house. Soon Afong was calling the baby his “thousand pieces of gold.”⁴⁷

A year later Julia presented Afong with a Hawaiian son and named him Antone Keawemauhili. When Toney was three, it was time for each Afong son to begin learning his other culture. In June 1862 Afong took Toney to China and brought Lan back to Hawai‘i.⁴⁸ In 1869 Afong’s mother was dying of old age and Lan accompanied his father back to China to be with her until her death.⁴⁹ Then both boys returned to Hawai‘i and were enrolled in private schools. Later Lan, or Alung as he was now called, attended Punahou, and Toney entered Iolani.⁵⁰ They were then prepared for college at Hartford (Ct.) High School and entered Yale and Harvard, respectively.⁵¹ While at Yale, Alung’s guardian was Yung Wing (Rong Hong), then codirector of the Chinese Educational Mission and later China’s associate minister to Washington.⁵²

In late 1865, Afong and Achuck decided to merge their Honolulu stores and to open one at Hilo. On the first day of the new year the firm of Afong and Achuck was formed by oral agreement. The new firm’s land was assessed a year later at \$1,900 and its personal property at \$28,300.⁵³ Prior to the merger Achuck had been associated with Chung Hoon in labor recruiting, and at the time of the merger he was embroiled in a dispute with Hawaiian immigration authorities over payment of fees. However, the problem was resolved and Achuck was absolved of any wrongdoing.⁵⁴ On July 1, 1873, after seven years of successful operations, Afong and Achuck formally incorporated their business for three years,

after which they agreed to end their partnership. Assets of the corporation were treated as capital stock of \$100,000 equally owned.

In 1873 Afong spent some time in China with his China wife and fathered another son, Chun Su. His Hawai‘i enterprises continued to prosper and when Kaupakuea, one of the sugar plantations he was leasing, became available for purchase in October 1874, he bought it for \$66,000.⁵⁵ Within a week of that purchase he began to acquire property on Waikiki Beach for a weekend villa. Social subscription concerts were then in vogue and Chun and Julia, like other prominent couples, took their turn at hosting concerts at their Nuuanu home.

OPIUM

Afong’s business was headquartered in Hawai‘i, but with his two brothers, he also had stores in San Francisco and Hong Kong. Moreover, he reportedly had interests in mercantile businesses in Canton, Macau, and Shanghai, and agricultural lands in Zhongshan.⁵⁶ However, the business Afong would be remembered for was opium. Opium had been used medicinally and recreationally in Hawai‘i for many years. By 1860 it was apparent to most people that the law giving physicians control of the drug was not working as intended, so it was changed to allow unrestricted sale of opium only to Chinese. To protect Caucasian opium users a loophole in the new law allowed physicians to continue to import and dispense the drug for medicinal purposes. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted that if the new law was intended to restrict the sale of opium to Chinese, “it fails.”⁵⁷

The government, always in need of revenue, hoped to profit from a bidding battle between Chinese merchants eager to have an opium license, but when auction day arrived there was only one bid and that for \$2,002—just two dollars over the upset price. The Chinese merchants had met prior to the auction and decided among themselves which one of them was to have a monopoly. They chose Hanyip, a respected “China physician” who had twice applied for a license under the old law and been refused, primarily because of opposition from Dr. McKibbin, who did a lively business in the drug. So when the chance came, Chinese merchants saw to it that Hanyip got what Dr. McKibbin had kept from him. The next two-year licenses went to Chun Faa, then to Achu, and then to Chung Hoon.⁵⁸

In 1868 the old practice of passing the opium license from one Chinese firm to another broke down and there was competitive bidding between Chung Hoon & Co., which had held the license for three years, and Afong and Achuck. Chung Hoon won the bidding but did not have enough cash in hand to cover his bid, so the license went to the second-highest bidders, Afong and Achuck. At the next three auctions, Afong and Achuck were high bidders. Then Loo

Ngawk and Wong Chun, a Hakka association (*hui*), doubled previous bids and held the license for two years. In 1874 Afong and Achuck regained the license only to see the legislature that year prohibit the sale of opium, except for medicinal purposes.⁵⁹

AFONG ENTERS POLITICS

King Lunalilo died on the evening of February 3, 1874. The following day Kalakaua announced his candidacy for king and was opposed a day later by Queen Emma, who disliked him intensely. Emma had support from British interests, but Americans did not like either candidate because of what they believed to be their anti-American attitudes.⁶⁰ Chun Afong and his wife's brother-in-law Benoni Davison, married to Julia's younger sister Mary Jane, financially supported Kalakaua "in a quiet way."⁶¹ Kalakaua won the legislative election, thirty-nine votes to six, but his supporters lost the fight after the vote was announced. Queen Emma's supporters stormed the courthouse, trashed the place, and beat up Kalakaua's supporters. One man, thrown out of a second-floor window, died. A leader of the riot was Afong's wife's other brother-in-law, Kamukanu Bell, widower of Julia's youngest sister, Hannah. When police, reinforced by American and British sailors, began to arrest rioters, Bell fled to Queen Emma's house. Marshal Parke was on his heels, but when the officer arrived, he found only women gathered at the house, one so exhausted from the excitement that she was asleep on the couch. The marshal apologized for disturbing the distraught ladies and excused himself. When the door shut the sleeping lady jumped off the *pune'e*, pulled off *holoku* and bonnet, and revealed "herself" to be Bell. Later Bell was convinced to give himself up, and Afong and Davison put their new political clout to work to arrange his release.⁶²

Afong's ties to Kalakaua were further strengthened when Julia's aunt, Marie Beckley, was named a lady-in-waiting to Queen Kapiolani. Achuck, newly married to Elizabeth Sumner Chapman, a cousin of Julia's, also had access to the ruling ali'i.⁶³

The greatest problem facing the new king was a declining Hawaiian population, which posed a grave danger to agriculture and national independence. Kalakaua, in his address at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on April 30, 1874, stated his "greatest solicitude is to increase my people" and called for "a liberal appropriation" to assist immigration of free labor. The legislature appropriated \$50,000, to the chagrin of some Hawaiians who objected to immigration in general and Chinese immigration in particular. In December the government contracted with Afong and Achuck and Chulan & Co. to bring in one hundred Chinese each. Achuck immediately sailed for Hong Kong to recruit laborers, but he failed to meet the quota and the firm had to refund \$2,000. Its competitor Chulan, however, fulfilled

its contract and on May 27, 1875, the boat *Krik* arrived with the 114 Chinese laborers it had recruited. During the following year, the government signed additional contracts with Hawai'i firms, including Afong and Achuck, for one thousand four hundred more Chinese. Most of the immigrants came from China, but some recruiting was done in San Francisco and Portland.⁶⁴

Achuck, who had been in poor health, never returned to Hawai'i. He died at Nam Long on April 20, 1877. At the close of June, Afong published a notice stating that although the partnership had been dissolved by Achuck's death, he would carry on the business "under the same name and style of Afong and Achuck." In September two other plantations Afong had leased since 1870—Makahalanaloa and Pepeekeo—were placed for sale and Afong bought them at auction for \$11,000.⁶⁵ He now owned 9,100 acres on the Hamakua Coast of the Big Island and rented another 300 acres of pasture at Kulimano. He ordered a new schooner, the *Haleakala*, to be built at San Francisco and in the spring added almost two acres of a lovely coconut grove to his residential Waikiki property. In 1878 he headed a drive to raise funds for victims of the famine then sweeping across northern China.

Chun Afong stepped out from behind the political scenes to accept appointments in 1879, first as a privy counsellor to Kalakaua⁶⁶ and then as Chinese commercial agent.⁶⁷ After sending its first minister abroad in 1876, China established consulates in cities where there was a significant Chinese presence, first in Singapore, then in Yokohama, and shortly thereafter in San Francisco on November 8, 1878.

In 1879 Chinese merchants in Hawai'i, under Afong's leadership, petitioned Chen Lanbin, China's minister to Washington, to send a consul to Hawai'i, offering to pay all expenses of the office. Citing Hawai'i's strategic location on the Pacific sea route to the Americas and its capacity to accommodate tens of thousands of Chinese emigrants seeking to flee from prejudice or poverty in the United States, Cuba, and Peru, Chen recommended approval. But he pointed out that since China and Hawai'i had no treaty it would not be proper to send a consul and suggested that a commercial agent (*shangdong*) be appointed instead. He recommended that Afong, who had the title of an expectant subprefect, be appointed to the post for one year. Afong was to report through the San Francisco consulate and was instructed that in emergencies he was to take no action without Chen's approval. An attaché to the San Francisco consulate was dispatched to assist Afong in establishing the new office. It was noted that this official also held the title of an assistant secretary of the Board of War.⁶⁸

Chung Lung, who, following graduation from Yale, was attached to the Chinese embassy, notified the Hawaiian minister at Washington, Elisha Allen, of his father's appointment on August 13, 1879. Allen wrote, "I was happy to hear of this appointment, as Mr. Chen Fong is a man of character, and I

think must have a good influence with his countrymen."⁶⁹ But the Hawaiian government said Afong's commission was informally drafted and delayed recognizing him until mid-February 1880.⁷⁰ This was just the first of the problems Afong was to have with Hawai'i's pro-Western foreign office.

It was not until March 11, 1880, that the Chinese imperial flag finally flew in front of Afong's Nuuanu house. Two bands, the Royal Hawaiian and a Chinese group with gongs and tom-toms, played, not in unison, but at once, as the Chinese colors were drawn into place. The American minister wrote that "the whole Chinese population seemed to do whatever lay in their power to express gratification."⁷¹ Nevertheless, within a month placards opposing Afong as commercial agent went up in Chinatown. The appointment of Punti was not popular among Hakka merchants who believed Afong would promote only Punti interests.⁷² They specifically complained that, because of Afong, Hakkas had no say in the appointment of Board of Immigration "shipping masters" and that no Hakkas held posts in the "Guest Merchants' association" (Hak Seong Wui Goon).⁷³ Even when Afong agreed to the appointment of a Hakka shipping master, their opposition to him continued.

Following his appointment as commercial agent, Afong set to work to negotiate regulations to ensure that Chinese be treated with dignity as citizens of most favored nations—to enter and leave Hawai'i without restriction, to buy land and property, to testify before the Hawaiian government, to pursue all legal occupations, to enroll their children in public schools, and to enter into all labor contacts voluntarily. He also defined a role for himself, as the Chinese representative, in the governance of Chinese in Hawai'i.⁷⁴ The Hawai'i foreign office found the regulations unacceptable, especially the representative's jurisdiction over Chinese.⁷⁵ Afong's attempt to formalize treatment of Chinese at Hawai'i was similar to attempts made at Hong Kong by the Tung Wah Hospital board and at San Francisco by the Six Companies.⁷⁶

THE COOLIE TRADE

Chen directed Afong to investigate if any Chinese were being sold as coolies in Hawai'i.⁷⁷ In January 1878 Hong Kong Governor John Pope Hennessy had shut down Chinese emigration to Hawai'i, and in Canton officials charged three members of Chulan & Co., Afong's competitor, with trafficking in coolies. Two of the men were arrested. The Canton and Hong Kong governments had acted upon a complaint from Honolulu sent to the board of the Tung Wah Hospital.⁷⁸ The Tung Wah Hospital had been organized eight years earlier and its board of rich Chinese merchants quickly became "a group of Hong Kong notables," or, as the *Daily Press* characterized them, "busy mischief mongers."⁷⁹ Under Hennessy's administration, the Tung Wah Hospital board was regarded as the de facto government of the crown colony's Chinese

community. "They decide every question that affects the natives," claimed the editor.⁸⁰

The incident set off a flurry of diplomatic activity to secure the release of the jailed men and to lift the ban on emigration. However, a Hong Kong government investigation found the allegations to be accurate and Hennessy stood firm. In February 1878 he told the board of Tung Wah: "It is not many weeks since you drew the attention of the government to that which undoubtedly was a grave abuse . . . the practice to issue tickets to Chinese emigrants in this Colony for a certain sum of money; the tickets purported that the sum was paid in full, whereas, as you pointed out, in reality but a very small sum was paid, and the emigrant was expected to bind himself for so long a period as two years, to work off his passage, in the sugar plantations of the Sandwich Islands."⁸¹

By June, emigration from Canton and Hong Kong slowed to a trickle when only those laborers who paid for passage with their own funds were allowed to depart. This, commented the *Hong Kong Daily Press*, rendered coolie emigration "impracticable," since few Chinese laborers had eighty dollars. The newspaper, which supported emigration, warned that "when the contracts of those who have emigrated shall have expired, the production of sugar will be seriously diminished; indeed it would appear that planters already are turning their attention to coffee and other articles which can be produced with less labor than sugar."⁸² For Hennessy to shut off emigration took courage. Not only was mother England's sugar supply threatened, but neighbor China's major population escape valve was closed.

The emigration furor reached new heights when a letter purportedly written by commercial agent Chun Afong appeared in a Hong Kong Chinese-language newspaper on July 18, 1881. Afong's letter claimed that some Chinese emigrants to Hawai'i had been coerced into signing labor contracts.⁸³ The Hawaiian government issued denials and its acting consul at Hong Kong, F. Bulkeley Johnson, detailed on August 30 for the Hong Kong Legislative Council the advantages of "this great traffic upon our prosperity." Passage money was "so important a portion of the vessel's earnings that cargo can be carried by emigrant ship on very cheap terms, and in consequence a business in merchandise springs up which would not otherwise be possible," he explained. However, his main point was that the coolie trade was vital to the Hong Kong government's opium business: "I may remind the Council of the revenue derived from the Opium Farm, amounting I believe to about \$200,000 annually. The main portion of the trade on which this revenue is raised is carried on with Australia and California, and if emigration to these countries were to cease the trade would cease also. . . . I do not hesitate to say that for the local government to interfere vexatiously with that emigration would be to adopt a policy little short of administrative nihilism."⁸⁴

Johnson's speech had little impact. The *Hong Kong Telegraph* asked: "Can anyone doubt that the action taken by HE

the Governor in stopping the emigration to the Hawaiian Islands was absolutely called for? Even Mr. Bulkeley Johnson admits that it is the duty of the Hawaiian Government to dispose of the allegations . . . and it is generally known that the laws of this Colony had been recklessly set at naught.” On the other hand, the *London and China Express* disagreed: “The sweeping condemnation of the Sandwich Islands as a field for coolies ought not to be based on such assertions as those of Chun Kwok Fan.”⁸⁵

Afong would neither confirm nor deny he wrote the letter, but in Washington Chun Lung denied his father was the author, and Chen Lanbin was of the opinion that Afong’s enemies authored the communication.⁸⁶ The copy circulated by the Hawai’i foreign office did not sound like Afong had written it. However, it had been translated from Chinese into German and then into English, and may have suffered at the hand of each translator:

The shipping head men Le Look (L. Ahlo), Chong Monting (C. Monting) and Chang Yeong Sow (L. Aseu) frightened the men and forced them to make their contracts. Meanwhile as these men were making their statements to me, the head men who brought these men here and the shipping heads (agents) and the helpers of making contacts all these amounting to several tens were making loud noises & disorders concerning me to miss hearing of their talk. Moreover, the heads of laborers were using their abusive language & manners by saying that they had not heard as yet a Chinese Consulate being established in the Island, but merely a Commercial Agent, if a commercial Agent, he cannot interfere in our labor concerns, etc. When I come to think of these fellows who benefiting themselves for such wrongful gain and they therefore used these unsound words it makes no comfortable rest to me in the night and no enjoyment of using my meals since I undertook this case; and when I did hear the reproachful language from these uncontrollable people my heart ached like dagger piercing into me.”

The letter brought a response in flawless English from thirty-three Chinese merchants in Hawai’i who praised the Hawaiian government’s treatment of Chinese. Their letter claimed that the above letter had been written by “designing persons” who had put “the said Charterers, Consignees and Agents into personal danger,” and asked the Hawai’i government “to correct the evil impressions.”⁸⁷ In late August Loo Ngawk of Sing Chong & Co., accompanied by J. C. Pfluger, Hawai’i’s consul general at Bremen, went to Washington to explain “the real facts” about treatment of Chinese in Hawai’i.⁸⁸

Afong had tendered his resignation when his year as commercial agent ended, but Chen Lanbin refused it and recommended Afong be promoted because he had made no mistakes.⁸⁹ The reappointment was made on March 17, 1881, but the Hawaiian government, using one pretext after another, refused to issue an exequatur.⁹⁰ It is clear that as China’s representative to Hawai’i, Afong was viewed suspiciously not only by Hakka Chinese but by some Americans as well. General J. M. Comly, the U.S. minister to Hawai’i, articulated the Americans’ overall fear when he warned that

the Hawaiian Islands “in the hands of a small rabble of shiftless Kanakas [Hawaiians] would afford homes and subsistence for more than a million Chinamen.”⁹¹ It was not total paranoia. Kalakaua’s dream of a Polynesian confederacy, his desire for an Asiatic alliance, and the political loyalty he enjoyed from the rapidly growing Chinese population all threatened American dominance in Hawaiian affairs. Since Afong enjoyed a close relationship with Kalakaua and exercised economic power as a recruiter and employer of large numbers of Chinese, he fit easily into conspiracy theories and could have been the central character in Yellow Peril stories and novels which were then popular reading in America, just as he later was in Sunday supplement newspaper articles.⁹²

STRATEGIC HAWAI’I

Although there is no evidence that Afong played a role in any conspiracy to deliver Hawai’i to China, he became a political casualty in the crusade due to the efforts of U.S. annexationists and navy strategic planners who aimed to make Hawai’i the property of the United States. For a steam navy, strategically located coaling stations were of primary importance and made control of Hawai’i vital to any navy wishing to attack or defend the American Pacific Coast. The U.S. Navy, depleted by the Civil War and denied modernization by a tightfisted and war-weary Congress, had just one first-rate ship, and it lacked modern high-powered cannon. The United States had a “hopeless, broken-down, tattered, forlorn apology of a navy,” stated a British military journal that concluded it might not be able to stand up against the Chinese navy, which was then being strengthened by the addition of German- and English-built cruisers and battleships.⁹³ Until 1880, the Chinese navy was composed of small defensive-type ships, but now China had a blue-water offensive capability.

The United States made a few military responses. It had annexed Midway Island (1,200 miles west of Honolulu) in 1867, and now naval strategists conspired to link it with coaling stations on other Pacific islands, including some, like the Samoas, where Kalakaua had hoped to plant the banner of his Pacific Confederacy. A top naval officer, Commander Robert W. Shufeldt, was sent to Beijing to report on Chinese military and naval forces.⁹⁴ One regrettable outcome of American fears was refusal to allow students from the Chinese Educational Mission to attend Annapolis and West Point. Conservative Chinese enemies of the mission used the ban as partial proof of its failure and ultimately it was ordered closed.⁹⁵

U.S. Secretary of State James C. Blaine told the British minister at Washington that further Chinese immigration from Hong Kong to Hawai’i was “objectionable.” By 1878 Hawai’i’s Chinese population had topped six thousand, and it would triple in the next six years.⁹⁶ More alarming to Whites was that almost all of Hawai’i’s Chinese were men of military age, unlike their own population, which was more naturally

distributed by age and sex. At the ballot box or on the battlefield, the Chinese had the numbers to defeat Whites.

The British minister wrote his government that his impression was that the United States “contemplates taking some early measures for securing to itself the entire control of the islands.”⁹⁷ He was right. Blaine told Comly that Hawai‘i could not be allowed to become allied with Asian nations or be included in their sphere, but must be moved “toward assimilation and identification with the American system, to which they belong by the operation of natural laws, and must belong by the operation of political necessity.”⁹⁸ In turn Blaine’s top advisors on Hawaiian and Chinese affairs, Comly and Shufeldt, told him that they believed there was a conspiracy between Kalakaua and the Chinese to make Hawai‘i a colony of China.⁹⁹

American anxiety increased in January 1881, when Kalakaua announced he would make a world tour. President James A. Garfield wrote to a prospective American minister to Hawai‘i that the king “has started on a voyage around the world, and it is feared he is contemplating either the sale of the islands or some commercial treaty with European powers which would embarrass the United States. We shall probably soon have more delicate and important diplomatic work than at any previous time in our history.”¹⁰⁰ A month later the *New York Times* in an editorial critical of Kalakaua stated: “If annexation ever arrives, it must take the islands to the United States.”¹⁰¹

To begin his tour Kalakaua sailed to California, where he was feted by Chinese merchants and hailed as the “Colossus of the Pacific.” From there he went to Japan, where he unsuccessfully attempted to unite the Japanese and Hawaiian royal families by marriage. On March 30 he reached China and negotiated an immigration agreement with Li Hongzhang, viceroy of Chihli.¹⁰² Kalakaua also informed his foreign office that Viceroy Li had sent a copy of the agreement to Afong.¹⁰³ Nothing came of the proposed treaty other than another excuse for the foreign office to delay issuing Afong an exequatur until they “ascertained what would be the proposed duties and privileges of Chinese Consuls.”¹⁰⁴

After much correspondence and many conferences, it became clear that Afong would never be acceptable to Kalakaua’s pro-American cabinet or to Hawai‘i’s Hakka Chinese who petitioned for his dismissal. After Chen Lanbin and Yung Wing were recalled in December 1881, Afong and the attaché assigned to assist him both resigned their posts as a courtesy.¹⁰⁵ The new minister, Zheng Zaoru, was described by Hawai‘i minister Elisha Allen as “a reasonable man” who believed Hawai‘i was a good place for emigrants.¹⁰⁶ When Shufeldt learned of the change in the Chinese post, he wrote from Tianjin: “Already undue proportions of Chinamen are flooding the Sandwich Islands. This group both from its commercial and strategic position, is . . . of vital importance in the military and naval strength of the whole country. Any evil inflicted on these islands, will eventually affect ourselves.”¹⁰⁷

SETBACKS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

For Afong the past few years had been frustrating and trying, publicly and privately. His eldest daughter, Emmeline, had in June 1879 married a man who, a few days after their grand wedding at St. Andrew’s Cathedral, performed by the Episcopal bishop of Honolulu and attended by King Kalakaua and Princess Liliuokalani, was arrested and later sent to jail for seducing another woman by promise of marriage.¹⁰⁸ Afong was unable to get an annulment, and it took an agonizing thirty months for Emmeline to finalize the divorce. Afong also suffered financial losses when his Honolulu store was gutted by fire in 1878, and when storm and fire struck his Kaupakuea plantation on Chinese New Year’s Day in 1881.¹⁰⁹ It was time to reassess and regroup.

Chun Afong called in his oldest sons and gave them responsible management posts in his Hawai‘i operations, bringing Alung from China to manage Pepeekeo and Toney from his life as a Honolulu playboy to be senior clerk in Honolulu.¹¹⁰ Then in the spring of 1883, Lee Hong, Afong’s China wife, arrived in Honolulu and, in return for an annuity, signed a deed of trust that protected Afong’s Hawai‘i property.¹¹¹ Afong and Julia began to play a greater role in the larger Honolulu community: Afong became a charter member of the reorganized Chamber of Commerce and Julia accepted an invitation to be a charter member of Liliuokalani’s educational society for the betterment of Hawaiian girls, perhaps because she was now the mother of a dozen of them.¹¹²

Although he was no longer commercial agent, Afong continued to respond to the needs of Hawai‘i’s Chinese community. On Sunday afternoon, April 18, 1886, Honolulu’s first great Chinatown fire broke out at a Chinese eatery. Before it was contained some seven hours later, about thirty-seven acres of buildings had been burned. Total damage was estimated at \$1,750,000, and the number of homeless was believed to be as high as eight thousand. Afong cochaired a committee to take donations for fire victims and headed a list of subscribers with a \$500 donation. He also gave a rival firm space in his office and set up beds in his warehouse for the homeless. White merchants set aside racial feelings and sent aid to the fire victims, but the period of good feelings was cut short by another attempt to legalize opium.¹¹³

On the day before the great fire, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* readers were surprised by the paper’s editorial advocating government-controlled sale of opium. The editor gave two reasons for the new position: the total ban on opium then in force was impossible to enforce, and the government needed the revenue the license would generate.¹¹⁴ Prominent White legislators vigorously opposed legalization, but even with anti-Chinese feelings running high a legalization bill was passed. Afong’s son, Chun Lung, was awarded the opium license.¹¹⁵

THE OPIUM BRIBE

The standing-room-only audience at the Hawaiian Opera House howled approval when one minstrel asked the other, "Why is the opium racket like the back of a Chinaman's head?" The answer was: "Because there is a long tail [tale] attached to it." Three haole boys, sons of prominent businessmen, starred in the skit "Chun Hook, the Murderer."¹¹⁶ Earlier that day, May 30, 1887, Chun Lung, the successful opium license bidder (Afong acted as surety), had loaned Prime Minister Walter Murray Gibson \$3,000 to help buy the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* so as to make sure Kalakaua's government got some good press.¹¹⁷ While the skit played out, a printer at the opposition *Hawaiian Gazette* was setting galleys of excerpts from an affidavit that implicated the king in an opium license bribe and swindle scheme. The newspaper story contained little that had not been common gossip, but now it became sworn testimony from the alleged victim.¹¹⁸

Aki, a prominent Chinese rice planter and partner in Sing Chong, let it be known he wanted the opium license enough to bribe whomever he wished. Moreover, he boasted that he could put together a *hui* with more than enough money to match the offer of any competitor. This was just what Junius Kaae, a palace parasite, wanted to hear, so he offered Aki his services. He told Aki: "Several people have been to me to help them, but he who takes money to the King and a good deal of it, will get the license." Aki agreed to pay him \$3,000 if he got the license. Then Kaae told him: "I heard the King say that the son of Afong had been to him and offered \$80,000" but as yet had not paid Kalakaua a cent. "I do not owe them anything," the king was quoted as saying. But Kaae warned that things could change and urged Aki to get \$60,000 to Kalakaua fast. On the night of December 3, Aki delivered \$20,000, four days later another \$10,000, and on the following day the remaining \$30,000. Aki was then told to ante up another \$15,000. Within three days he handed over most of the money. But before he could make his last payment, he learned it was certain that the license would go to Afong's son. When Aki tried to get his money back, he was told that Kalakaua looked upon the \$71,000 as a gift and had already spent it to reduce the royal debt.¹¹⁹

A palace scandal was just what the opposition party needed to strip Kalakaua of his power, and they exploited it to the fullest. Aki was heralded as a victim by Kalakaua's enemies, even though two weeks earlier they had distributed a pamphlet containing a "ballad" based on rumors of the bribe and Aki's odious role in it. It began:

"Little You Lie was quick as a trap,
Chosen man
of a hui was he
Sent to confer with the
Gynberg Duke,
As to the Opium-License fee."

You Lie was, of course, Aki and the Gynberg Duke was Kalakaua, so called because of his reputed fondness for gin. But the pamphlet's illustrations were more offensive than the doggerel. Kalakaua was cartooned as an African cannibal king, a reminder of the rumor that his "real father" was "Blossom," a black cobbler.¹²⁰ The pasquinader was said to be a recent member of the palace staff, an assistant to Charles Judd, son of Julia's guardian, the missionary doctor.¹²¹

Once the lampooning and exposé had their impact, a petition calling for good government was circulated and a public protest meeting was held. U.S. Minister George W. Merrill advised Kalakaua to fire Gibson, appoint a new cabinet acceptable to White community leaders, and remove himself from active governance. Within a few days, Gibson and his cabinet were gone and a new constitution that made Kalakaua no more than a figurehead was agreed to.¹²² The glory days were over for Kalakaua, and his dream of a Polynesian confederacy protected by a powerful Asiatic ally died. The United States moved quickly to acquire Pearl Harbor and pushed for the right to station troops at Hawai'i.

As for Kalakaua's Chinese political supporters, the new constitution denied the vote to them and other immigrant Asians, including those, like Afong, who were naturalized. But Americans and Europeans, even if they were just resident, could vote. Hawaiian citizenship was now irrelevant; race was paramount. Afong, Chun Lung, and other Chinese petitioned the government to return them the right to vote, but their pleas fell on deaf ears.¹²³ With victory assured, an election was called and the White reformers swept into office. In short order, they wiped out Kalakaua's programs and repealed the opium license law.¹²⁴ Chun Lung was given three months to close out his opium business.¹²⁵ The reformers also ordered an investigation of Kalakaua's part in the opium license scandal. The king admitted he had taken Aki's money as "a gift," and when ordered to repay it he confessed he was deeply in debt. His affairs were placed in the hands of a trustee.¹²⁶

In August 1889 Chun Lung became ill on a business trip to Honolulu from Pepeekeo Plantation. He was given medication by a doctor when his ship stopped at Maui, but by the time he debarked at Honolulu he was delirious. In spite of urgent medical attention, he died thirty hours later of peritonitis.¹²⁷

AFONG RETURNS TO CHINA

Within two months of his son's death, Afong reorganized his Pepeekeo sugar company with a capital stock of \$2,125,000, and in October he sold a part interest to a Honolulu businessman, Alexander Young.¹²⁸ About this time a major investment, presumably by Afong, was made in the Douglas Steamship Company in Hong Kong, and Toney was named comprador of the firm.¹²⁹ Hong Kong, well on

its way to becoming the second-largest port in the world, handled more than half of China's imports and a third of her exports. Much of the tonnage was carried by the Douglas fleet of coasting vessels.

With his financial affairs in order and his Hawai'i family well taken care of, Afong transferred his business headquarters to Hong Kong. He sailed from Hawai'i for the last time on October 17, 1890.¹³⁰ Afong boarded his ship off the Waimanalo coast. As a farewell salute to an old friend, John Cummins, a cousin of Julia's and prime minister under Queen Liliuokalani, held a party for Afong and invited those men with whom he had lived, worked, and prospered. When the party was over, Afong boarded the little sugar plantation steamer *Kaala*, which chugged beyond the reef to the waiting ship, and from her cane-stained deck the Merchant Prince of Honolulu climbed aboard the luxury liner *S.S. China*.¹³¹ It was a fitting way to say aloha.

In 1906 Albert F. Judd, son of Julia's guardian, visited Afong and found him "frail of body but bright mentally." Judd recalled: "In a few minutes he was speaking in Hawaiian, saying it came easier than English. He offered me the choice of milk from his small dairy, or champagne, Toney observing that champagne was the cheaper. It was a delightful call."¹³² Chun Afong died peacefully on September 25, 1906, in his home village.¹³³

AFONG'S CHILDREN

Fifteen of Afong's Hawai'i children lived to adulthood. Only one of them, the eldest son, Toney, decided to live as a Chinese in Asia. Toney married a Chinese woman and became a prominent Hong Kong businessman, the governor of Guangdong for a time, and a philanthropist. His daughter, Irene, married the son of China's ambassador to the Court of St. James, Lau Yuk-lin.¹³⁴ The husbands of Afong's older daughters were all active American annexationists, and when the day arrived on August 12, 1898, to transfer sovereignty to the United States, Afong's daughters decorated Iolani Palace for the Annexation Ball.¹³⁵

Afong's eldest daughter, Emmeline, married an attorney, John Alfred Magoon, the son of the woman who nursed her through the difficult time after her separation and divorce. They had seven children and founded a family that remains prominent in Hawai'i business. Nancy moved to the Big Island when her husband, F. B. McStocker, left the customs office to become manager of Olaa Plantation. Chairman of the executive committee of the Annexation Club, he secretly helped form the Citizen Guard in June 1893. Mary Afong, the plain daughter, never married and lived with Julia until her mother's death. Marie married attorney Abram S. Humphreys, who became Hawai'i's first federal judge. He founded the *Honolulu Republican*, in part with Julia's money, and promoted the idea of annexing Hawai'i to California, suggesting the Islands be called Pacific County or Western County.

The most celebrated marriage was that of Henrietta, the most beautiful daughter, to U.S. Navy Captain William H. Whiting, a Civil War hero. The captain's marriage to Afong's daughter was frowned upon and there were rumors he would be driven out of the navy. Instead, fellow officers rallied to his side and he retired as a rear admiral. After his death, Henrietta married Admiral Armin Fahrenholt.

After a honeymoon trip around the world, Alice lived quietly in Hilo and then Honolulu with her dentist husband, E. L. Hutchinson. Julia married journalist and Robert Louis Stevenson biographer Arthur Q. Johnstone. He was editor of the Honolulu *Daily Bulletin* and later the Honolulu *Press*. He bucked the haole elite and championed the underdog; both newspapers went broke. Helen married an attorney, William Henshall, who drowned on a voyage to California when his ship, the *Rio*, sank in San Francisco Bay. Later she married William's brother George, editor of the *Star* until its merger with the *Bulletin*. Elizabeth married I. R. Burns, a New York stockbroker. Caroline married a young sailor who returned to Hawai'i to become cashier of the Waterhouse Trust Company. After his death she married Leonard Camp.

Martha, the most adventurous daughter, fell in love with Lieutenant Andrew J. Daugherty after only a few brief chaperoned meetings in Honolulu while his troopship stopped for supplies on its way to Manila. She followed him to the Philippines and was married in a borrowed gown. Martha lived to be 104. Melanie married James Brewster, who died shortly after their second son was born. Her second husband was Frank Moss, a talented pianist and director of the Punahou music school. One son, Albert, after his graduation from Harvard, returned to Hawai'i and became a stockbroker and later president of the Honolulu stock exchange. He married Admiral Whiting's niece, Bessie Whiting of Davenport, Iowa, and they had four daughters. Another son, Henry, also a Honolulu businessman, married Mary Harvey of Brooklyn. He died on a trip to visit Toney in China. His only son attended Annapolis and retired as a navy captain.

All of Afong's daughters, with the exception of Emmeline, moved to California, most of them to the San Francisco Bay Area.¹³⁶

Under Afong's tutelage, Toney, now known as Chan Chik-ye, and his half-brother Chan Kang-yu built a commercial dynasty with financial interests in real estate, shipping, railroads, merchandising, and agriculture. They were instrumental in establishing the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce and both served as its chairman.¹³⁷ The Chan brothers politically supported Chen Jongming, an enlightened Guangdong warlord, who was allied with Sun Yat-sen. Later, when Dr. Sun looked to Russia as a model for his new China, General Chen, who wanted China to be a federated republic fashioned after the United States, ousted Dr. Sun from Canton. With Chen's backing, Toney was elected civil governor of Guangdong, but he served only a few months before Dr. Sun's allies ousted him.¹³⁸ Within a year, Toney's only son, Wing-sen, one of Chen's generals, was shot in the

back on a Hong Kong street. The police believed it, like an earlier attempt, was the work of political assassins.¹³⁹ Toney retired from politics to his Macau mansion and devoted his remaining years to philanthropy. He and his brother were founders of the University of Hong Kong and generous members of court (trustees).¹⁴⁰ Toney spent the rest of his time on his collection of jade, porcelain, and old paintings and on his rose gardens.¹⁴¹

Lee Hong seemed to enjoy her role in Hong Kong society and joined her sons in philanthropic work.¹⁴² Alung's adopted Hawaiian son, Chun Wing-on, became a prominent businessman and magistrate in Zhongshan.¹⁴³ His wife Violet, known affectionately as "Auntie Vi," carried on the Afong tradition as a celebrated hostess. She separated from Wing-on when he, like his famous uncles before him, took a concubine.¹⁴⁴ The times had changed.

CONCLUSION

Lucky come Hawai'i? It was no accident that Chun Afong arrived at Honolulu in 1849 to profit from a business boom caused by the California Gold Rush. He stayed until it became clear the United States would annex Hawai'i and extend its anti-Chinese policies there. In 1890 he removed himself and his capital to Hong Kong, which was then on the verge of a business boom. Afong was not constrained by luck—good or bad.

Western observers often give overseas Chinese high marks for industriousness and frugality but credit real financial success to the Western free-enterprise system. However, the socialist (and racist) American author Jack London published a story in 1909 titled "Chun Ah Chun" that portrayed Afong as a crafty coolie who outworks and outsmarts Caucasian capitalists, and when he outbreeds them as well finds himself with a dozen unmarried daughters in a society that frowns on miscegenation. So he uses his wealth to bait the nuptial couch and entices the sons of rich White folks to cross the color line. With his revenge on White capitalists complete, Chun retires to his native land to contemplate life, "and his little black eyes twinkle merrily at the thought of the funny world."

A half century later an Afong great-grandson, Eaton Magoon Jr., updated the capitalistic context of London's story by having Chun market his daughters by "merchandise packaging" them in a musical comedy called *Thirteen Daughters*. On Broadway, Don Ameche played Chun and in a singsong accent made malapropisms of fortune-cookie sayings—"A bird in hand is twice the worth of a daughter in the bushes." The *New York Times* critic found the Chun role so innocent that "it becomes more incredible than embarrassing."

White journalists added to the stage-Chinaman stereotype. Because of a reported passion for music, Afong was quoted as saying, "You singee velly fine song, you know, I give you heap money." Another journalist exploited a more sinister stereotype of Chinese American society when he

described how Afong and his son Toney leaped to their death into an erupting Hawaiian volcano to escape the revenge of a secret society. Historians have provided no antidote. Gavan Daws in *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* mentions Afong only parenthetically: "Over the years a good many Chinese men married Hawaiian women, and it was hard to complain about the quality or quantity of the offspring (the merchant Chun Afong, for example, had twelve daughters and four sons.)"¹⁴⁵ In fiction and fact, it appears that Afong will be remembered only for making babies, as if he were the Typhoid Mary of the Yellow Peril.

Described as a "wizened coolie" by Jack London and painted as a grand mandarin by Hubert Vos, Afong seems to fit anywhere along the spectrum of stereotypes. The fault is partly his own. Unlike his Hawai'i contemporaries—Christian Protestant missionaries, their businessman sons, and a few of their Chinese converts—Afong left no reminiscences of his Hawai'i days. For a man who lived successfully and simultaneously at the center of three universes—Asian, Caucasian, and Polynesian—and communicated in Chinese, English, and Hawaiian, he wrote little about his life and times. Aside from official correspondence, only a handful of letters, some in English to his Hawai'i wife and others in Chinese to his business partner, survive as historical records.

It is ironic that the only aspect of his life that Afong left to chance was our memory of him. As luck would have it, he, his friends, and the places he lived—Honolulu, Macau, Hong Kong—were exotic to Western eyes, and it was easier to tell and sell a story about a "celestial crony of the last of the cannibal kings" than it was to document the business activities of an international entrepreneur who bought and was sold out by politicians.

In business, Afong was prescient. He not only went to the right places at the right times, he prospered in businesses that bankrupted others. Where other entrepreneurs found Hawai'i to be at the periphery of empire, Afong saw the Islands at the strategic center of a dynamic East/West market and removed from the costly rebellions and wars plaguing other regions. In a belligerent world a Kingdom of Hawai'i passport was a commercial asset to an international businessman. Hawai'i was pro-business and the authorities were benign in their treatment of foreign capitalists of all hues, at least up to the time that U.S. annexationists took control of the government. Then Anglo-Saxons closed ranks against the "Yellow Peril" and used Punti-Hakka tensions to divide the Chinese business community and set it against itself. Once politically weakened, Punti and Hakka alike were disenfranchised, ghettoized, terrorized, and finally excluded from what was once called "pake paradise." It was then that Afong liquidated many of his Hawai'i holdings and added to his investments in Hong Kong.

An examination of Afong's commercial affairs illuminates aspects of America's realization of Manifest Destiny in Hawai'i, Chinese experimentation with republicanism in the Pearl River Delta, and international intrigue for military

supremacy in the Pacific. Afong's personal life reveals that Chinese and Hawai'i elites coped with human predicaments in similar ways—plural marriages and the hanai system of child rearing. In gastronomy, too, Chinese from the Pearl River Delta found that the Hawaiian environment was similar—a subtropical climate that promoted year-round growth and made it possible to grow food fit for a Chinese table.

Yet for all of the social and environmental similarities, when Afong's Hawai'i children were grown only his eldest son chose to live as a Chinese in Asia. Of the eleven daughters who married, all of them wed Caucasians. But almost all of Afong's descendants in Asia, America, and Hawai'i remember their Hawaiian roots by naming their children after ali'i forebears.

Lucky come Hawai'i? The answer is written in the names of his descendants—Malulani, Ahia, Hula, Hiilei, Kamakia, Kekapala, Luhana, Kekulani, Mahinulani, Kailimoku.

NOTES

Abbreviations

AH Archives of Hawai'i

HA Honolulu Advertiser

FO & Ex Foreign Office and Executive

HBC Hawai'i Bureau of Conveyances

HJH *Hawaiian Journal of History*

HMCS Hawaiian Mission Children's Society

HSB *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*

PCA *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*

UH University of Hawai'i

- For a description of a visit to Afong's Meixi estate, see Bob Dye, "The House of Chan," *Honolulu Magazine* (August 1986), 48–49.
- The Afong portrait, now in San Francisco, was painted in 1898. Vos, the portraitist, was married in 1895 to Eleanor Kailani Coney, a famous beauty in Kalakaua's court. See Vos biographical card, AH.
- Chun genealogy. Copy and translation by Che-hang Lee in author's possession.
- "Chun Ah Chun" is a thinly disguised and highly fictionalized account of Afong's family life in Hawai'i. Jack London, *House of Pride* (New York, 1912), 151–89.
- Thirteen Daughters* was not intended to be biographical. It was performed on Broadway in March 1961. For a review, see Howard Taubman, "Theatre: '13 Daughters' Says 'Aloha,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 1961.
- Polynesian*, October 7, 1848.
- Laura Judd, *Honolulu, 1828–1861* (New York, 1880), 137.
- Richard A. Greer, "California Gold: Some Reports to Hawai'i," HJH IV (1970), 157–73.
- Judd, 149.
- Clarice B. Taylor, "Tales About Hawai'i: The Story of the Afong Family," Nos. 2, 3, 4, HSB (Oct. 7–Dec. 25, 1953), Passport No. 1113 (Sept. 23, 1850), AH.
- Robert Rose Newell, *Two Brothers: Narrative of a Voyage around the World in the Bark "Sea Breeze," Captain George Newell, 1850 . . . with descriptive passages on Captain Fisher A. Newell* (Norwalk, Conn., 1961), 44.
- Wai-Jane Char, "Three Chinese Stories in Honolulu," HJH VIII (1974), 3.
- John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu, 1959), 94.
- Book 6, 184. HBC.
- Polynesian*, July 14, 1855.
- Book 6, 706. HBC.
- Book 8, 188. HBC.
- Book 9, 339. HBC.
- Some Chinese came directly to Hawai'i and others came via San Francisco and other Pacific Coast ports. Some Chinese emigrants transhipped at Honolulu or stopped there on their way to Peru or California. Some ships brought but a few Chinese and others brought hundreds. Some Chinese undoubtedly entered Hawai'i illegally. Also, there appear to have been recruiting differences for domestics and field laborers. The subject is important. Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History* (Honolulu, 1985), especially chapters 3, 4, and 5. Wai Jane Char and Tin-Yuke Char, *Chinese Historic Sites and Pioneer Families of Rural Oahu* (Honolulu, 1988), contains some information on labor recruiting by Chulan and Afong and Achuck. Also of interest are Tin-Yuke Char, *The Bamboo Path: Life and Writings of a Chinese in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 1977), 201–7; *Polynesian*, October 2, 1852, July 29, 1854, and August 26, 1854; Yen Ching-Hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch'ing Period (1851–1911)* (Singapore, 1985), 32–60; E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong, 1983), 259, 344, 387; G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, 2nd edition (Hong Kong, 1973), 128; and Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 1980).
- Glick, 189–90, 255–56. A major source on the Hakka-Punti war is J. A. G. Roberts, "The Hakka-Punti War" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1968).
- Polynesian*, November 8, 1856; Pauline King (ed.), *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawai'i, 1853–1858* (Honolulu, 1982), 361.
- Quoted in Kuykendall, II, 76.
- PCA, November 20, 1856; King, 361, 362.
- Him Mark Lai, "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/Huiguan System," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1987* (San Francisco, 1987), 14–17.
- Glick, 187–88.
- Polynesian*, June 20, 1857.
- Ibid.*
- Lily Lim-Chong, "Opium and the Law" (MA research paper, UH, 1978), 11–12.
- Quoted in Lim-Chong, 11.
- Ibid.*, 16–20.
- Polynesian*, March 14 and 21, 1857.
- Friend*, May 1, 1850; Stephen Reynolds' journal entry for November 13, 14, and 30, 1850, MS Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. (HMCS.)
- Mary Jane Montano, HA, Dec. 16, 1923.
- Friend*, May 1857.
- Student Records 1829, Auburn Theological Seminary. A biographical sketch of Dr. James Richards is found in Rev. Abner Morse, *Genealogical Register of the Descendants of Several Ancient Puritans*, III (Boston: 1861), 209–19.
- Glick, 162–65, 340.
- Achuck vs. Hen Yin, Hawai'i State Supreme Court, Law 34, AH.
- Lowell Smith Journal, entry for February 3, 1835. HMCS.
- Achuck vs. Hen Yin, Hawai'i State Supreme Court, Law 34, AH.
- I am referring to the genealogical records of each of these families. See Chun genealogy; Beckley genealogy, AH.

41. Montano, HA, Dec. 2, 1923.
42. Toney Afong to "Dear Cousin," n.d., Emma Ahuena Taylor Collection, AH; HA, October 1, 1922.
43. Margaret M. Lam, "Six Generations of Race Mixture" (unpublished MA thesis, UH, 1932), 8–12.
44. Bob Dye, "Lihue, the Lost Plantation," *Honolulu Magazine* (November 1986); Josephine Sullivan, *A History of C. Brewer and Company, Limited: One Hundred Years in the Hawaiian Islands, 1826–1926* (Boston, 1926).
45. Clarice B. Taylor, "Tales About Hawai'i: The Story of the Afong Family—20," HSB, October 7–December 25, 1923.
46. Ahuena, "Tony Afong," *Paradise of the Pacific* (August 1923), 30. For each ingredient, see Marie C. Neal, *In Gardens of Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 1965).
47. Taylor, No. 51, HSB.
48. Passenger List, AH.
49. On January 4, 1869, Afong and Lan sailed on the *Windward* to Hong Kong. Chinese Travel file, AH; Chun genealogy.
50. The boys returned on September 29, 1869, on the *Carl Ludwig* from Hong Kong. Chinese Travel file, AH. Chun Lung's records are on file at Punahou School. Iolani School records were not kept for this period. Fortunately, Toney is mentioned in Henry B. Restariak, *Hawai'i, 1778–1920, from the Viewpoint of a Bishop* (Honolulu, 1924), 195–96.
51. Yale University has Chun Lung's records, but I have yet to document that Toney went to Harvard. I am relying here on what some descendants were told. Also, Toney is thought by some descendants to have attended Trinity (Hartford) or Yale, but neither college has a record of his attendance.
52. Afong to Achuck, May 26, 1876, AH.
53. Honolulu Assessment Book, 1867, 38, AH.
54. July 20, 1865, Board of Immigration Minutes, AH.
55. Kaupakuea Plantation was established by Julia Afong's relatives.
56. This information comes from conversations with Afong descendants and Zhuhai district officials. Corroboration can be found in "Process da Administracao Civil," Proc. No. 179, Serie E, June 4, 1919, Instituto Cultural de Macao; Fayerweather to "Dear Brother," April 3, 1870, Fayerweather Letters, AH. *South China Morning Post*, May 12, 13, 15, 16, 1925.
57. Quoted in Lim-Chong, 22.
58. *Ibid.*, 22–23.
59. *Ibid.*, 24–27.
60. Kuykendall, III, 5–7; Jane Dabaugh, ed., "A King Is Elected: One Hundred Years Ago," *HJH VIII* (1974), 76–89.
61. HSB, February 2, 1935.
62. *Ibid.* A slightly different version of the *Star-Bulletin* article is in the Emma Ahuena Taylor Collection, "Old Hawai'i in Retrospect," AH; *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 15, 1874.
63. For a full treatment of Beckley and Elizabeth Sumner's ties to the royal family, see John Topolinski, "Nancy Sumner: A part-Hawaiian high chieftess, 1839–1985" (unpublished MA thesis, UH, 1975).
64. Kuykendall, III, 117–19. Achuck returned to Hong Kong on the *Garibaldi*; Chinese Travel file, AH.
65. PCA, June 30, 1877, October 12, 1877.
66. Privy Council Minute Book, entries for June 21, October 3, and November 20, 1879, AH.
67. Kim Man Chan, "Mandarins in America: The Early Chinese Ministers to the United States, 1878–1907" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, UH, 1981), especially 380–91; Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch'ing Period, 1851–1911* (Singapore, 1985), 148–49.
68. PCA, March 13, 1880; Comly to Secretary of State, March 15, 1880, USDS dispatches; *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 17, 1880; *Friend*, April 1880.
69. Allen to Kapena, August 14, 1879, FO & Ex, AH.
70. Kuykendall, III, 139.
71. PCA, March 13, 1880; Comly to Secretary of State, March 15, 1880, USDS dispatches.
72. PCA, April 10, 1880; Glick, 203.
73. Goo Kim Fui, *T'an tao chih shih* (Shanghai, 1907), 36–39.
74. Chan, 383.
75. Green to Allen, July 30, 1881, FO & Ex, File Box 87, AH.
76. Henry Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Chinese* (Hong Kong, 1978), 52–65; Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1985), 44–49; Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York, 1983), 61–73; Lai, 19–21.
77. Chan, 384.
78. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, January 17, 1878. Also see Elizabeth Yuk Yee Sinn, "The Tung Wah Hospital, 1869–1896: A Study of a Medical, Social and Political Institution in Hong Kong" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1986), 247–49.
79. Lethbridge, 56; *Hong Kong Daily Press*, January 17, 1878.
80. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, February 12, 1878.
81. Hennessy's speech is quoted in *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, December 11, 1880.
82. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, April 1, 1878.
83. The translator identified the newspaper as *Shun Wan Yat Pao*; see enclosure of Green to Allen, July 2, 1881, FO & Ex, AH.
84. *Hong Kong Telegraph*, August 30, 1881.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Allen to Green, December 25, 1881, FO & Ex, AH. The copy of the letter, dated July 18, 1881, can be found in Interior: Immigration—Chinese, 1877–1890, AH.
87. A copy of the merchants' letter is an enclosure in Carter to Green, August 19, 1881, Interior, AH. Also see Carter's response to merchants, August 6, 1881, Interior, AH.
88. Green to Allen, August 25, 1881, FO & Ex, AH.
89. Chan, 387.
90. Cabinet Council Minute Book, July 9, 1881, November 15, 1881, January 11, 1882; Green to Afong, July 12, 1881. FO & Ex, AH. In the same file is a translation of Chen Lanbin's authority to appoint Afong.
91. Quoted in Tate, 45.
92. *New York Herald*, March 28, 1909; HA, November 21, 1921.
93. Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester A. Arthur* (New York, 1975), 337; Bruce Swanson, *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon* (Annapolis, 1982), 84–102; William M. Morgan, "Strategic Factors in Hawaiian Annexation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1980).
94. Frederick C. Drake, *The Empire of the Seas* (Honolulu, 1984), 271.
95. Thomas E. LaFargue, "Chinese Educational Commission to the United States: A Government Experiment in Western Education," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, I (November 1941), 64–70; Thomas E. LaFargue, *China's First Hundred* (Pullman, Wash., 1942); and Yung Shang Him, "The Chinese Educational Mission and Its Influence," *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, IV, 1 (January 1969), 4–12; Arthur G. Robinson, *The Senior Returned Students* (Tientsin, 1932), 17–18.
96. Robert C. Schmidt, *Historical Statistics of Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 1977), 25.
97. Kuykendall, III, 239.
98. Tate, 45.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Quoted in Kuykendall, III, 238.
101. Quoted in Edward Joesting, *Hawai'i: An Uncommon History* (New York, 1972), 214.

102. A copy of the letter is found in Richard A. Greer, ed., "The Royal Tourist: Kalakaua's Letters Home from Tokio to London," HJH V (78). For a discussion of the effect of Chinese immigration on Hawai'i at this time see Kuykendall, III, 136. Also of interest is Green to Allen, January 18, 1881, FO & Ex, AH.
103. Ibid.
104. Richard to Allen, July 30, 1881, FO & Ex, File Box 87, AH.
105. Allen to Green, March 14, 1882, and Zheng Zaoru to Allen, March 22, 1882, FO & Ex, File Box 91, AH; Chan, 387.
106. Allen to Green, March 14, 1882, FO & Ex, File Box 91, AH.
107. Drake, 360–62.
108. PCA, June 7, 1879; *Friend*, July 1879; Privy Council Minutes Book 1883, 57, AH.
109. PCA, February 12, 1881.
110. Chun Lung was sent to Hilo. See Book 68, 265, HBC.
111. July Term, 1884, V, 191, AH.
112. Liliuokalani, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* (Boston, 1899), 113–14.
113. Richard A. Greer, "'Sweet and Clean': The Chinatown Fire of 1886," HJH X (1976), 45; Glick, 232.
114. PCA, April 17, 1886.
115. PCA, January 5, 1887; Kuykendall, III, 302.
116. PCA, May 30, 1887.
117. PCA, January 5, 1887; Jacob Adler and Gwynn Barrett, eds., *The Diaries of Walter Murray Gibson, 1886, 1887* (Honolulu, 1973), 155.
118. *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 18, February 1 and 16, May 17, 1887; *Daily Bulletin*, January 13, 1887. Rumor of the Aki bribe appeared first in PCA, January 3, 1887; Kuykendall, III, 353–54.
119. *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 17, 1887; E. Andrade Jr., "Hawaiian Revolution of 1887" (unpublished MA thesis, UH, 1954), 114–19.
120. "The Opium Racket," collected in Monsarrat file, AH.
121. Kuykendall, III, 347.
122. Kuykendall, III, 357–66.
123. Kuykendall, III, n. 407.
124. Tate, 91–92.
125. Interior Department, Book 34 (January 3, 1888), AH. Earlier Chun Lung's plan to establish opium dealerships was found to be illegal. See "The King vs. Chun Lung," *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 10, 1887.
126. Kuykendall, III, 406.
127. Record of Deaths, Honolulu: 1886–1892, 25, Hawai'i State Department of Health; *Friend*, September 1889.
128. Edwin P. Hoyt, *Davies: The Inside Story of a British-American Family in the Pacific and Its Business Enterprises* (Honolulu, 1983), 150.
129. Chung Kun Ai, *My Seventy-Nine Years in Hawai'i* (Hong Kong, 1960), 104–5. W. Feldwick, *Present Day Impressions of the Far East and Prominent and Progressive Chinese at Home and Abroad* (London, 1917), 588–89. The bankruptcy of Toney Afong's predecessor as comprador is in G. P. Choa, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong, 1981), 40.
130. Passenger List, AH.
131. PCA, October 20, 1890; Ai, 104.
132. Social Sciences Association of Hawai'i, *A Centenary Celebration, 1882–1982: Representative Essays* (Honolulu, 1982), 74.
133. *Friend*, October 1906.
134. Partially dated clipping from HA, "January 6, 197."
135. Emma Ahuena Taylor Collection, untitled typescript, AH.
136. Much of these paragraphs are taken from Taylor's series, HSB. Judge Humphrey's suggestion that Hawai'i should become a county of California is in T. Healy, "Origins of the Republican Party in Hawai'i" (unpublished MA thesis, UH, 1963). Capt. Whiting's problems with the U.S. Navy are in *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 1, 1893, and *San Francisco Call*, October 16, 1898. An account of the sinking of the *Rio* is in PCA, March 4, 1901. The description of Lt. Daugherty's courtship and marriage is from his unpublished diary, a photocopy of which was provided to me by his granddaughter, Mrs. Stanton Shannon of Phelps, N.Y.
137. *The Souvenir of the Eightieth Anniversary of Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1980), 10.
138. *South China Morning Post*, August 28, 1922, and January 15, 1923.
139. *South China Morning Post*, April 12 and 13, 1923; *Hartford Courant*, April 12, 1923.
140. University of Hong Kong, List of Subscriptions (Hong Kong, 1911), 1; University of Hong Kong, Members of Court (London, 1913), 2.
141. Letter, Toney Afong to "Cousin Taylor," June 16, 1923, in Emma Ahuena Taylor Collection, AH.
142. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, July 14 and 18, 1908.
143. *South China Morning Post*, May 13, 1925.
144. Interview with Dolly Ng Quin Kuh, niece of "Auntie Vi," March 1988, in Hong Kong.
145. Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time; A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, 1947), 211.

Changing Roles and Status among Prominent Chinese in Hawai'i

Clarence E. Glick and Doris L. Glick

Clarence E. Glick and Doris L. Glick, "Changing Roles and Status among Prominent Chinese in Hawai'i," *Chinese America: History & Perspectives – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 37–50.

This article presents profiles of three generational groups of prominent Chinese in Hawai'i. It analyzes changes in group membership and sources of status as revealed in the biographies of Hawai'i Chinese included in three publications dated 1929, 1957, and 1983. The first group is made up of members of the migrant generation, born in China but with many years' residence in Hawai'i, whose biographies were published in 1929. The second group consists of Hawai'i-born Chinese of migrant parentage, the "second generation," included in a 1957 publication. The third is composed of third- and fourth-generation Hawai'i-born descendants of migrants, with biographies published in 1983. Data in these biographies are used to trace changes in occupations, educational status, organizational participation, leadership roles, and other indicators of status from generation to generation.

The 1929 publication was issued by a small group of Chinese writers in Honolulu, the Overseas Penman Club (Tan Shan Wah Kiu Yun Say). Its Chinese title was *Tan Shan Wah Kiu* (Hawai'i Overseas Chinese), its English title *The Chinese of Hawaii*.¹ Over two hundred pages of this book present information about *mun yun* ("distinguished people" or *mingren* in Mandarin) in the Hawai'i Chinese community. In contrast to a 1925 "who's who" published in Hawai'i by Caucasian entrepreneurs,² which included only eight Chinese men (one China-born and seven Hawai'i-born), *The Chinese of Hawaii* contained 198 biographies of Chinese men, 129 China-born and 69 Hawai'i-born. Most of the biographies included a wide range of information such as year and place of birth, year of arrival in Hawai'i, occupational history, wife, year of marriage, children, bringing of wife and children to Hawai'i, place of residence, membership and offices in organizations, trips to China, charitable and civic donations, and other public activities.

In 1957, nearly thirty years later, the same Chinese writers' club published a similar book. The Chinese title was the same but the English title was expanded to *The Chinese of Hawaii: Who's Who, 1956–57*.³ It gives the biographies of 196 men and 4 women. More than half—110—of them were born in Hawai'i, the others in China.

Another thirty years have passed since the 1957 edition was published. The Overseas Penmen Club no longer exists and no similar work has been published by Chinese. For comparison, however, we have used a 1983 publication, *Leaders of Hawaii*, which includes biographies of 124 Chinese men and women, most of whom were born in Hawai'i.⁴

Admittedly our data have certain limitations: none of the publications give the criteria used in selecting the persons to be included; there may well have been bias in the selection; and there were variations in the types of information included. Nevertheless, analysis does reveal some strikingly consistent trends among Hawai'i Chinese from generation to generation.

THE MIGRANT GENERATION, 1929

The 126 China-born men whose biographies were in English⁵ in the 1929 publication were from thirty to seventy-seven years old, the average age being fifty-six. All but five mention having families with children. Most had had long experience in the Islands—seventeen had come fifty or more years before 1929 and the average time since their arrival was thirty-seven years, suggesting that most had indeed become settlers. For several decades leadership of the Chinese community had been in the hands of migrants—including many of the men in this study—who had come to Hawai'i before annexation in 1898. By 1929 this leadership was passing to the sons of migrants, the second generation.

The first item in each biography is a title indicating occupation. As Table 1 shows, most of the men were regarded as businessmen, with the majority having the title "merchant." However, those who came to Hawai'i later than others, especially those brought to Hawai'i as children or youths, had more specific titles such as "corporation official," "financier,"

TABLE 1. BIOGRAPHY TITLES FOR 126 CHINA-BORN MIGRANTS TO HAWAII, 1929

| Title | Number | Title | Number |
|-----------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
| Merchant | 89 | Department manager | 1 |
| Merchant & capitalist | 1 | Realtor | 1 |
| Capitalist | 1 | Salesman | 1 |
| Investor, financier | 1 | Building contractor | 1 |
| Real estate owner | 1 | Lumberyard foreman | 1 |
| Bank adviser | 1 | Plantation overseer | 1 |
| Bank president | 1 | Sugarcane grower | 1 |
| Banker | 3 | Licensed pharmacist | 1 |
| Bakery proprietor | 1 | Educator | 3 |
| Businessman | 1 | Minister, teacher | 3 |
| Business manager | 1 | Kuomintang secretary | 1 |
| Corporation official | 7 | Society president | 3 |
| | | Total | 126 |

*Source: Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1929), "Occupation and Status."

and "business manager." Some of the migrants had been able to enter business at the time of their arrival in Hawai'i, particularly those who joined a father or other relatives already established in business.

Some of the earlier migrants had come with capital, but one whose title was "capitalist" illustrates a more typical business career. He is said to have "amassed a goodly fortune" after coming to Honolulu at the age of nineteen and starting out as a vegetable gardener. He went on to become a partner in a rice plantation with cousins and other relatives and established two rice mills. Eventually he bought parcels of land on which he built apartment houses and store buildings. "From this he accumulated a fortune that can almost rank him as a millionaire."⁶ Probably not many of even the successful migrants made large fortunes, but the move up the economic ladder from modest beginnings is a common story. Several accounts portray pride in having had to struggle to reach the status of merchant.

Incidentally, these accounts refute a common misconception that present-day Hawai'i Chinese are all descendants of migrants who came as contract laborers to work on Caucasian-controlled sugar plantations. None of the biographies mention field work on sugar plantations; one man does identify himself as a plantation overseer and another as a "sugarcane grower," which might have meant an independent grower of cane for sale to mills, with Chinese laborers whom he employed and housed. Other biographies include references to farming and growing taro, pineapples, or bananas. One reports that "at the age of 20 he came to Hawaii at the request of his friends and worked in the rice fields of Kaneohe."⁷

Demonstration of economic achievement in these biographies is evidence of its status value; it is significant that most of the titles assigned to the biographees (and if not chosen, at least accepted by them) indicate such achievement. Nevertheless, there were other titles that had status value even if they did not point to financial success. Six of the migrants are listed as educators or ministers and teachers, occupations with prestige. The men identified as educators were brought to Hawai'i to head Chinese-language schools. Those who came as ministers for Chinese Christian congregations established Chinese-language classes in conjunction with their church work, as well as arranging classes for migrants wanting to learn English. Obviously, their inclusion in this volume indicates that their professions placed them in a high-status category in the eyes of other Chinese.

Participation in Chinese societies and status

Before leaving China, migrants had been immersed in the families and clans of the villages in which they had grown up. In Hawai'i, organizations formed by migrants brought together those who spoke the same or similar dialects and who had common problems or shared similar interests. As migrants became increasingly concentrated in urban areas, Chinese communities developed networks of organizations, the largest, of course, in Honolulu.

The biographies of 113 of the 126 migrants in our study list societies in which they had participated as members or leaders. Of the ninety-one societies mentioned, eighty-two were all-Chinese societies that had been founded by migrants during the previous fifty years; four others were all-Chinese

groups organized by Hawai'i-born Chinese—for example, the Hawai'i Chinese Civic Association. Only five of the ninety-one organizations had not been started by Chinese and were not all-Chinese in membership (a private school alumni organization, a private school board, a YMCA, and two business organizations). These five were listed by four men who had been brought to Hawai'i as children, individuals whose outlook was closer to that of Hawai'i-born Chinese than was typical of those who had come as adults.

The eighty-two societies listed in the biographies that were established by migrant Chinese are grouped below into seven categories designed to reflect the expanding social world in which the migrants were developing status.⁸

Village clubs. Association with fellow villagers was often the first point of contact for migrants in Hawai'i, and except for those from villages made up entirely of one lineage or clan it was a broadening experience. Many villages contained rival clans of different surnames who might not ordinarily have associated in intimate, personal ways with each other. In Hawai'i, however, having the same dialect and memories of life in the same village provided a basis for organizing village clubs for mutual aid and friendly interchange. Some village clubs built clubhouses and most came to hold annual banquets that were great occasions for sociability—occasions different from anything that might have occurred in the home villages. In these clubs migrants had roles and identities based on their lives and circumstances in Hawai'i as well as on their family situations in the home village.

District and Kejia (Hakka or "guest") societies. A further extension of the migrants' social world resulted when individuals from the same locality in China formed doo or du (district) or xian (county) societies. Most of these were founded in the 1890s and early 1900s, particularly by migrants from the area in Guangdong now known as Zhongshan. With active participation and generous donations of money, many of these associations brought about improvements in the home districts, such as schools, hospitals, roads, and transportation. Migrants involved in bringing about these changes were simultaneously enhancing their status among their fellow migrants in Hawai'i and gaining recognition in China.

Most of the district societies bought property in Honolulu on which they built clubhouses. Some of them also built tenements for rental to members. These activities again indicated the growth of more permanent attachment to the Hawaiian milieu and a weakening of the feelings of transiency associated with sojourner attitudes.

The organization founded by Hakka migrants had some characteristics of the district associations, although it was not based on a particular locality in China. Not enough Hakkas came from any one district of Guangdong Province to form a district association, but they had enough in common to form their own society. They were a distinctive Chinese

historic and cultural group, speaking a different dialect and living in separate villages throughout the areas from which Hawai'i's migrants came. In Hawai'i, Hakkas developed a definite we-feeling as a result of being regarded by the more numerous and dominant bendi (Punti or "native") migrants as of lower status.

Surname societies. Because Chinese in Hawai'i of the same surname included migrants from different localities in China, even speaking mutually unintelligible dialects and exhibiting other cultural differences, it was difficult to form a society that would indeed include all persons with the same surname. These differences were operative among the migrants for many years. Change came later when most of the Chinese were Hawai'i-born. Then meetings could be conducted in English, and Chinese of many different backgrounds sharing the same surname made up the membership.

Major Chinese community organizations. Migrants who became leaders and spokesmen in the district and Hakka associations were in turn drawn into participation as directors, trustees, and officers of the two most important organizations in the Honolulu Chinese community—the United Chinese Society and the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce. These associations were important in resolving conflicts between Chinese groups, and they were trusted by the Chinese and by government authorities as representatives of all Chinese in Hawai'i. Positions of leadership in these two organizations carried heavy responsibility but also brought high status to those who held them. This was apparent in the biography (published in 1957) of one popular Chinese leader: "Inseparable from civic affairs, [he] has held the presidency of all the major Chinese organizations, including the United Chinese Society . . . and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce."⁹

Organizations with a national China focus. Another significant development among the migrants concerned their conception of themselves as Chinese nationals. New awareness of their common identity as Chinese was intensified with annexation in 1898 and the extension of the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act to Hawai'i. The weakness of the Chinese government in dealing with discriminatory actions against the *wah kiu* (Chinese overseas) stimulated interest in nationalistic movements promoted by Chinese political activists such as Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Liang Qichao who came to Hawai'i in search of financial and other support for their causes. Thousands became supporters of Dr. Sun's organizations advocating overthrow of the Qing dynasty. Others joined in reform movements designed to bring about the change of the imperial government into a constitutional monarchy.¹⁰

Discussions and debate among the migrants about these political matters brought about further changes in the migrants' organizational affiliations. Villagers who had been

remote from the national government at home developed not only an awareness of themselves as Chinese overseas but a sense that they had a role to play in the movements that were sweeping through China. Turbulence in the governance of China following the success of the revolution in 1911 became reflected in fluctuating political alignments among migrants, especially in the years just prior to the publication of *The Chinese of Hawaii* in 1929.

Chinese-language newspapers and Chinese-language schools also came to reflect a national focus.¹¹ The newspapers served as organs of opposing nationalistic movements. Migrants joined groups that supplied funds for imported equipment and for writers and editors brought in to carry on the polemics of the competing newspapers.

Migrants who founded and supported the Chinese-language schools in the early decades of the twentieth century were also commonly aligned with one or another of the nationalistic movements active within the Chinese community. The ostensible reasons for establishing these schools were not political; they were to provide children with knowledge of Chinese language and culture. But founders of the schools were concerned about the political orientations that would prevail in them. Differing political orientations influenced the support given to the Wah Mun schools (pro-Kuomintang), by 1929 called the Zhongshan Chinese-language schools, and to the Mun Lun Chinese-language school (pro-constitutionalist). Such support served to further distinguish leaders with different orientations and to some extent to symbolize divisions within the Chinese community. For several years the very words “Mun Lun” and “Zhongshan” continued to distinguish Hawai’i Chinese among themselves.

Christian organizations. Identification as a Christian was itself evidence of movement away from traditional village culture and toward a cultural outlook prevailing in the westernized society of the Islands. Christian migrants in 1877 had founded the Chinese YMCA, one of the very first all-Chinese societies in the Islands. For decades migrant members of the Chinese Christian churches in Hawai’i had close relationships with Caucasian ministers and lay mission workers who took a special interest in Chinese Christians. These relationships were important during the 1880s and 1890s, when anti-Chinese agitation and government discrimination intensified, and even during the following decades, when anti-Chinese attitudes were weakening. In their biographies some Chinese Christian migrants mentioned preferential treatment from Caucasian employers; this was especially true of younger Chinese migrants who had attended mission schools and had learned English. One such migrant acknowledged the assistance of a member of a missionary family in getting a position in one of the major banks in the 1880s.¹² As the Chinese community became increasingly important in the Islands’ expanding economy, many Caucasian firms employed these English-speaking Chinese.

Another migrant reports that he was employed as “head Chinese Salesman” by two firms in succession, in the second one “catering to the Chinese business.”¹³

Other Chinese organizations. In the seventh category of all-Chinese groups are those organized by migrants with special concerns of interest to relatively small segments of the Chinese community. They include craft guilds, benevolent societies of limited membership, cemetery associations, an oratorical society, a literary association, and a Chinese-English debating society.

Membership in societies. By 1929 island society had a network of hundreds of organizations and the Chinese community itself had an extensive complex of societies. Even though 13 of the 126 migrants cited no society membership, the other 113 made 315 references to organizations to which they belonged. The striking thing about these references is that they are almost exclusively to migrant-organized societies—304 references are to these societies, with the small remainder divided between societies organized by Hawai’i-born Chinese and mixed-ethnic organizations. The categories most frequently mentioned are the district and Hakka societies, the major Chinese community organizations (United Chinese Society and Chinese Chamber of Commerce), and the organizations with a national China focus. It appears that for the migrant generation, evidence of participation in all-Chinese organizations founded by members of their own generation was most important in their projection of their public image.

Roles in Chinese societies. Even more significant indications of status among the Chinese migrants are the roles they played in these societies. In Table 2 the roles are divided into three categories: major leadership, minor leadership, and membership. The data in this table suggest that migrants were more likely to mention societies in which they held leadership positions rather than simply membership. Major leadership roles were those of founder, president, vice-president, chairman, or vice-chairman. Minor leadership offices included those of secretary, treasurer, and director. We distinguish major and minor leadership roles here primarily because they provide clues to changes in status.

Positions of leadership are evidence of commitment to the Chinese community and especially to the organizations that dealt with particular interests or concerns. Leadership roles in nationally oriented groups were most frequently mentioned, indicating the prevailing concern within the Chinese community in the 1920s. One difference between earlier China-born migrants and later ones, especially those who had come as children or youths, is that while the former were more committed to leadership in the district and Hakka associations, the latter were more involved in the leadership of groups oriented toward political change in China, especially those associated with the Kuomintang.

TABLE 2. PARTICIPATION IN MIGRANT-ORGANIZED ALL-CHINESE SOCIETIES BY 113 CHINA-BORN MIGRANTS TO HAWAII, 1929

| Category of society | Major leadership role | Minor leadership role | Member | Total |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------|
| Village | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| District/Hakka | 25 | 17 | 14 | 56 |
| Surname | 5 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| National China focus | 54 | 41 | 23 | 118 |
| United Chinese Society | 6 | 6 | 8 | 20 |
| Chinese Chamber of Commerce | 9 | 9 | 23 | 41 |
| Christian | 4 | 18 | 7 | 29 |
| Other | 17 | 7 | 6 | 30 |
| Total | 122 | 100 | 82 | 304 |

*Source: Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1929). Of the 126 migrants given English-language biographies in this volume, 13 did not mention membership in any societies.

Another characteristic of the leaders revealed in the biographies is their movement up the ladder from minor to major roles in the societies. One leader, for example, was secretary of a district society for ten years, vice-president for two years, and finally had been president for two years at the time the biography was written. The prestige value of this last position is shown by the fact that three of the migrants simply listed "society president" as their title. One of these was born in Zhongshan in the 1850s, came to Hawai'i in the mid-1880s, and carried on businesses in Honolulu's Chinatown for several decades. According to his biography, "Mr. A. has taken part in many civic activities in Honolulu's Chinese community. He is president of the United Chinese Society and Vice-president of the [surname society.] He has served as president of the Krock On Society, Mu Hock Club, Mun Lun Chinese School, and Constitutionalist Party, and as manager of the *Sun Chung Kwock Bo* [the Constitutionalist Party newspaper] . . . he originated the movement to establish the Mun Lun School."¹⁴

Other sources of status

Citizenship. Sixteen of the biographies list American citizenship, either by naturalization during the monarchy or by birth to a naturalized father. Citizenship status was especially precious in the early decades of the twentieth century because after annexation in 1898 few foreign-born Chinese could become naturalized citizens of the United States until 1943. American citizenship had practical advantages (as in the case of reentry after visits to China) and also prestige value. In addition, citizenship gave a greater feeling of security to migrants and their children who were in the process of becoming settlers.

Donations and status. One salient feature of the Chinese community during the migrant era was donation of considerable sums of money to a variety of causes; several biographies mention such contributions. Some of these were responses to

appeals for help in home villages and districts. One migrant, who had been a merchant in Hawai'i for more than thirty years, on a visit to China in 1910 "initiated and donated \$200 for the construction of the . . . clan ancestral temple in Shekki."¹⁵ The biography of another migrant states: "He is very enthusiastic in the affairs of the . . . Villagers' Club in Hawaii. He had spent a considerable sum of money for the improvement of his native village, even to financing the construction of the stone road there."¹⁶

Still another migrant who had come to Hawai'i in the 1880s visited China in 1919. While there "he participated in many civic undertakings, such as the erection of a girls normal school, improving the Chungshan [Zhongshan] district jail, assisting the maternity home, and serving as president of the See Dai Doo Road Construction Co. . . . During the flood of the Kwangtung [Guangdong] rivers, he donated a large sum to the relief fund, for which he received a votive tablet from the Chinese government."¹⁷

As migrants became more conscious of their status as Chinese nationals they became more responsive to appeals for financial support of reform movements in China, especially after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. Later, when China was invaded by the Japanese army, they contributed to resistance movements and help for victims of aggression.

Other biographies reveal concern about Hawai'i Chinese community matters, with contributions to funds for building clubhouses or society headquarters, temples, Chinese-language schools, and churches, as well as for special events such as celebrations and festivals. For example, a merchant who had come to Hawai'i in the early 1880s at the age of twenty "donated a large sum to the building fund" of the Chinese Church of Christ, of which he was "an officer and deacon."¹⁸

Education. In view of the high value traditionally placed by Chinese upon learning, it is notable that most of the biographies make no reference to education. It is likely that several of the migrants had at least some elementary instruction in

writing and the Chinese classics as children. Seven who did give information about their education had come to Hawai'i after 1900 in an "exempted category." Three had attended high schools and seminaries before coming to Hawai'i as Christian ministers, and three others came as principals and teachers at Chinese-language schools. The seventh, who had graduated from a university in Japan, had come to head up the Chinese consulate in Honolulu. After the government in China that had appointed him fell out of power he remained in Honolulu as executive director of the United Chinese Society and the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and also became an adviser to one of the local banks.

Of the forty-five migrants who had been brought to Hawai'i as children, only ten mentioned their education. The majority had come in the 1880s and 1890s, before the American public school system was established in the Islands. Nine of the ten had attended schools in Honolulu, mentioning specifically the Fort Street School, Mills, St. Louis College, Iolani, and Punahou. The tenth, who had come to Hawai'i at the age of sixteen, had been "educated in the village."

The absence of references to education in so many of these biographies is not in any way to be construed as a lack of interest in or a low valuation of education. Quite the opposite is indicated in one of the biographies, which suggests the projection of parental ambitions: "[The Ls] have three sons and four daughters—the sons being Hing Hai, graduate of the University of California . . . Hing Biu, student at the University of Hawaii; and Hing Yee, student at McKinley High School. The daughters are Jennie, teaching at Central Junior High; Sylvia, connected with the accounts department of the Advertiser Publishing Co.; Doris, faculty member of August Ahrens School, and Kwai Ngan, student at the University of Hawaii."¹⁹ Notably again, what appears here is not only a high valuation of education but, whatever the parents' goal might have been concerning a return to China, the transformation of the family into settlers.

HAWAI'I-BORN CHINESE: 1957 AND 1983 GROUPS

We turn next to an analysis of eighty-six Hawai'i-born Chinese (eighty-three men and three women) whose biographies were included in *The Chinese of Hawaii: Who's Who, 1956–1957* and ninety-one (eighty-six men and five women) included in the 1983 *Leaders of Hawaii*. In the following analysis they will be referred to as the 1957 group and the 1983 group of Hawai'i-born Chinese. All of those in 1957 were second-generation Chinese, that is, born of migrants who had established families in Hawai'i. All were born between 1895 and 1922 and hence were somewhere between their thirties and early sixties; the average age was fifty. Most had completed their education and become established in their careers. Some had already retired. Members of the 1983 group were born after 1920 and thus represent a later gen-

eration than the 1957 group. Most of them were third- and fourth-generation descendants of migrants.

Education and status

Formal schooling in Hawai'i was increasing rapidly during the period when the older of these two groups of Hawai'i-born Chinese was coming of school age. After annexation an American system of elementary and secondary public schools was established and private schools, such as Iolani School, Mid-Pacific Institute, St. Louis College, and Punahou School, expanded their enrollments. The University of Hawai'i, started in 1907 with the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, developed into a university offering bachelor's degrees, and later master's degrees and doctorates, in many fields.

Table 3 gives information on the formal schooling of the 1957 and 1983 groups. The data are impressive. Whereas 109 of the 126 migrants described in 1929 made no mention of education, only four of the 1957 second-generation group and none of the 1983 third- and fourth-generation group failed to do so. All but thirteen of the eighty-six in 1957 and all of those in 1983 had at least graduated from high school. Several of those whose highest level of education was high school graduation had had further technical or business training. Ten of the second generation mention enrollment in business school courses, University of Hawai'i extension courses, and correspondence school courses. One who reached a high managerial position in a large local dairy firm is said to have "enrolled in the LaSalle Extension College and in 1930 undertook special dairy studies at Iowa College and at the University of California in 1931."²⁰

Even more impressive is the number of Hawai'i-born Chinese whose biographies include higher education. More than half of the second-generation set and all but five of those in 1983 were university graduates with bachelor's or higher degrees. The feelings about educational status are implied in the first sentence in one of the 1957 biographies: "Although not a college educated businessman, [Mr. W.] has found an enviable place in commerce through practical application of his engineering education."²¹

In addition to those who achieved master's degrees or LL.B.s, nearly a fifth of the 1957 group and nearly a third of the 1983 group received doctorates, a distinctive move away from the business careers of most of the leaders in the migrant generation. For many of their parents the "my-son-the-doctor" syndrome revealed a new source of status in the Hawai'i Chinese community. No doubt the fortunes once striven for by sojourner migrants had in many families been invested in the higher education of children as the idea of returning to China had been abandoned.

The four biographies of those in the 1957 group who did not mention education imply that special circumstances limited their schooling. It is well known that hundreds of migrants with sojourner attitudes took their young sons back

TABLE 3. HIGHEST LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION REPORTED BY THE 1957 AND 1983 GROUPS OF HAWAII-BORN CHINESE

| Highest level reported | 1957 group | 1983 group |
|--|------------|------------|
| No mention of education | 4 | 0 |
| Chinese village education | 2 | 0 |
| Early education in Canton, Shanghai | 2 | 0 |
| Education in Hawai'i's public schools | 5 | 0 |
| High school graduate | 18 | 1 |
| Post-high school training (no additional degree) | 10 | 4 |
| Bachelor's degree, University of Hawai'i | 8 | 8 |
| Bachelor's degree, U.S. mainland | 6 | 7 |
| Post-bachelor's degree training | 1 | 9 |
| LL.B. | 6 | 8 |
| Master's degree | 5 | 8 |
| Post master's degree | 0 | 6 |
| J.D. | 3 | 8 |
| Post J.D. | 0 | 1 |
| Ph.D. | 0 | 7 |
| Post Ph.D. | 0 | 1 |
| D.D.S | 5 | 0 |
| Post D.D.S. | 1 | 2 |
| M.D. | 0 | 2 |
| Post M.D.—1–3years | 5 | 5 |
| Post M.D.—4 or more years | 5 | 14 |
| Total | 86 | 91 |

to their ancestral villages for whatever education was available there. This was especially frequent in the 1880s and 1890s, when opportunities for schooling in Hawai'i were limited, especially in the rural areas. Five men in the 1957 group had been taken back to the fathers' villages "early in life for education" there. For two of the five that was the limit of their formal education. The other three mentioned that they had attended school after returning to Hawai'i. One graduated from McKinley High School and another from St. Louis College high school. The latter, born in 1898 and brought back from China in 1906, was owner-manager of a store named after himself. His biography does not mention any of his own sons being taken to China. Instead, nearly half the space is devoted to what seems to have been his greatest source of pride: "Five of his six children are university graduates and have established themselves in their respective fields: Wallace I.C. (B.S. Business Administration, Marquette University); Robert I.W. (LL.B. Transylvania College and Vanderbilt University Law School); Seet Beak (B.A. Idaho University); Mrs. Susie S.H. Lob (Education, University of Michigan); Joyce Y.E. (Education, Iowa State Teachers' College). Another daughter, Jeanne Wan is a student at the University of Hawaii."²²

Occupation and status

The second generation—1957. Of the eighty-six second-generation Hawai'i-born Chinese in the 1957 *Who's Who* only one is listed as "merchant," a striking contrast to the 89 of 126 migrants so described in 1929. This man was one of the five who had been taken back to their fathers' villages for their early education; he was operating his own store, as so many of the 1929 group had done. While all but seven of the migrants were in business occupations, only about two-thirds of the 1957 titles specifically mentioned business careers; a third referred to professional occupations (see Table 4).

Organizing the titles of the 1957 biographies by category of educational attainment reveals some interesting occupational differences. The titles for the twenty-eight high school graduates suggest that several of them, like members of the migrant generation, were owner-managers, proprietors, or presidents of their own stores or firms. Some of them, like a few of the migrants, were involved in real estate, but in a larger variety of roles, as realtors, real estate brokers, and real estate appraisers.

Another difference is that several titles for businessmen in 1957 are more specific than those for the migrants. In 1957 these titles give the name of the firm owned or worked for, especially when it is well known or prestigious. Examples are the listings for manager, Sun Yun Wo and Mei Lai restaurants; chief accountant, Hawaiian Electric Co.; vice-president and treasurer, Love's Biscuit & Bread Co., Ltd.; and vice-president and manager, Bishop National Bank (Hilo branch).

Even more remarkable is the shift from business to professional categories by a third of the second-generation group, including real estate appraisers, public accountants, CPAs, and structural engineers. Like most of the 1929 group, these men were also involved in business. This was probably also true of most of those in the legal profession, as is made clear in some of the titles: "attorney-at-law and business executive," "attorney and real estate appraiser." However, they were involved in a much broader segment of the territory's commercial community than was the migrant group.

The doctoral degrees of sixteen men in 1957 point to the increase among Hawai'i-born Chinese of specialists whose careers illustrate movement into a larger community than the one in which most of the migrants and the earlier Hawai'i-born Chinese had lived and worked. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, and other professional Chinese probably drew clients other than Chinese. The physician who became president of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawai'i was an example of how far beyond the Chinese community some of the second generation were moving.

1983 group (most third- and fourth-generation). Table 5 organizes by category of educational attainment the titles given for the 1983 group of Hawai'i-born Chinese. An even smaller proportion of this group were businessmen than was the

TABLE 4. BIOGRAPHY TITLES FOR EIGHTY-SIX HAWAII-BORN CHINESE GROUPED BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION ATTAINED, 1957

| | |
|---|--|
| No mention of education (4) | Bachelor's degree (15) |
| Owner—Chinatown Grill | Businessman, realtor |
| Restaurateur | Private investigator |
| Owner-manager, Aloha Health Foods | Business executive |
| President, Andrade & Ahuna | Business executive and real estate appraiser |
| | Investment broker |
| Less than high school graduation (9) | Purchasing agent, Flintkote Co. |
| Restaurateur (2) | President, Honowaii Investment Co. |
| Manager, Sun Yun Wo and Mei Lai restaurants | Realtor and real estate appraiser |
| Businessman | Printer, designer |
| Corporation executive | Treasurer, Territory of Hawaii |
| Tax and travel consultant, real estate broker | Public accountant |
| Owner-manager, Kalihi Super Market | Certified public accountant (2) |
| Manufacturer (food products) | Vice-president, Chun-Hoon, Ltd.; public accountant |
| Assistant secretary, Stocks & Bonds Dept., Bishop Trust Co., Ltd. | Structural engineer, director of building inspections, City and County of Honolulu |
| High school graduate (28) | Post-bachelor's degree |
| Merchant | LL.B., J.D., master's degree (14) |
| Business entrepreneur | Realtor |
| Business executive (5) | Vice-president, Young's Department Store |
| Corporation executive | Public relations director, City Mill Co., Ltd. |
| Businessman, realty broker | Senior vice-president and director, American Security Bank |
| Travel agent, tour operator and director | Attorney-at-law (3) |
| Tax consultant and real estate broker | Attorney-at-law and business executive (2) |
| Assistant cashier, American Security Bank | Attorney-at-law and certified public accountant (2) |
| Cashier, American Security Bank | Attorney and real estate appraiser |
| Treasurer, Hawaiian Broadcasting System | Attorney-at-law and registered civil and structural engineer |
| Manager, Tong Hon Store | Judge, District Court of Honolulu |
| Manager, Wholesale Dept. of Tai Hong Co. | Ph.D., D.D.S, M.D. (16) |
| Owner-manager, John Lau Service Station | Dental surgeon (5) |
| Proprietor, Moderne Gift Shop | Orthodontist |
| President, Paradise Electric Co. | Physician and surgeon (7) |
| Manufacturer (poi) | Physician and specialist in internal medicine |
| Real estate broker and president, Central Building Co. | Ophthalmologist |
| Vice-president and treasurer, Love's Biscuit & Bread Co., Ltd. | President, Board of Health, Territory of Hawaii |
| Executive vice-president and general manager, Foremost Dairies—Hawaii, Ltd. | |
| Vice-president and manager, Bishop National Bank (Hilo branch) | |
| Assistant assessor, County of Mani | |
| State legislator and businessman | |
| Chief accountant, Hawaiian Electric Co. | |
| Civic worker | |

TABLE 5. BIOGRAPHY TITLES FOR NINETY-ONE HAWAII-BORN CHINESE GROUPED BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION ATTAINED, 1983

| | |
|--|--|
| High school graduate (5) | Judge |
| Special assistant to shipyard commander | Lawyer |
| Corporate executive | Lawyer and financier |
| Estate planner | President, Life Insurance Co., and attorney-at-law |
| Investment banker | Realtor and developer |
| Banker | Architect, inventor, and developer |
| | Banker |
| Bachelor's degree (24) | Clergy, executive director |
| Administrative and research assistant | Corporate executive |
| Business agent and community organizer | Director of bands |
| Business executive (2) | Educator (retired D.O.E. Sup't) |
| Businessman, CPA | Engineer, manager, and administrator |
| Corporate executive | Executive, medical association |
| Director of finance, City and County of Honolulu | Financial vice-president, Hawaiian Electric Co. |
| Executive, hotel industry | Government official and chief engineer |
| Executive, industrial relations | Planning consultant (engineering) |
| Executive, electric engineering | Public health educator |
| President, Hawaii Credit Union League | State legislator |
| Real estate broker and business executive | Structural engineer |
| Realtor (2) | |
| Senior vice-president and department manager, GECC | Doctoral degrees: Ph.D., D.D.S., M.D. (31) |
| Construction engineer | Author, business consultant, architect, lecturer, motivator |
| Consulting engineer | Educator (retired professor) |
| Consultant for social work and community planning | Immunologist |
| Entomologist and quarantine official | Ordained minister, teacher, therapist |
| District forester | Dentist |
| Fashion consultant | Ophthalmologist (3) |
| Landscape architect | Orthodontist (retired), investments |
| Teacher and legislator | Physician (7) |
| Vice commander, 15th Air Base Wing | Physician, allergy specialist |
| | Physician and cardiologist |
| Post-bachelor's degree | Physician, nephrologist |
| LL.B., J.D., master's degree (31) | Physician and professor of psychiatry |
| Attorney (2) | Physician and psychiatrist |
| Attorney-at-law (2) | Physician and surgeon (3) |
| Attorney and business executive | Professor |
| Attorney and educator | Professor and coach |
| Attorney and manager | Prof. and consulting psychologist |
| Attorney and per diem district judge | Professor of nursing |
| Attorney and realtor | Surgeon (2) |
| Banker and attorney-at-law | Thoracic and cardiovascular surgeon |
| Family court judge | |
| Financier and retired U.S. senator | |

case in 1957. And again, titles referring to business careers in 1983, such as “executive, hotel industry” and “executive, industrial relations,” indicate involvement in a business world far different from that of the migrants. Those in the 1983 group indicate positions requiring much more comprehension of Hawai‘i’s economic structure. This is true also of those identified as professionals, such as those with LL.B.s or J.D.s. Many of their titles point to dual roles, such as “attorney-at-law and business executive,” “attorney and realtor,” “attorney and manager,” “banker and attorney-at-law,” and “financier and retired U.S. senator.” Others in the professional category, like the engineers, architects, and, no doubt, the state legislator, were also involved in the business world. Their business world had little resemblance to that of their migrant ancestors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only was the Hawaiian situation different, but most of those preparing for professional careers had spent years on the U.S. mainland, which had given them contacts with a still larger world.

Many of the titles refer to professional careers considerably removed from commerce. Listed among those with bachelor’s degrees, for example, are a consultant in social work and community planning, a retired entomologist and quarantine official, a landscape architect, and the vice commander of the 15th Air Base Wing. Among those with post-bachelor’s degrees are a clergyman, a band director at the University of Hawai‘i, a public health educator, and the J.D. who was legal adviser and administrator in the office of the president of the University of Hawai‘i. Except for the dentist and orthodontist, the remaining holders of doctorates were M.D.s, several of whom were also affiliated with the John A. Burns School of Medicine in the University of Hawai‘i. Comparison of the titles and biographies of the M.D.s in the 1983 group with those in 1957 reveals another interesting shift. Most of those in the 1983 group were more specialized, with more postdoctoral training and more continuous updating in their specialties, than was characteristic of their medical predecessors in the 1957 group.

Participation in organizations—1957 group

Eighty-two of the 86 biographies in 1957 have a total of 671 references to organizational membership, more than twice the number of references made by the 113 migrants in 1929. Table 6 summarizes the data using the same three categories that Table 2 did for the 1929 biographies: major leadership roles, minor leadership roles, and simple membership. In addition to the types of migrant-organized all-Chinese societies listed in Table 2, Table 6 adds categories for all-Chinese societies organized by Hawai‘i-born Chinese and societies with mixed-ethnic membership.

Participation in migrant-organized societies. Of the 671 references to organizational membership, about a third (227) are to participation in societies founded by migrants. About

half of the second-generation individuals who referred to organizational activity were born before 1907 and therefore were coming to maturity while these societies were still flourishing. Many of the fathers of this group were no doubt members, if not founders or leaders, of migrant societies in which participation by the second generation was encouraged. Bilingual Hawai‘i-born Chinese could play important roles as interpreters and intermediaries in the larger community and eventually could take major leadership positions as the older migrants became less active or died. Organizational connections were important for a large proportion of the second generation who were dependent on the Chinese community for economic support and social life. Numerous migrant-founded societies continued to have New Year’s banquets and other social occasions, and club-houses were frequented by some of the second generation. For some of the professionally trained Hawai‘i-born Chinese, such as the doctors, dentists, accountants, and lawyers, cooperation with migrant leaders and society officers was especially important.

Although some migrant organizations were declining in membership and a few, such as Chinese trade guilds, had disappeared, others remained active. The United Chinese Society and the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce continued to be viable organizations highly respected in the wider island society. Leadership in them carried prestige for second-generation Chinese as it had for leaders of the migrant generation. The biography of a Hawai‘i-born man who served as president of both of these, as well as other migrant-founded societies, could have been just as aptly titled “society president” as the three so titled in 1929:

Active in community affairs, Mr. Z. was President of the Ket On Society . . . and is now Honorary President. He was President of the Tsung Tsin Society . . . the Chee Kung Tong . . . the United Chinese Society . . . the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu . . . the Tai Koong School . . . the Hoo Cho School . . . the Hawaii Chinese Journal, Ltd. . . . the Pauoa Chinese Cemetery . . . the Palolo Chinese Home . . . Member of the Governor’s Advisory Committee on Government Organizations . . . and General Chairman of the 5th annual Narcissus Festival.²³

Participation in all-Chinese societies organized by Hawai‘i-born Chinese. The last entry in the section of the biography quoted above refers to a type of organization in the second category of organizations in Table 6—groups founded during a period when Hawai‘i-born Chinese were absorbing American culture and values but were not yet wholly identified with the larger Hawaiian society and, indeed, not wholly accepted in all parts of that society. Although these organizations were all-Chinese in membership they were largely patterned after non-Chinese organizations. The Kau-Tom Post of the American Legion, for example, was organized by Hawai‘i-born Chinese veterans of World War I who had found themselves not very welcome in Caucasian-dominated local chapters of the American Legion. The Hawaii Chinese Civic Association was established in 1925 to promote interest among Chinese in

TABLE 6. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETIES BY EIGHTY-TWO HAWAI'I-BORN CHINESE, 1957

| Category of society | Major leadership role | Leadership role | Member | Total |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| Migrant-organized all-Chinese societies | | | | |
| Village | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| District/Hakka | 17 | 3 | 30 | 50 |
| Surname | 2 | 5 | 14 | 21 |
| National China focus | 17 | 11 | 23 | 51 |
| United Chinese Society | 8 | 3 | 15 | 26 |
| Chinese Chamber of Commerce | 4 | 13 | 28 | 45 |
| Christian organization | 1 | 6 | 5 | 12 |
| Other | 9 | 8 | 3 | 20 |
| Total | 59 | 49 | 119 | 227 |
| All-Chinese societies organized by Hawai'i-born | | | | |
| National China focus | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Status focus | 18 | 1 | 65 | 84 |
| Welfare and culture focus | 7 | 1 | 4 | 12 |
| Total | 25 | 3 | 72 | 100 |
| Societies with mixed-ethnic membership | | | | |
| Local community | 5 | 7 | 17 | 29 |
| Countywide | 25 | 39 | 81 | 145 |
| Territory-wide | 23 | 37 | 56 | 116 |
| Nationwide | 1 | 12 | 40 | 53 |
| International | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 54 | 96 | 194 | 344 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 138 | 148 | 385 | 671 |

*Source: Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii: Who's Who, 1956-1957*. Four of the 86 in the 1957 group did not mention membership in any societies.

civic affairs, such as local and territorial elections, but also to press for recognition of the civil rights of Americans of Chinese ancestry, including appointments to civil service positions. At one time its membership was said to exceed 1,600, and some of its officers are included in the 1957 group. Chinese students at the University of Hawai'i organized fraternities and sororities patterned after those limited to Caucasians. Graduates of local and mainland universities in business and professional positions who found themselves excluded from prestigious private clubs organized all-Chinese clubs along similar lines.

Some of the organizations founded by the Hawai'i-born Chinese, even though all-Chinese in membership, were oriented toward the enhancement of status in the wider island community. To some extent these symbolized a dual identification as both Chinese and "Islanders." The Narcissus Festival, mentioned in the biography above, was symbolic of this. Although organized through the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, it was not solely an in-group activity. The election of

a "Narcissus Queen" and various cultural displays were publicized in the two main Honolulu newspapers as well as in the *Hawaii Chinese Journal* and were designed to appeal to the whole community.

Several second-generation organizations, however, were mainly in-groups, especially those formed as a result of a renewal of interest in Chinese culture and religion, including Chinese opera, Chinese classical literature, Chinese physical culture, Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Interestingly enough, some of these activities eventually came to attract participation by non-Chinese when what might be called "reverse acculturation" occurred. As non-Chinese became interested in Chinese culture, knowledge of the high culture of China and skill in Chinese arts and crafts became a source of prestige for Hawai'i-born Chinese members of these groups.

Participation in mixed-ethnic organizations. The biographies of the 1957 group list more organizations of mixed-ethnic

membership than the two types of all-Chinese organizations combined. Participation in such organizations indicates not only a great change in the place of Chinese in the multiethnic Hawaiian community, but a variety of self-conceptions involved in such participation. The entries in the biographies suggest a range of possibilities, from a high degree of ethnic consciousness to very little or none. Two examples illustrate this range. One person mentioned having headed the Chinese division in a Honolulu Community Chest drive. The Honolulu Community Chest was an interethnic organization but some appeals for funds during the 1930s and 1940s were targeted to particular ethnic groups, such as Chinese and Japanese, with persons regarded as influential in those groups making the separate appeals. Here a high degree of ethnic consciousness is implied, with a concern both for the individual's status in his own ethnic group and for his status and that of his group in the larger community.²⁴ At the other extreme, the orthodontist noted his membership in the American Dental Association, an organization in which his ethnicity was irrelevant. The same man was also a member of the Territorial Dental Society, the Honolulu County Dental Society, and past president of the Hawaii Society of Dentistry for Children. He began his dental practice in the 1940s, a time when ethnic divisions were significant in island society and most professional associations were dominated by Caucasians, so his ethnic identity was quite probably a matter of conscious recognition by others if not self-consciousness on his own part.

A large number of the organizations mentioned in the 1957 biographies had once been Caucasian in membership but had come to have members of other ethnic groups—for example, the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and the Honolulu Junior Chamber of Commerce. In some groups, such as the YMCA and YWCA, founded by Caucasians but multiethnic in membership, there was a gradual transition of control from Caucasian boards of directors to mixed-ethnic boards. During the transitional period the inclusion of non-Caucasian members as directors was often deliberate, with a high degree of ethnic consciousness among all those involved.

The names of the mixed-ethnic organizations mentioned by the 1957 group allow a classification along a continuum of enlarging social worlds for the Chinese participants. The third section of Table 6 presents data according to five categories of organizations: (1) local community, (2) countywide, (3) territory-wide, (4) nationwide, and (5) international. Examples of these are (1) Kalihi YMCA, Lanikai Association, Pearl Harbor Rotary Club; (2) Honolulu Council of Boy Scouts, Hawaii Island Chamber of Commerce, Honolulu Bar Association; (3) Hawaii Bar Association, Territorial Medical Advisory Board, Democratic Central Committee of Hawaii; (4) American Medical Association, American Institute of Architects, Phi Beta Kappa; (5) World Health Organization.

The great change from the migrant generation to the Hawai'i-born generations is obvious. Whereas only 4 of the

126 biographies in 1929 mentioned membership in mixed-ethnic organizations and only five such organizations were named, the eighty-two in the 1957 group made over three hundred such mentions, especially of countywide and territory-wide organizations. By 1957 substantial numbers of the Hawai'i-born Chinese had branched out from Chinese community organizations and had become participants in the wider island social system, not only as members but in leadership roles in mixed-ethnic organizations.

Participation in organizations—1983 group. By the time of the 1983 *Leaders of Hawai'i*, still greater changes had taken place in the pattern of organizational affiliation, at least as represented by the third- or fourth-generation Chinese included in this volume. The most striking change is the greatly diminished number of references to migrant-founded societies—only 35 in 1983 compared to 227 in 1957. (See Tables 6 and 7.) Similarly, there are only about a third as many references to all-Chinese groups organized by Hawai'i-born Chinese in 1983 as in 1957. Several possible reasons may be suggested. Undoubtedly one is that the 1957 group prepared their biographies for a who's who of Chinese in Hawai'i while the 1983 biographies were to be included in a who's who of leaders of all ethnic origins in Hawai'i. Moreover, all of the 1957 group were second-generation while those in the 1983 group were predominantly third- or fourth-generation descendants of the migrants. Another reason, of course, is that the number of migrant societies had greatly diminished as the migrants passed away and their descendants became more involved in other organizations. As early as 1936 Chock Lun wrote an article on over a hundred Chinese societies, stating: "At least 75 percent of these societies were promoted by the old generation, and half of them have become very inactive . . . during the past decade."²⁵ Since that time many have ceased to exist altogether.

The decline of migrant societies was accelerated when the People's Republic of China took control of Guangdong Province. Contact with kinsmen, villages, and districts was cut off. Houses that had been built by *wah kiu* and lands they had bought were absorbed into communes, and for years there seemed no prospect of visiting the area or renewing contact.

Even the societies that survived were losing their importance in the lives of the later generations of Hawai'i-born Chinese. Differences among the migrants that had been the basis for the proliferation of migrant societies were no longer significant in later generations. Many young Hawai'i-born Chinese, for example, do not know whether their migrant ancestors were Hakka or Punti, and in fact because of marriage between descendants of these two types of migrants the lines have become almost meaningless for individual identification.

Whatever the reason, fifty-three of the ninety-one persons in 1983 made no references at all in their biographies to any Chinese societies. The other thirty-eight made a relatively

TABLE 7. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETIES BY EIGHTY-EIGHT HAWAII-BORN CHINESE, 1983

| Category of society | Major leadership role | Leadership role | Member | Total |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| Migrant-organized all-Chinese societies | | | | |
| Village | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| District/Hakka | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Surname | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| National China focus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| United Chinese Society | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Chinese Chamber of Commerce | 1 | 5 | 6 | 12 |
| Christian | 4 | 0 | 11 | 15 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 9 | 6 | 20 | 35 |
| All-Chinese societies organized by Hawai'i-born | | | | |
| National China focus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Status focus | 15 | 8 | 11 | 34 |
| Welfare and culture focus | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 15 | 11 | 12 | 38 |
| Societies with mixed-ethnic membership | | | | |
| Local community | 23 | 12 | 14 | 49 |
| Countywide | 25 | 31 | 46 | 102 |
| Statewide | 89 | 127 | 151 | 367 |
| Nationwide | 11 | 95 | 159 | 265 |
| International | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 148 | 265 | 373 | 786 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 172 | 282 | 405 | 859 |

*Source: Evans and Senecal, *Leaders of Hawai'i*, 1983. Three of the 91 in the 1983 group did not mention membership in any societies.

small number: thirty-five to migrant-founded societies, most of them to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Christian organizations, and thirty-eight to those founded by the Hawai'i-born Chinese. As Table 7 shows, even in those Chinese organizations mentioned not many individuals in the 1983 group played leadership roles. One may infer that at least those Chinese listed as "leaders of Hawai'i" did not place great importance on Chinese organizations for their public status in Hawai'i.

At the same time, the last part of Table 7 shows that those in the 1983 group were much more active than those in the 1957 group as members and leaders of a large number of organizations with mixed-ethnic membership, many of which might more appropriately be termed "nonethnic." Nearly eight hundred references to organizations of this type appear in the biographies, and more of the organizations were statewide in membership rather than countywide, as

compared with those mentioned by the 1957 group. Moreover, many more had leadership roles in these groups. In addition to participation in professional and occupational associations, there are references to public offices and appointments to governmental commissions. There is also evidence of wider acceptance in the social structure of Hawaiian society, as shown by membership in formerly Caucasian clubs such as the Pacific Club and the Oahu Country Club.

Another difference between the 1957 and 1983 groups is the marked increase in participation in national organizations. More significant than the simple fact of membership are the leadership roles played by Hawai'i-born Chinese: places on the programs of national conventions, recognition by national scientific and professional societies, membership on committees of national organizations, and, in one outstanding case, election to the U.S. Senate.

CONCLUSION

The social world of the migrant group analyzed here had changed from that of sojourner, oriented toward a return to China, to that of settler in Hawai'i. With little formal schooling, migrants who had become leaders in Chinese societies were successful businessmen. These societies helped migrants maintain contacts with their homeland in South China, focused attention on political changes in China affecting the migrants as Chinese nationals, and dealt with matters affecting the Chinese community in Hawai'i.

In 1957 members of the second-generation group lived in a social world expanded beyond that of their migrant parents. While still actively identified with the Hawai'i Chinese community, they were participating both as members of that community and as individuals in many interethnic and some nonethnic organizations. Because of their education they were better prepared to enter a wider range of occupations than the migrants, with a lower proportion in the role of merchant and a considerable proportion having professional status.

The third- and fourth-generation Hawai'i-born Chinese in the 1983 group were largely highly educated, professional participants in Hawai'i's multiethnic community, with roles in many organizations unrelated to their ethnicity. The majority made no reference to membership in Chinese societies. The public image projected in their biographies was one of status derived from individual achievement in a cosmopolitan state and national world.

NOTES

1. Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1929), 1–207 (hereafter cited as *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1929). Other sections of the book, mostly in Chinese, give general information about Hawai'i and Chinese in the Islands—history, population, business, education, relations with the gov-

ernments of China and Hawai'i. There is a long section on Chinese societies in Hawai'i.

2. George F. Nellist, editor, *The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders, with Which Is Incorporated Volume III, Men of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1925).
3. Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii: Who's Who, 1956–1957* (Honolulu, 1957) (hereafter cited as *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1957).
4. Kani Evans and Pete F. Senecal, Ph. D., editors, *Leaders of Hawaii*, 1983 (Honolulu and Louisville, Ky.: Senecal and Associates, 1983).
5. Three of the 129 biographies were in Chinese only.
6. *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1929, 194.
7. *Ibid.*, 148.
8. For a detailed account of organizations developed by the migrant generation, see Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Chinese History Center and University Press of Hawai'i, 1980), chapters 9–14. An extensive description of Chinese societies by Chock Lun, "Chinese Organizations in Hawaii," was published in Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II* (Honolulu, 1936), 22–35. More recent information about Chinese organizations in Hawai'i in the 1960s appears in *The Chinese in Hawaii: A Historical Sketch*, edited by Robert Man War Lee for the Chinese Chamber of Commerce on its fiftieth anniversary (Honolulu, 1961). *Centennial Celebration, United Chinese Society*, 1987, 26–91, contains brief information on 102 Chinese organizations in Hawai'i.
9. *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1957, 159.
10. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers*, 273–79.
11. *Ibid.*, 292–98.
12. *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1929, 81.
13. *Ibid.*, 100.
14. *Ibid.*, 171.
15. *Ibid.*, 50.
16. *Ibid.*, 194.
17. *Ibid.*, 1.
18. *Ibid.*, 192.
19. *Ibid.*, 126.
20. *Chinese of Hawaii*, 1957, 23.
21. *Ibid.*, 165.
22. *Ibid.*, 88.
23. *Ibid.*, 187.
24. *Ibid.*, 187.
25. Chock Lun, "Chinese Organizations in Hawaii," 35.

The Chinese in Hawai‘i

Early Photographs

Douglas D. L. Chong



School for Chinese children in Aala District, Honolulu Chinatown in 1904. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Hawai'i Chinese Baseball Championship Team in Manila, 1915. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Second-generation Chinese band in 1907 playing Western instruments: banjo, guitar, mandolin and violin. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Founders of the Chinese Student Alliance, Wah Yun Hock Sang Lin Hop Wui, ca. 1913. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



1896 Chinese Christian schoolmates; Fort Street Chinese Church, dedicated in 1881. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Chinese Christian girls club attired in a blend of Chinese and Western garb of the time, 1904. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Hawai'i Chinese Student Alliance founded in 1906 to promote learning both English and Chinese. Center: president Charles Wong and Frank Damon, who helped found the organization. Damon, the superintendent of Chinese missionary work, and his wife were both educated in China. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Hawai'i Chinese of the 1st Infantry group during World War I gather at the canteen which sold cigars, tobacco, cigarettes, iced fruits, pies, and cakes. (photo) Courtesy of the Hawaii Chinese History Center



Early Nam Long family from Chung Shan in 1902. Ching Kan You and his father-in-law went to the California Gold Rush before settling as rice farmers in Hawai'i. Their descendants number over 1,300 and extend nine generations. Mrs. Ching Kan You, in middle with children, l-r Mrs. Tom You, Mrs. Luke See Chin, Mrs. Chun Mun Chu, Mrs. Tom Chung, Mrs. Yuen Sock, Mr. Ching Hung Yau. (photo) Courtesy of Douglas D. L. Chong

Opium and the Law

Hawai'i, 1856–1900

Lily Lim-Chong and Harry V. Ball

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THE EMERGENCE OF "THE PROBLEM"

Moved by the demand for agricultural products due to the California Gold Rush, the 1850 legislature of Hawai'i enacted a series of statutes to encourage the development of export agriculture in the kingdom. Included was a Master and Servant Act that provided the legal framework for the recruitment of foreign contract labor. In 1852 some 293 male Chinese contract laborers from Amoy in southern Fujian joined the small Chinese community in Hawai'i. After this first group another 1,247 male Chinese, along with fifty-four women and five children, were imported from China through 1863. These immigrants and all subsequent contract laborers stemmed from Guangdong.

Given the locations from which the Chinese laborers had come, it should have been no surprise that they brought along the practice of opium smoking. China had begun importing opium for medicinal purposes about 1535 (Parker, 1888: 2), and by 1680 the Chinese had developed a process for preparing it which greatly increased its potency. Smoking for pleasure became more widespread, and the number of addicts increased. In 1729 the first imperial edict was issued prohibiting the sale of opium and the maintenance of places where it could be smoked. However, England developed a substantial trade deficit with China because of the addiction of the English to China's tea. The efforts of the English government to restrict this "luxury" to the wealthy through high tariffs had produced a vast smuggling operation characterized as a "guerrilla war" (Winslow, 1975). England's "solution" had been to counter Chinese tea with India's opium.

Between 1796 and 1839, the Chinese emperor in turn countered with a series of edicts prohibiting importation of opium, each with more severe punishments, but opium continued to pour into China through the collusion of Chinese

mandarins and foreign smugglers, primarily British, backed up by the massive and largely government-controlled opium production system in India (Allen, 1850: 4–9; Fay, 1975: Ch. 4).¹ In 1839 an imperial edict established new penalties for opium smuggling—beheading for foreigners and death by strangulation for natives—and the government began a major effort to close this trade around Canton. The ensuing Opium War of 1839–42 and the related "unequal" treaties opened several Chinese ports to general trade and established the British colony of Hong Kong, which rapidly became the center for opium trade and smuggling. The Chinese emperor continued to issue edicts prohibiting the importation and smoking of opium, but the quantities smuggled from abroad increased until the Chinese began their own illegal domestic production (King, 1972: 6–10).

Nathan Allen (1850: 12 and 21) reported of Amoy, "I was told on good authority that every man who could afford to buy opium was in the habit of smoking," and that Amoy had as many as one thousand opium shops in 1843. He reported similar situations in many other locations in southern China.

Nevertheless, we have found no evidence of any expressed concern about opium in Hawai'i when plans were devised to import Chinese laborers. In fact, during the 1850s opium was a component of several of the patent medicines or "health elixirs" regularly advertised and dispensed by pharmacies as well as other retail stores in Honolulu. The newly arriving Chinese simply introduced the practice of smoking it, and Honolulu retailers added "prepared opium" to their list of wares. For example, in 1855 Richard Coady, the keeper of a general retail store, advertised that he had just received "Cases of Prepared Opium, put up in Copper Packages of 2 and 3 Taels each, 49–21" (*Polynesian*, April 14, 1855). It is possible that many people in Honolulu were quite naive about the consequences of opium addiction.

However, by the very next year, 1856, the Chinese became a special problem for law enforcement and crime control in Hawai'i. In January 1856 the police justice of Honolulu, J. P. Griswold (quoted in Chief Justice, 1856: 13) asserted that "the introduction of a foreign eastern element among the people" has brought a crime "heretofore almost unknown to the islands . . . that of burglary." Since the early 1820s the government of the kingdom had struggled with

the problem of the favorite abused substance of the haoles—“spirituous liquors”—and its threat to the native Hawaiians (Tokishi, 1988). Opium was now defined as the analogous “Chinese problem.” William Lee (1856: 2), chief justice of the Supreme Court, who as the first president of the Agricultural Society had strongly supported the recruitment of the “industrious” Chinese, now called upon the legislature to take action, and King Kamehameha IV, who throughout his reign manifested great concern for the health and declining numbers of the Hawaiians, underlined the urgency of the matter in his opening address to the Legislature of 1856 (Lydecker, 1918: 66–67).

OPIUM CONTROL LEGISLATION, 1856–1900

The Legislature of 1856 responded and passed the first of fourteen enactments that would deal with opium between 1856 and 1900. Analysis of these statutes and the debates accompanying their passage makes several points clear: throughout this period the population was continuously divided over what the public policy should be; the divisions were based upon both economic interests and moral considerations; and these divisions cut across the various ethnic groups, including the Chinese.

1856–59: Physician Monopoly for “Medicinal Purposes”

In their calls for legislative action Lee and Kamehameha IV advanced two reasons for the needed regulation: (1) to protect sugar plantations by preventing opium smoking and addiction from interfering with the efficiency of “coolie labor,” and (2) to protect the “life and health” of the declining native Hawaiian population, for the Hawaiians, it was claimed, had a “sociable nature and readiness to acquire any new thing” (Castle, 1884: 1).

The 1856 enactment was intended to limit the use of opium to medicinal purposes only. It provided that, beginning August 30, 1856, only licensed physicians and surgeons who purchased an additional special license for \$40.00 per year could lawfully import, sell, vend, or furnish opium to any person (Laws, 1856: May 30). The penalty for violation was a fine of \$50 to \$250. Possession or use per se was not prohibited and there was no requirement that a possessor have a prescription. Of course, the already existing laws pertaining to illegal imports and smuggling might also be applicable.

This regulatory scheme concentrated the legal supplies of opium in the pharmacies and offices of the physicians, who in turn soon became a special target for Chinese burglars.² However, it was hardly necessary to commit such crimes to obtain opium. The licensed physicians were legally importing large amounts of opium and regularly referred to it in

the advertisements for their pharmacies.³ Moreover, whether opium was purchased originally from physicians or smuggled into the kingdom, its sale and resale were quite lively in the Chinese community in Honolulu, which was growing rapidly as labor contracts expired. “Opium shops” or “dens” also had begun to appear. In May 1858, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA) raised questions about the government’s efforts to enforce the laws on unlicensed importing and selling (PCA, May 1858). The *Polynesian* (May 8, 1858) responded by advising the editor of the *Advertiser* to visit the police court and see for himself.

The published court statistics indicate that there were only four convictions for illegal selling for the years 1856 through 1859, but we have located five such cases, those of Awung, Ahsea, Akiulau (alias “Buck”), and Akina on Oahu and Kipeau on Kauai. A sixth person, Atiak, was convicted of furnishing opium to a prisoner. The usual penalty was a fine of \$50, which was paid within three days. Clearly the Chinese engaged in illegal selling or furnishing had little difficulty in paying their fines. Furthermore, Mr. Bartlett’s Chinese servant, who was committed to the fort in a contempt proceeding for desertion from service, informed the jailer that “he preferred the Fort to going home as he got plenty of opium whenever he wanted it, his Master paying for his support while in confinement” (*Prison Log*, February 18, 1857, in *Paahao Press*, January 1948: 14).

1859–60: “Prescriptions” for Chinese and Tougher Penalties

In 1859 the legislature reviewed all existing licensing laws as it compiled the first full civil code for the kingdom, and it made two major changes in the opium sections. First, sales to “Chinese or coolies” were expressly forbidden unless under a *written* prescription from a licensed physician. Second, the range of permissible fines was increased from \$50 to \$500, and an alternative sentence of imprisonment up to six months was authorized for the first time. Possession per se, even for Chinese without a written prescription, was not specifically prohibited (Civil Code, 1859: Ch. 7, Secs. 83–89). This more stringent policy remained in effect for only one year. Suddenly it was reversed.

1860–75: A Chinese License

By 1860 it was generally acknowledged that the existing efforts to control opium smoking among the Chinese were not effective. The prohibitionists, moreover, had suffered a major defeat when word came in that U.S. minister William B. Reed had taken the lead in forcing China to include full legalization of incoming opium shipments in the treaties negotiated in 1858 during the Second Anglo-Chinese War (King, 1972: 9). In addition, the kingdom was in dire need of additional income as it moved from a primary

dependence on whaling to sugar. In these circumstances the Legislature of 1860 added a policy of cultural pluralism to its policy of recognized medicinal purposes. Just as it had previously been forced to adopt a policy of legal licenses for the importation and distribution of spirituous liquors to the haole residents and transients, so it now established a licensing system for nonmedicinal importation and distribution of opium—but only to Chinese.

The new law, effective August 21, 1860, allowed the unrestricted sale of opium “to Chinamen” only (Laws, 1860: 22). Three “Chinese licenses,” two for Honolulu and one for Lahaina, were authorized at an upset price of \$2,000 each. Each license was conditioned upon the execution of a bond in the penal sum of \$1,000 not to sell to anyone except the Chinese. Licensed physicians could continue to import, sell, and furnish opium for medicinal purposes without the special additional license to import. All others were prohibited from dealing in and using opium on pain of a fine up to \$1,000 or imprisonment at hard labor for up to six months.

This act remained in effect for fourteen years, during which time the government collected a total of \$123,714 from license sales. However, it failed to produce the anticipated income for the first six years (1860–67) because each year the Chinese, “with their rare ability for combination and respect for Chinese obligation” (Castle, 1884: 2), joined together, bid \$2,000 for the first license, and did not seek the second Honolulu license. Of course, there were only about 850 Chinese residents in 1860 and this number had increased to only about 1,200 in 1866. Nevertheless, it was estimated on the basis of the duty paid on opium imports that during this period the opium trade was a \$15,000-a-year business (PCA, January 21, 1864).

However, in 1868 the two major local Chinese groupings, the bendi (Punti or “natives”) and Kejia (Hakkas or “guests”) began to compete for the Honolulu license. Hence its price rose to \$2,952. For the two-year period 1869–70 the average price was \$9,267 each year; for 1871–72 it was \$11,124; and for 1873–74 it was \$23,357. The government, of course, gained additional revenue from the duty paid on legal importations. When new legislation was passed in 1874 to eliminate the license in mid-1875, the 1875 license was still bought for \$19,266 on the chance that it would be valid (Castle, 1884: 2). At that time there were about four thousand Chinese residents and, if the same ratios held as in 1864, the opium trade then amounted to a \$60,000-a-year business.

At the same time as the licenses became more profitable to the government, the first Japanese laborers, 140 men, 6 women, and 2 children, arrived in 1868 with three-year contracts. However, the Japanese government soon expressed dissatisfaction with the manner of recruitment and the character of the recruits. It refused to send additional workers and made no attempt to insist upon or encourage the return of the first group, most of whom remained in Hawai‘i (Kuykendall, 1953: 183). Although a treaty between Hawai‘i and

Japan was signed in 1871, Japan permitted no more laborers to come to Hawai‘i until 1885 (Kuykendall, 1967: 154).

One reason for Japan’s refusal was Hawai‘i’s opium policy and the extent to which the 1868 group had become users of opium. The laws of Japan were very hostile to opium use.⁴ If Hawai‘i desired more Japanese laborers, something had to be done about “the Chinese problem.” The relationship between the two was highlighted in May 1874, when fifteen Japanese laborers were charged with assaulting Henry Treadway, their overseer. The assault reportedly occurred because they had “lost time” because of using opium, for which Treadway had declared he was going to “dock” them (PCA, May 23, 1874).

1875–79: Prohibition

The elections of 1873 produced many new faces in the 1874 legislature (Kuykendall, 1953: 262). Five opium bills were introduced. Only two went beyond a first reading, but these placed the issues dividing the community squarely before the house. Mr. Simon Kaai’s bill was to continue a single annual Chinese license, to be sold at public auction with an upset price of \$16,000. Mr. Komoihuehue’s bill sought to eliminate the special treatment for the Chinese and return to the 1856–59 policy of restricting the importation and use of opium to medicinal purposes only.

An organized movement quickly emerged in support of a new prohibition. Many petitions protesting Mr. Kaai’s bill poured in daily to the Assembly. The petitioners included “some 500 Chinese [from Oahu] alone . . . asking for the suppression of opium” (PCA, May 21, 1874). The petitions represented a broad spectrum of the community, and while most seemed primarily concerned with the problems of addiction and exploitation of the Chinese or a spread of the smoking habit to the Hawaiians, a few seemed more concerned with breaking the legal monopoly over the “Chinese market.” Despite the petitions, Mr. Kaai’s bill passed the Assembly by a vote of twenty-one to fifteen on July 21, received the sanction of the king on August 1, and was published as Chapter 38 of the Session Laws of 1874. There was to be a new Chinese license, and it would cost at least \$16,000 for 1875.

However, passage of the Kaai license bill did not automatically kill the Komoihuehue bill, and the opponents of a Chinese license increased their pressure on the legislators and the king. When the prohibitory bill came up for third reading on August 7, it too was passed. The king approved it the next day, and it was published as Chapter 56 of the Session Laws of 1874. Its effective date was August 8, 1875.

This second act authorized only the Board of Health to import and furnish opium, and then only for medicinal purposes. It prohibited all others from importing, selling, furnishing, or giving opium or its preparations under penalty of imprisonment for up to two years. For the first time mere possession of opium or preparations of opium became an offense, punishable by up to one year of imprisonment

at hard labor. Any physician who sold, prescribed, or otherwise furnished opium to persons “in the habit of smoking or otherwise using the same” was to forfeit his opium and to be subject to a fine of \$25 to \$100.

This prohibitory bill was generally well received by the press and large segments of the community. However, the fact that it did not take effect until August 8, 1875, coupled with the fact that the government had already sold the Chinese license for 1875 as authorized by Chapter 38, produced a spate of appeals to the Supreme Court when criminal prosecutions began under the new Prohibitory Act.⁵

Moreover, many persons continued to protest against the discriminatory nature of the Prohibitory Act. A good example is the letter by “Fair Play” (PCA, January 22, 1876), which argued that: (1) to a Chinese addict smoking was a “habit as irresistible as the impulses of the maniac,” (2) sudden suspension could “render death the inevitable consequence of its withdrawal,” and (3) many patent medicines readily available in the stores contained opium. The letter then concluded that it was “a ghastly parody” of justice “when the poor Celestial alone is held to account for the violation of a law which is equally violated in nearly every household in the Kingdom.” Of course, the “Fair Play” letter was not written in a vacuum, for just the month before Albert McWayne, a general retailer who claimed to be an “unlicensed pharmacist,” had been convicted in the police court and fined \$50 for selling laudanum to Mary Magdeline College Bickerton.

The 1876 legislature made only a few technical changes in the Prohibitory Act, but the debate in the community continued in the pages of the pro-license *Advertiser* and the prohibitionist *Hawaiian Gazette*.⁶ When the 1878 legislature convened, Representative Simon Kaai again introduced his Chinese-license bill, and on July 17 the Assembly passed the bill by a vote of eighteen to fourteen (*Gazette*, July 17, 1878). However, a month later King Kalakaua vetoed the bill, and the Prohibitory Act of 1874, as amended, continued in effect.

Two court cases kept the public’s attention focused on the opium issue. In December 1878, Henry Bradley, a Honolulu saloon keeper who was very visible because of his high lifestyle, was convicted in the police court for smuggling opium and became the first smuggler sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor under the mandatory provision of the 1874 Act rather than a fine under the general smuggling statute. Bradley appealed, and in January 1879 the Supreme Court held that mandatory imprisonment was the only sentence applicable to the crime of smuggling opium. Thereafter “the rule of no fine” was to be strictly enforced.

Two months later a dramatic murder case gave additional impetus to the fear the opium addiction was spreading to the native Hawaiians. In March 1879, it was reported that Akela, a Chinese storekeeper at Wailuku, Maui, had been killed in a robbery at his store (PCA, March 7 and 15, 1879), and in July

a young Hawaiian woman, Keliihanawai Davis, was tried in Honolulu for the murder. The trial disclosed that Ms. Davis had once been the mistress of Akela, that she had become an opium addict, and that the robbery had been carried out to obtain opium. She was convicted by a native jury and sentenced to be hanged. Her appeal to the Supreme Court was denied, but the case had generated much turmoil in the community. The Privy Council stayed her hanging until it could review the case (PCA, October 25, 1879). The king, upon the advice of the council, commuted her sentence to life imprisonment.

1880: The Moreno Bill and Licensed Chinese Physicians

Against this background four very wide-ranging opium bills were introduced in the 1880 legislature. The first proposed to liberalize the procedures for licensed physicians to import opium for medicinal purposes, the second to strengthen the Prohibitory Act, and the third to provide a single two-year Chinese license with an upset price of \$60,000. The fourth, known as the Moreno Bill, took note of the increasing opposition in England to Hong Kong’s place in the opium traffic (Faulkner and Field, 1975: 142–43) and proposed to have the Kingdom of Hawai’i replace Hong Kong as the opium manufacturing and exporting center of the Pacific. This was one of a package of proposals by one Celso Caesar Moreno, “an impecunious adventurer” who had recently arrived in Hawai’i (Kuykendall, 1967: 210). Several of Moreno’s proposals raised the anti-Chinese sentiments of many haole residents.⁷ The Assembly passed all four bills between July 9 and August 11.

However, just before the introduction of the Moreno (on July 21) another trial highlighting the danger of the spread of opium to native Hawaiians had been held in Honolulu. On June 5 a young Hawaiian lad, Kanui (alias Keoni Aiko), had been smoking opium with friends. Kalahoolewa came up to him and asked him for fifty cents. Kanui said he had no money. Kalahoolewa then grabbed Kanui’s horn of opium and ran. Kanui chased him and stabbed him with a knife. Kalahoolewa died. Kanui was convicted of murder in the second degree by a native jury and sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment at hard labor.

On August 11 and 14, messages came from King Kalakaua that he had signed the bills to toughen the penalties of the Prohibitory Act and to liberalize the procedures for importing opium for medicinal purposes, while providing for more detailed record keeping. He also announced that he had withheld assent from the Chinese Licensing Bill and the Moreno Bill (*Journal*, 1880; *Laws*, 1880: Chs. 18 and 25).

It is important to note that this legislature also enacted a short statute which provided for the first time that “Chinese physicians” were to be licensed to practice medicine “subject to the same laws and restrictions as other licensed physicians” (*Laws*, 1880: Ch. 19).

*1881–85: The Struggle Continues
and the Japanese Arrive*

Eighteen months after King Kalakaua withheld his assent to the Chinese-license and Moreno bills, Chief Justice A. Francis Judd reported to the Legislature of 1882 that enforcement efforts had increased substantially in 1880–81, with convictions increasing fourfold over the previous two years, and that “the strict law against its possession is valuable as tending to restrain our native population from the use of opium” (Chief Justice, 1882: 2).

But a Chinese license was not a dead issue. In 1884, Representative Lilikilani proposed to sell one \$30,000 license for sales to Chinese only, with an express prohibition on selling or furnishing opium to native Hawaiians (Castle, 1884: 3). Again, the Assembly passed the bill but the king did not assent to it.

Shortly thereafter, in February 1885, a shipload of 943 Japanese (676 men, 159 women, and 108 children) arrived from Japan, the first since 1868 (Kuykendall, 1967: 165).

1886–87: A Chinese License

The arrival of Japanese did not end the strong support for a Chinese-license law in the 1886 legislature. Moreover, shortly before the opening of the session the *Advertiser* (April 17, 1886) reversed its position and its editor, Charles Creighton, advocated a Chinese license on the grounds that the smuggling could not be prevented and that licensing would generate revenue for the government. The *Daily Bulletin* now became the opposition press, blaming the uncontrolled smuggling on the inefficiency of the government (April 17 and July 13, 1886).

On August 20 Representative Kaunamano introduced a bill providing for two Chinese licenses with an upset price of \$40,000 each and an auction if there were more than two applicants (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 492). The bill had the support of the *Advertiser* and its former editor, who was now Foreign Minister Creighton. The Sanitary Committee amended the bill to provide only one license at \$30,000 per year for four years without an auction.

The debate at the third reading of the amended bill started on October 11 and lasted three days. The opposition was led by Attorney General J. T. Dare, who took the “high road,” and Representative Lorrin Thurston, who took the “low road.” Among other things, Dare argued that there was “an implied Covenant” with His Imperial Majesty, the Mikado of Japan, to maintain the prohibitory policy (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 685). Thurston portrayed Foreign Minister Creighton as a British subject representing the worst of Britain’s past: “[I]t was not enough

that England had forced opium upon the helpless Chinese, but she had given us one of her citizens to impose the drug upon this Kingdom” (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 686). He also argued that the Prohibitory Act had reduced opium use among the Hawaiians. Noble Charles Bishop added a prediction that provision of only a single license without an auction would lead to corruption and a scandal (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 688–89).

Representatives Kaunamano and Aholo led the support for the bill in the debates. Kaunamano protested against the purported concern for the Hawaiians. As summarized in the *Hansard* (1886: 686), he asserted: “Opium had been generally used among native Hawaiians as far back as 1856. . . . He had used opium himself and could speak from experience after giving it a fair trial.” Among other points, Aholo charged that much of the opposition to the license bill consisted of “people engaged in the illicit trade” (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 690–91 and 696).

Throughout the debate a series of efforts were made to amend the bill on the floor. Some amendments were incorporated into the final version assented to by King Kalakaua on October 15 (Laws, 1886: Ch. 73). Hence the act represented a strange combination of elements. It provided for one license for \$30,000 per year, with a bond of \$2,000 conditioned upon the licensee not selling to “native Hawaiians,” “Japanese,” or “any other person” except on a doctor’s prescription with proper records kept by the licensee of each purchase. Any violation was sanctioned by revocation of the license, enforcement of the bond, a fine of \$1,000 to \$5,000, and a jail term of two to ten years at hard labor. The same fines and jail terms were provided for selling without a license or possessing opium with the intent to sell. There was no explicitly stated penalty against mere possession of opium.

Minister Creighton and the *Advertiser* (October 12, 1886) withdrew their support for this amended version the day before its passage, and an October 16 editorial asserted that “the bill had passed in such a questionable shape that we can hardly suppose the King will approve it.” Apparently this opinion was offered before the editor knew that the king had already given his approval. Soon the *Advertiser* (November 27) agreed with Bishop’s prediction that a single license without an auction would lead to bribery of people in high places, and added that any license issued would not escape “the idiom and suspicion of corruption.”

1887: The Great Bribery Scandal

Rumors of bribery began circulating immediately after the issuance of the license to Chun Lung on December 31, 1886 (*PCA*, January 3, 1887; *Gazette*, January 18 and February 1,

15, 1887; *Daily Bulletin*, January 13, 1887). The unfolding story held that a Chinese rice planter, Tong Aki, had been persuaded by Junius Kaae, the registrar of conveyances, to make a gift to the king of \$75,000, in return for which Aki was to receive the license. After Aki had given \$71,000, the license was issued to Chun Lung. Aki demanded the return of his money. When this was refused, the unsuccessful bribery attempt was made public in the form of twelve affidavits filed by Aki and some of his friends and coinvestors (*Gazette*, May 17, 1887).

Initially the king, through his minister of foreign affairs, disclaimed any involvement (Merrill, 1887). Soon, however, the *Gazette* (May 17) charged that the attorney general had acknowledged the money was paid by Aki and had “informed the gentlemen interested in getting the money back that he would never accomplish his object so long as he allowed the newspaper to speak of the affair.” Instead, the attorney general had suggested that a “quiet tongue be kept in the matter . . . for the bribe may be returned.”

1887: The “Bayonet Constitution” and Prohibition

The Aki scandal was one of the events that mobilized many of the haole residents to secretly organize, establish an armed body, and force King Kalakaua’s chief minister, Walter Bigson, to resign and leave the kingdom (*Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual*, 1888: 71). Then, in July 1887, King Kalakaua was induced to promulgate a new constitution, known as the “Bayonet Constitution of 1887.”

The constitution provided for the special election by a reduced electorate of a new legislature with enlarged powers. This new legislature met in special session late in 1887. It repealed the License Act of 1886 and sought to reenact the Prohibitory Act of 1874, as amended (Laws, 1887: Ch. 20). It also provided that “until the expiration, cancellation, or surrender of the licenses granted” under the 1886 act, the “holders thereof shall be entitled to exercise the rights and privileges granted by the law.”

A short time later these “rights and privileges” were sharply reduced when the Supreme Court in *King v. Chun Lung* held that the Chinese license was granted to Chun Lung *only* and that he had no legal right to appoint agents to sell the drug in the outer islands. On the other hand, the loose language used in the 1886 act to reenact the 1874 law quickly produced a challenge in July 1888 to a prosecution for possession under the 1874 act. Subsequently the court held that the reenactment effort had failed because “it has not been clearly expressed by the Legislature that the statutes we are considering were revived by the Act of 1887.” Unlicensed selling was still an offense; simple possession was not.

1888–92: Prohibition, but Lessened Penalties

The Legislature of 1888 rectified this, but not before the reformers were shocked by the mere introduction of another

Chinese-license bill, which died in committee (*Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual*, 1889: 124). The bill reenacting the Prohibitory Act of 1874, as amended in 1876 and 1880, passed and was signed by King Kalakaua on September 12 (Laws, 1888: Ch. 70).

Meanwhile, the suit brought by A. K. Loo Ngawk and Tong Chong Soy, executors of the estate of the now-deceased Tong Aki, to recover the money given to King Kalakaua in 1886 was being aired in the Supreme Court. On September 22, Justice Preston awarded the money to Aki’s estate, holding that while “in the eye of the law . . . the King cannot be bribed,” a “gift must be returned.”

The Legislature of 1890 liberalized the sentencing provisions of the Prohibitory Act by eliminating mandatory imprisonment for unlawful importation, selling, or possession, instead authorizing a fine *and/or* imprisonment (Laws, 1890: Ch. 66).

1892: The Ashford “Opium Den” Act

However, the reform supporters of the republic got a real shock from the Legislature of 1892, which convened when the government of Queen Liliuokalani was facing a financial crisis due to a general depression. Three Chinese-license bills were introduced but only one was reported out of a special Opium Committee.

The main element of this bill, introduced by attorney Clarence W. Ashford, called for four Chinese licenses, one each for Oahu, Kauai, Hawai’i, and Maui, issuable at public auction at upset prices of \$15,000, \$7,000, \$12,500, and \$10,000, respectively. Sales could only be made on those “authorized premises” specified on the licenses between 6:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m., and never on Sunday. The licensees were to give a bond of \$2,500 with the following conditions: (1) to keep the premises in good and clean sanitary condition; (2) not to allow minors or women onto the premises; (3) not to sell, give, or furnish opium to any person other than Chinese over the age of twenty years; (4) not to allow any persons other than Chinese over the age of twenty to use any of the facilities; (5) not to transfer stamps affixed to opium containers to other containers; and (6) to destroy all opium containers after they had been emptied. Besides forfeiture of the bond and license, any violation of these conditions called for a fine of \$200 to \$2,000 or imprisonment at hard labor for two months to two years.

“Illegal possession” meant any possession of opium outside of the licensed premises, even though the opium had been legally purchased, and the authorized penalties of fine or imprisonment were greater if no duty had been paid on the opium. Informants were entitled to one-half of any pecuniary penalty.

The “Opium Ring” was now joined in support of the bill by many “respected members of the community of all races” who believed that the “evil” could best be minimized by a system of licensed “shops.” It passed by a very substantial majority on December 31 (*Bulletin*, December 31, 1892).

It is unclear what the exact circumstances were on January 13, 1893, when the Queen signed the Opium Shop Bill (Laws, 1893: Ch. 110) along with a much-debated Louisiana Lottery Bill. Just prior to this time she had accused Representative White of “railroading” both the bills. Later on, she blamed the new ministers whom she had appointed for advising her to approve both bills, saying, “I had no option but to sign” (Blount, 1895: 396).

*1893–1900: The Overthrow of the Monarchy
and a New Prohibitory Act*

Four days later a Committee of Public Safety, composed primarily of a faction of prominent haoles, overthrew the government of Queen Liliuokalani by armed insurrection with the active support of U.S. Minister John L. Stevens and the passive support of a detachment of U.S. Marines (Loomis, 1976: Ch. 1). On January 17, 1893, they proclaimed a provisional government and established an Executive Council of four and an Advisory Council of fourteen. Along with President Sanford B. Dole and Lorin Thurston, most of the members had been long-time opponents of the opium trade.

On February 12, 1893, the Ashford Act was repealed, and pre-1886 prohibitory laws were reinstated, but with more stringent penalties attached (Laws, 1893: Act 12). Illegal importation now called for a fine of \$500 to \$2,000 and imprisonment for six months to two years, illegal possession for a fine of \$50 to \$250 and/or imprisonment for one to six months. In May 1894, the council reduced the minimum mandatory prison term for illegal importation from six months to one (Laws, 1894: Act 77).

These enactments carried over after the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii in July 1894 and remained in effect without further changes when the United States annexed the Islands in 1898. Of course, the unsuccessful counterrebellion in 1895 did give the leaders of the republic grounds, real or imagined, to force a number of the leading advocates of a Chinese license to accept exile from the Islands, especially Charles Creighton and Clarence W. Ashford. In 1901 Chief Justice A. Francis Judd of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii reported to the legislators that the opium cases “are confined almost exclusively to Chinese,” and called to their attention the possibility that they “may henceforth disappear in whole or in part under the operation of certain provisions of the federal constitution” (Chief Justice, 1901: xxii).

ENFORCEMENT DEVICES
AND STRATEGIES

As we have seen, the statutory schemes to control opium included penalties for smuggling (1851–78), illegal importation (1874–1900), unlicensed and/or otherwise unlawful selling (1856–1900), and unlawful possession (1874–1900).

The contraband could be confiscated (1856–1900), as could a vessel employed in smuggling (1859–1900). In addition, the statutes authorized warrantless arrests of suspects in port towns, warrantless searches of ships, and warrantless seizures of smuggled goods and smugglers, though once the goods were ashore the strict statutory warrant requirements for searches, seizures, and arrests applied. Throughout the period there were a variety of statutory provisions for the reward of informants.

Given the particular behaviors prohibited at different times and the changing political context, sanctions, and enforcement resources available, one would expect changes through time in both the level and the strategies of enforcement. Figure 1 presents the ups and downs of the overall level of enforcement, defined as numbers of arrests and convictions. Enforcement rose as the price of the Chinese license rose, increased greatly in the initial period of the Prohibitory Act (when possession became a crime), declined with the anticipated passage of a license bill in 1880, rose again after its veto, declined during the period of continuous legislative uncertainty leading to the short-lived License Act of 1886 and the Aki scandal, shot up to new heights under the “reformer cabinet” under the Bayonet Constitution, dropped slightly in anticipation of a smoking-shop law, reached its highest levels with the overthrow of the queen and the seizure of power by the Provisionals, then declined only slightly under the republic in the face of substantial resistance through the court appeals process.

However, within this general pattern there were strategy shifts with respect to the various offenses. Let us examine these individually for smuggling, illegal selling or furnishing, and possession.

Smuggling and Illegal Importation

From 1856 to 1875 prosecutions for smuggling or illegally importing opium had low priority. During that period only two cases have been found at the level of circuit courts or the Supreme Court, those of Chung Harn in 1872 and Esser in 1875. Chung Harn was found not guilty by a haole jury after thirteen minutes of deliberation.

However, the case of Esser (Esu), a Chinese woman, was more significant. She was convicted in the Honolulu Police Court and sentenced to pay a fine of \$100. Her attorney, Sanford B. Dole, appealed to the Supreme Court. In January 1875, the court held that “the proper method of taking out and executing a warrant to search for goods suspected of having been smuggled, can be decided in an action for damages by the prisoner against the officer serving it, but not in the case before the Court.” There was to be no exclusionary rule for unlawfully seized opium.

It probably was not coincidental that this case arose between the passage of the Prohibitory Act of 1874 and its effective date of August 1875. At that time the government greatly increased the resources committed to cutting off the

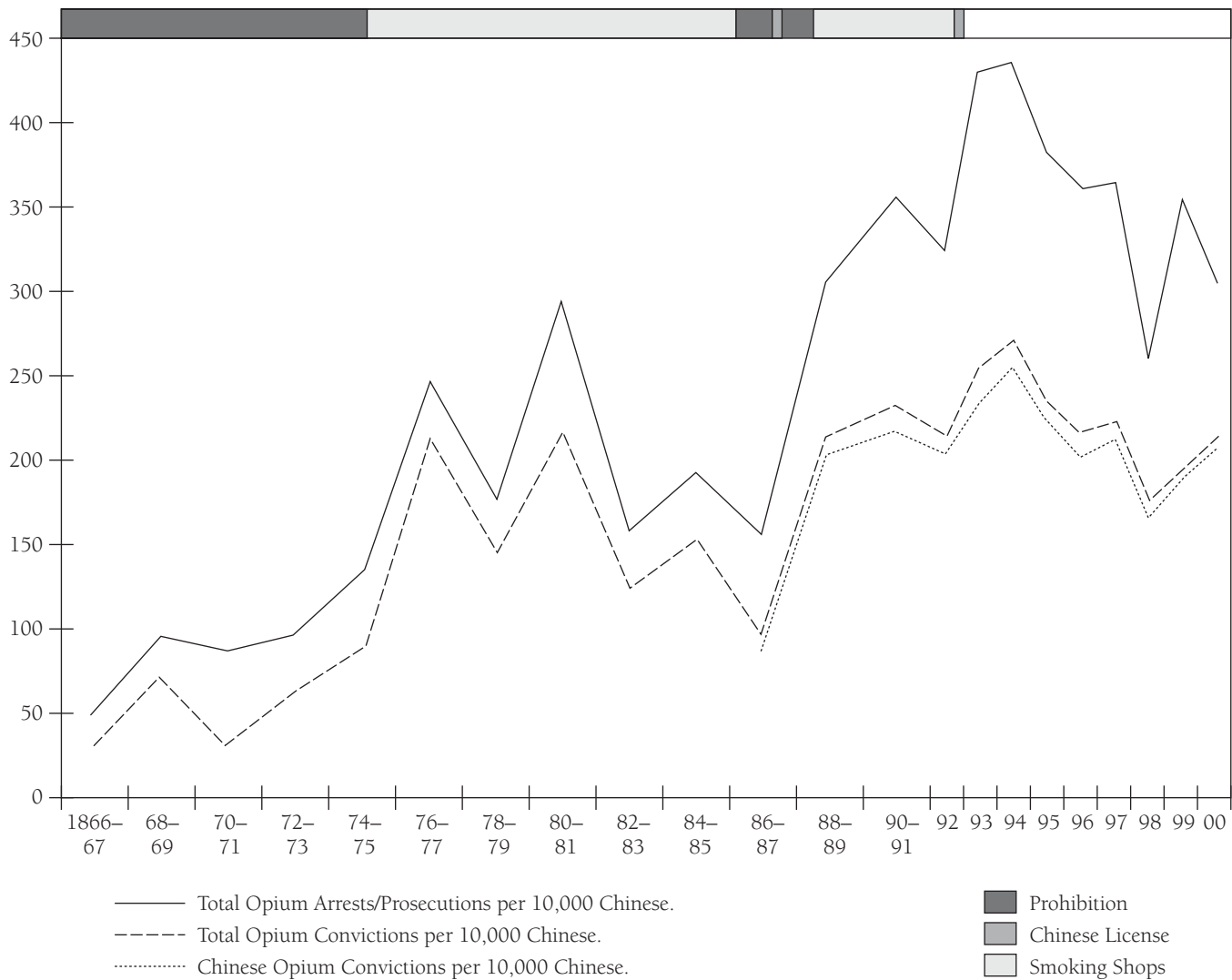


Figure 1. Total Opium Arrests/Prosecutions, Total Opium Convictions, and Chinese Opium Convictions per 10,000 Chinese, Hawai'i, 1866–1900

now-illegal importation (smuggling) of opium (PCA, June 2, 1877). From 1876 to 1879 there were thirty-eight prosecutions and twenty-six convictions for “illegal opium importation” and another 239 prosecutions with 206 convictions for “smuggling.” According to the chief justices almost all these latter cases involved opium smuggling (Chief Justice, 1878; Chief Justice, 1880: 3–4). During this same period the government initiated a few confiscation proceedings against ships involved in opium smuggling, but even when it succeeded such proceedings created problems with foreign governments and were rarely used thereafter against ships under a foreign flag.

Efforts to cut off opium supplies were also made more difficult by the increasing sophistication of the smugglers and their distributors. While false bottoms in trunks and suitcases were commonplace, opium also came in the shape of

Bologna sausage coiled about the body of the carrier, in the form of “a pair of blacksmith bellows,” packed with shipments of “hair” and “beer,” in “bean sauce” and “bean curd,” and even in broomstick handles and the legs of sewing machines. The most difficult to detect were shipments from the United States inside sealed cans made to look like regular canned goods, such as Campbell’s Soup. Moreover, opium was no longer coming directly from Asia; it was being transhipped by way of the Pacific Northwest (Vancouver, Seattle, Portland). Smuggling had become “almost an everyday affair” (PCA, November 9, 1878).

The *Bradley* decision, which made imprisonment mandatory in smuggling cases, also operated to reduce smuggling prosecutions, for convictions meant retaining “undesirable transients” in the kingdom at state expense. It became much easier to let ship stewards, who were regularly employed as

“mules,” make the deliveries and then prosecute the parties to whom the deliveries were made.

Given all these problems, the efforts to cut off the supply by pursuing prosecutions for smuggling that marked the initial five years of the Prohibitory Act of 1874 were greatly reduced in the subsequent years.

We should note here that opium smuggling involved networks of Chinese as well as non-Chinese. Of the ten persons actually sentenced to prison for illegal importation from 1883 to 1886, five were Chinese, four haole, and one Portuguese (*Oahu Prison Photo Index Book*). After 1886 the only persons sentenced to Oahu Prison for smuggling were the one Chinese (Ho Wai) and five haole men who constituted the crew of the schooner *Henrietta*, an “opium runner” that was confiscated by the government after it was intercepted at Keau, Hawai‘i, in 1895.

Illegal Selling and Furnishing

From 1856 to 1875 “illegal selling or furnishing” was the only penal offense besides smuggling. The major purpose of prosecuting this offense was to secure the monopoly of the licensees, whether physicians (1856–59) or holders of Chinese licenses (1860–75). Only five such prosecutions (1.7 per year) occurred under the earliest legislation. During the Chinese-license period the number grew to an average of 4.0 per year for 1860–70 but increased to an average of 25.2 per year after 1870, reaching a peak of 54 in 1874–75. From 1870 to 1875 they constituted 85 to 100 percent of the opium prosecutions in any given year. This suggests that as the monopoly price of the Chinese license increased, so did the enforcement efforts against illegal sellers. The evidence also suggests that there was more “freelancing” on Kauai during the Chinese-license period than on the other islands.

During the initial period of the 1874 Prohibitory Act, from 1876 to 1879, when the offense of “possession” was somewhat ambiguous, there was an average of 13.8 prosecutions (and 9.8 convictions) per year for illegal selling, and they constituted about 13 percent of the opium prosecutions. However, in no year after that did they exceed 6 percent of the opium prosecutions, even though they did show a short-term peak with an average of 20.0 per year in 1884–85.

Illegal Possession

As we saw, possession per se only became a crime with the Prohibitory Act of 1874, and from 1876 to 1879, when there were several ambiguities concerning the offense of “mere possession,” the annual number of prosecutions for possession was less than the combined total for smuggling and illegal selling. However, once the situation was clarified, almost all opium prosecutions were for possession, the percentage from 1880 to 1900 varying only between 90 and 98. A review of the cases indicates that from 1880 on, sub-

stantial enforcement efforts were aimed at the local market of consumers—the smokers—at least some of whom had also become low-level sellers.

Reliance upon Informants

The evidence is substantial that, whatever the intensity of the enforcement efforts at any point in time, most arrests and prosecutions for opium violations relied upon informants. Thus, the information contained in the *Oahu Prison Cash Book* for 1880–83 indicates that of the 332 cases in which fines were collected before convicts were discharged from custody, 198 involved payments to informers. Almost all these 198 cases were opium violations and 174 involved Chinese defendants.

The use of informants was not without problems. One member of the anti-license faction asserted that it was a frequent practice for Hawaiians to make a purchase, smoke the opium, and then turn informant against the seller, who was usually Chinese (Castle, 1884: 3). Other cases indicate that native Hawaiians arrested for illegal possession could receive deals from the police provided they testified against their Chinese sellers, as Halawai, Lolo, and Niku Kamaka did in the case of Ah Hung and Ah Hin. Nevertheless, not all the informants were non-Chinese. An incomplete review of the files of those cases that reached the circuit court level in the late 1880s and the 1890s suggests that the percentage of informants who were Chinese increased during this period.

Police regularly used informants to spot violators whose behavior might be directly observed by an officer, thus establishing the basis for a warrantless “in plain view” arrest. This practice is illustrated by the Chung Park case (March 1880).

Informants were also employed to make purchases themselves or to act as middlemen, getting a third party, even an unwitting third party, to make purchases under the observation of the police, as in the case of Apo (1877). This involved a relationship among police officers Bartholomew and Moihiai, a native Hawaiian informant, and a middleman, Keikiohua, and a possibly unwitting Chinese buyer, Kiani. The two officers made an agreement with Keikiohua to get Kiani to purchase opium from Apo. Apo’s place was searched and he was arrested for physically resisting search. In the police court Apo’s counsel, J. M. Davidson, moved for a dismissal on the grounds that warrantless arrest and search was contrary to the Constitution. Police Justice Jones denied the motion, found Apo guilty, and sentenced him to three months’ imprisonment at hard labor. Apo posted bond and appealed for a jury trial.

Apo’s jury trial was held in the April 1877 term. His foreign jury was most unusual, for in addition to eleven haole men it included one Chinese, Ah See. The prosecution presented the same case as it had in the police court. Apo and three others, Kaau, Kaiuimanoa, and Hooaa, the last a female, testified for the defense. Counsel Davidson again moved for

a dismissal on the grounds that the warrantless arrest and search had been illegal, and Chief Justice C. C. Harris denied the motion based upon the Supreme Court's prior decision in *Esser*. Nevertheless, Davidson's argument carried weight with the jurymen, who found Apo not guilty by a vote of nine to three. After all, "a man's house was his castle."

In many instances, of course, it was necessary for the police to seek to protect the identity of their informants. A good illustration of this is found in the case of Achuck, a prominent Chinese actor, whose bedroom was searched by officers under a search warrant. Officer Kalama found two unopened tins of opium under the mattress of Achuck's bed, which was tightly closed with mosquito netting.

On September 5, Achuck, represented by attorney John Russell, was convicted in the Honolulu Police Court and sentenced to one month at hard labor. He appealed to the Supreme Court, where his jury trial was held in the October term. He was then represented by W. O. Smith and Lorrin Thurston. All the witnesses agreed that Achuck's room had no smell of opium and that Achuck himself did not have the "appearance now of being a smoker." Achuck testified that he knew nothing about the opium and that he had never smoked opium, but that "my boy told me a man named Achak was in my room while I was on stage." Defense counsels Smith and Thurston asked officers Akiona (a Chinese) and Mehrtens who the informant was. Akiona did not know, and when Mehrtens was asked the prosecutor objected to the question as being "against public policy." The court sustained the objection. Achuck was unanimously found not guilty by a haole jury.

The Danger of Corrupting the Police and Dangers for the Police

The problems of enforcing the law concerning opium violations and the related problems of informant protection and potential police corruption are demonstrated in a series of cases in 1883. We have not yet examined all the cases that might indicate corruption of the police. However, *King v. William Kukona* (1898) illustrates that bribery could involve as little as \$5.00 a week to protect "an opium joint" on Maui.

If the profits in the illegal opium business increased the possibility of police corruption, they could also create dangers to the officers seeking to enforce the law. In February 1894, two plainclothes detectives, Kauhane and Kaouli, received a tip from a Chinese informant that opium would be brought ashore from the *S. C. Allen*. That night, after darkness had set in, the informant fingered a man, Joseph Caecires, who was coming ashore and was known to have been previously involved in opium smuggling (*Oahu Prison Photo Index Book*, Foreigner No. 46, October 18, 1885). The detectives followed Caecires, and when he approached a lighted intersection they closed in. Caecires tried to run, but Kaouli grabbed both his wrists. Caecires had a knife and lashed out

behind, cutting Kaouli. In the subsequent struggle Kauhane was also stabbed. Five tins of opium were recovered. Detective Kauhane died two days later and Caecires was brought to trial for murder in the second degree.

Legal Representation

As these cases illustrate, the combination of relatively strict statutory requirements for warrants, the actual police practices, and the high profits in opium resulted in the defendants often being represented by the leading attorneys. Most of the attorneys who defended the Chinese brought to court (e.g., William R. Castle, J. M. Davidson, John Russell, W. O. Smith, and Lorrin Thurston) will be readily recognized as leading prohibitionists and annexationists who actively participated in the overthrow of the monarchy. However, this did prevent them from aggressively defending opium sellers against overreaching police conduct and against "legal retaliation" if sellers testified against police corruption, even if such testimony was only forthcoming when the police appear to have failed to provide the purchased protection.

However, the situation changed dramatically after the overthrow of the queen. Then the defense counsels in opium cases came from that segment of the bar loyal to the queen: Charles Creighton, Paul Neumann, Clarence Ashford, and A. S. Hartwell. The effectiveness of their efforts can be gauged by an examination of the cases on Oahu in 1893–94. In that two-year period 709 persons were arrested and brought before police and district judges. However, only 337 (47.5 percent) were convicted. Of those, 90 (26.7 percent) appealed for a jury trial *de novo* in the circuit court and only 38 (42.2 percent) were convicted in that trial. Stated otherwise, of the 709 originally charged, 424 (60 percent) ended up with a "not guilty" verdict.

Sentencing and Judicial Noncompliance

The best legal talent was available on Oahu. Most opium cases ended at the level of the police or district court, and for any two-year period between 1878 and 1900, between 59 and 85 percent of the total opium cases in the kingdom resulted in convictions, with the proportion usually being about two-thirds. Moreover, for the period when data are available (1886–1900), about 95 percent of the persons convicted on opium charges were Chinese, with the actual number exceeding 350 in some years.

Many Chinese served a term of imprisonment at hard labor for opium offenses, but this varied sharply by time period and by judicial district. Thus in 1888 the Chinese constituted almost 70 percent of the 174 prisoners received at Oahu Prison, and almost 80 percent of these Chinese were in for opium offenses. The same pattern held in 1893, when almost 80 percent of the new prisoners were Chinese and almost 75 percent of them were opium offenders. However,

by 1897 fewer Chinese were imprisoned on opium charges. Of the 153 new prisoners in that year, only 41 (26.8 percent) were Chinese, although 32 of these (78 percent) were in for opium offenses.

At certain times there was a clear clash between public policy on imprisonment for opium offenses and the needs of the plantations for labor. Thus in the two-year period 1882–83 imprisonment was imposed in 100 percent of opium cases in the Supreme Court and in the Honolulu Police Court, but in only 53 percent in the rural Oahu district courts, 20 percent in the rural Hawai'i courts, 17 percent in the Kauai courts, and a mere 5 percent in the Hilo Police Court. In those areas dominated by the plantations, where many convicted possessors were contract laborers, the “inferior court” judges would not impose imprisonment, which was disruptive of the labor supply. At times the problem was given public recognition. In 1886 Representative Dickey of Makawao, Maui, presented a petition to the legislature asking his colleagues “to prevent the imprisonment of contract laborers” (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 23). This judicial behavior, which at times involved noncompliance with statutory mandates for imprisonment, was one factor in a larger, continuing struggle in the legislature over who was going to appoint the lower-court judges and how responsive these judges should be to “local needs.”

The Perceptions of the Chinese

Finally a word may be said about the probable perception of these penalties by the Chinese. As noted earlier, the authorized penalties for opium offenses in China were much more severe and by that standard the typical Chinese smoker must have seen even the maximum sentences authorized, much less those actually imposed, in Hawai'i as extremely minor. In the light of the potential profits this would have been even more true of a substantial smuggler or distributor. The policy of the prohibitors, especially as it was implemented, might very well have appeared to be intended more to induce bribery and extortion (or corrupt “cooperation”) among rational men than to “nip opium smoking in the bud.” To the laborers, it may have appeared to be intended to reduce their financial savings and increase the pressure upon them to extend their labor contracts.

CONCLUSIONS

The arrival in Hawai'i of Chinese contract laborers beginning in 1852 generated several kinds of group conflict. The Chinese on the one hand represented a needed supply of cheap labor; on the other hand they brought few women and many different “habits,” not all of which met with the approval of the “establishment.” The rapid evaporation of the initial euphoria over the Chinese arrivals resulted, in part, when it appeared

to many that the “vice” of opium smoking and the presence of the Chinese were inseparable. Thereafter, the government would be confronted at virtually every legislative session with the “Chinese opium question.” While the community in general accepted medicinal use of opium, it was continuously divided on whether or not some special provision should be made to permit opium smoking by the Chinese.

Still the mere fact of vacillation between policies favoring Chinese licenses and prohibition between 1856 and 1900 hardly indicates the complexity of the conflicts of values and interests of the different factions involved. Nor do these conflicts reveal the reasons opium was a standard issue in every legislative session. Finally, this vacillation and these conflicts do not show the extent to which opium was an important symbol in the broader disputes over the status of the Chinese in Hawai'i and the maintenance of the monarchy.

There were several facts with which the factions, whether motivated by ethnic (national) identity, personal or collective economic interests, or considerations of morality, had to contend. These were: (1) the native Hawaiian population was diminishing; (2) commercial agricultural development required an alternative labor force; (3) the Chinese were an important source of labor; (4) with the Chinese went opium; (5) a major possible alternative source of labor was Japan; (6) the Japanese government was hostile to opium; and (7) the opium trade, legal or illegal, was very profitable.

The first identifiable value split is that between cultural pluralism and cultural imperialism. Cultural pluralism refers to the value proposition that in a multiethnic community each subcommunity should permit and respect the different lifestyles of the others, including their “vices.” Cultural imperialism refers to the belief of a group that its particular practices not only are more highly valued, but should be imposed upon other groups with conflicting practices.

However, the factions involved were further divided along a dimension of humanitarianism versus self-interest. Humanitarian cultural imperialists believed they were obligated to “help” others and to force the “others” to change their ways because it was in the others' interest. Humanitarian cultural pluralists argued that it was inhumane to force certain changes upon another group. The self-interest factions believed that no one was his brother's keeper and that in the economic realm one's only obligation was to protect and advance one's own interest, which made it quite permissible to profit off the “frailties” of others.

These value orientations were further divided by economic interests, which split on perceptions of individual or collective advancement and on long-term versus short-term gains. Thus disputes about what was to be “legal” and what “illegal” often represented a hidden debate over who was to profit. Finally, the orientations of actors included their degree of identification with some foreign nation, as distinct from a strong identification with Hawai'i as an independent sovereign state.

There is ample evidence that both the ali'i and their foreign advisors supported the initial policy of commercial agricultural development with its corollary of imported labor. This was seen as representing both their individual economic interests and the long-run economic interests of "the nation." The Chinese were a prime labor source. When opium smoking became an issue it was soon defined as "a Chinese problem" and a cultural-pluralist policy (favoring the Chinese license) was adopted.

Later the issue split the sugar planters and those commercial and financial players dependent upon the plantation economy. One faction, the cultural imperialists, saw opium smoking by the Chinese as a threat to the efficiency of this labor in both the short and the long run, as well as a threat to the native Hawaiians. The humanitarians among them also believed that the suppression of the practice was a merciful act in the best interest of the Chinese. These persons became the prohibitionists. They emerged early and remained strong. Their dislike of opium was also central to their desire to find an alternative source of labor. The availability of the Japanese only reinforced their determination to maintain prohibition and, at least for some, to seek to exclude additional Chinese or even to force out the resident Chinese. Ultimately their power base was enhanced by their ties to the United States (and their desire for annexation). These ties finally permitted them to overthrow the queen and suppress any opposition to their policy.

A counterfaction of planters were cultural pluralists who believed the Chinese should be permitted access to their opium in a reasonable fashion, especially since they viewed the elimination of the traffic as impossible and the effort as a corrupting influence in government. They were also guided by their interests. They contended that their labor force should turn over frequently, that at any given time the workers should be young, and that a reasonable provision of opium served to increase the satisfaction, stability, and docility of the laborers. Prohibition, especially prohibition with mandatory jail terms, was disruptive of the labor supply, so regulated access at reasonable prices was their preferred choice. This faction appears to have included a disproportionate number of British. The humanitarians among them also argued that to cut off the opium from or to punish an addict was an inhumane act.

The Chinese were divided. Some were prohibitionists on the grounds of Confucian and/or Christian morality and their perceptions of the long-run interests of the Chinese residents in terms of health and acceptance by other elements of the community. Others supported a Chinese license in one form or another. This faction used the values of cultural pluralism even to claim a "right" to a "Chinese monopoly" over the sale of opium to "the Chinese market." It is well established that the sale of opium to Chinese was a substantial source of profit to several leading Chinese merchants, who proceeded to reinvest this income in other businesses. However, the

Chinese profiteers did not differ from many persons in other immigrant groups in their desire to exploit the "weaknesses" of their fellow ethnics (Light, 1977).

Finally, a counter group of sellers, mostly non-Chinese, appeared in two different guises. One was composed of physicians and pharmacists whose interest lay in a policy of medicinal use only, with each having a legal right to be his own importer. This group, of course, was opposed to a monopoly arrangement under a Chinese license. It was recognized throughout the community, however, that some physicians and pharmacists imported far more opium than one would normally use in a medical practice when individual import-sale licenses were available (*Hawaiian Hansard*, 1886: 689). The other group was made up of storekeepers and saloon keepers who were willing to engage in smuggling and illegal selling. The profit potential was substantial. Since members of this group had little likelihood of being recognized as legal sellers and in any case the Chinese always obtained a monopoly of any legal sale to the Chinese, their primary goal was prohibition. Their secondary goal was to keep the price as high as possible for any legal Chinese license, thus generating an opportunity for them to undercut the price of the Chinese monopoly. While this suggests that under prohibition the haole and the Chinese smuggling rings often competed with each other, we have seen in many cases that smuggling operations were very often inter-ethnic and quite cooperative.

The native Hawaiians were also divided. Some in decision-making positions were clearly prohibitionists, primarily motivated by a concern with the long-run effects of opium smoking upon the native Hawaiians. Another faction supported a Chinese license as a source of income for the government. Some seemed to view decisions on proper opium policy as belonging to the king or queen and supported multiple, even contradictory, bills in the legislatures, a practice that also permitted them to accept gratuities from more than one faction. A small number even gave public support to a policy of open access to opium by any group, including the Hawaiians, and there is evidence during this period that such access, along with access to alcohol, was a growing symbolic issue among the native Hawaiians—a reaction against their perceiving the haole establishment as treating them as "children."

While the contending factions constantly charged each other with potential or actual bribery, it is clear that the profitability of the opium business posed a constant danger of corrupting law enforcement, while the great dependence upon informants and the reward system regularly produced questions about the legality of some enforcement tactics.

Significantly, the study of opium and the law in Hawai'i during 1856–1900 discloses that Chinese sided with more than one opposing faction and were often involved in opium cases as informants and enforcement officers as well as users and lawbreakers. The prison records and legal cases

cited in this study suggest that only a small proportion of the expanding Chinese population directly engaged in factional disputes over laws and policies or became involved in opium litigation and enforcement procedures. Nevertheless, the entire Chinese society in Hawai'i and all strata within it were affected by the ongoing opium issue during this eventful period.

NOTES

1. The leading British smugglers were William Jardine and James Matheson, the founders of the present firm of Jardine-Matheson, Ltd., of Hong Kong, the parent company of Theo. H. Davies & Co. of Honolulu.
2. For example, in February 1857, thirty pounds of opium was stolen from the cellar under Dr. McKibbin's drugstore (*PCA*, February 19, 1857). Two Chinese, Yong and Chor, were arrested and charged with the offense (*Polynesian*, February 21, 1857). However, when brought to trial before a haole jury they could only be tried for receiving stolen goods, since no one could place them at the scene of the burglary. Only Yong was convicted, and he received a sentence of three years' imprisonment at hard labor. Before long opium was stolen from Dr. Lathrop's drugstore. When four Chinese were later arrested for burglarizing Waterhouse's warehouse, some of Lathrop's opium was found in the possession of one of them. The offender, Saico, was convicted of receiving stolen goods and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of \$50 (*Polynesian*, August 22, 1857; Fort, August 14, 1857).
3. In 1859 import duty paid on opium was valued at \$12,143 (Castle, 1884: 2). In August 1859 the *Advertiser* noted that the latest two importations of opium had totaled 3,700 taels (345 lbs.) and called upon the authorities to look into this, lest "the natives be affected" (*PCA*, August 18, 1859).
4. The 1857 treaty between Japan and the Netherlands had been "the first treaty to prohibit the opium trade in Japan" (Statler, 1969: 489–90). This prohibition became a regular component of later treaties. Japanese law prohibited any importation or manufacture of opium, subject to a penalty of twelve to fifteen years' banishment to a lonely island, or any manufacture of any smoking apparatus, subject to banishment for six to eight years.
5. See *King v. Yet Sing [Seng]*, *King v. Asiu [Asia] et al.*, and *King v. Auwai (Pake)*.
6. For excellent examples of this debating process, see *PCA*, June 2, 1877, and *Gazette*, June 6, 1877.
7. See the speech of the minister of interior opposing the Moreno-Ahlo Opium Bill, *PCA Supplement*, August 31, 1880: "Pass this bill, the liquor bill, the Chinese steam subsidy and the \$10,000,000 loan and Hawaii will go down to nothing; then the Chinese will monopolize and invade your territory. . . . Pass this opium bill and Hawaii will suffer to such an extent that she will never recover."

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Christianity and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Schooling in Hawai'i, 1879–83

Irma Tam Soong

Irma Tam Soong, "Christianity and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Schooling in Hawai'i, 1879–83," *Chinese America: History & Perspectives* – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 75–86.

In Dr. Sun Yat-sen's four years, 1879–83, as a sojourner in Hawai'i, he is said to have attended three Christian educational institutions: Iolani College, St. Louis College, and Oahu College. His three years at Iolani are well authenticated. Whether he ever attended St. Louis cannot be substantiated by any school records, but the possibility exists. As for Oahu College, evidence points to that claim, though the time period spent by him there is not altogether clear. This paper delves into the religious backgrounds of these three schools, their beginnings, their locations, and their curricula, to document the indelible imprinting of a nineteenth-century Christian environment on the mind and heart of a young revolutionist.

Much has been made of the Christian influence of his years at Iolani that led him to seek baptism and thus incur the wrath of his brother and provider, Sun Mei, who cut short his Hawai'i education and sent him back to their native village of Cuiheng in Zhongshan, Guangdong Province, for rehabilitation.

Was there any Christian influence in Sun's life before his departure for Hawai'i? It is doubtful that he ever saw a Christian missionary or evangelist while a youth in his village. In 1884, when the Reverend Frank Damon visited Zhongshan county, he found a chapel in Shiqi, the district seat, and "a little company of native Christians, under the charge of the English Church Mission." As far as he knew, it was "the only Christian Station in all this populous region."¹

EARLIEST CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES

Sun probably first heard of Christianity through the tales of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–66) recounted to him by a veteran who had returned home from the wars. All agree that Sun was entranced by these accounts, which stirred his imag-

ination as the old classical rote studies he abhorred could not do. This first introduction to Christianity was a powerful stimulus for continued revolution, and when he was propelled into a Christian environment in Hawai'i, his desire to learn about the religion was satisfied in four intensive years of study in Christian schools.

Jen Yu-wen states, "It is one of the ironies of history that the very year the Manchus finally extinguished the greatest eruption of revolutionary nationalism during their reign, the seed of a new nationalist movement emerged with the birth on November 12, 1866 of its future leader, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen."² Jen observes: "It is probably more than coincidence that Hung Hsiu-ch'uan [Hong Xiuquan] and Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, successive revolutionary leaders of modern China, were Christians."³ Jen further emphasizes Hong's influence on Sun's revolutionary career in his assessment of the historical relationship between the two movements: "Our expanding grasp of the aspirations and accomplishments of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement has brought even more light to its evolutionary relationship with the National Revolution and heightened our perception of direct historical links. Perhaps the most symbolic instance of this continuity occurred at the transfer of power on January 1, 1912 which ended 267 years of Manchu rule. The abdication of Emperor Puyi was accepted by Provisional President Sun Yat-Sen, who had as a boy cherished the nickname 'Hung Hsiu-ch'uan the Second.'"⁴

In Hawai'i's Christian schools, Sun was to learn why Hong mandated "strict observance of the Ten Commandments and attendance at daily worship" by the Taiping Army.⁵ "To the end of their lives Hung Hsiu-ch'uan and his fellow leaders held fast to the Christian faith."⁶ Sun too would, despite all odds, cling to his faith to the very end.

EMIGRATION TO HAWAI'I

In 1879 when Sun boarded the *Grannoch* in Hong Kong for his sea voyage to the Sandalwood Mountains, as the Chinese called Hawai'i, he was impressed by the wonder of a mechanically propelled ship of massive proportions and the superiority of the foreigner in respect to technology. However, he

was at the same time appalled at the simple burial at sea of one of the English sailors. Instead of the elaborate ceremony due to the dead and necessary to the fortune of the family, the laws of *feng shui* (geomancy) and other practices were disregarded. Only a bell toll and the reading of a book by the ship's captain before the flag-draped casket was lowered into the waters sent the deceased into the next world.⁷ Although he did not know it at that time, the book was the *Book of Common Prayer* that he himself would be using in his Sunday service at the procathedral in Honolulu.

Working with his brother Sun Mei in the latter's plantation and store acquainted him with the goals of most of the Chinese immigrants—to make a living and, if possible, to acquire enough gold pieces to retire to their native villages rich and crowned with respect. He observed them to be very quick to learn conversational Hawaiian. Many also married or cohabited with native women, thereby further adjusting themselves to a unique environment where a Hawaiian king ruled, flanked by American and European advisors. Few of his compatriots were literate in their own Chinese language. Those rare ones who could speak and read English as well were high-ranked interpreters and translators to whom the non-English speakers appealed when communicative skills were needed.

CHOICE OF SCHOOLS

Sun Mei could see that if he were to rise in the financial world, he would have to have access to a knowledge of the systems of law that the Americans had managed to establish in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The better educated in the English language his assistant was, the faster he would be able to transact his business dealings. What choice of schools did young Sun have?

Public schools

In 1879 education in the Hawaiian language, but not in English, was almost universal. Missionaries of the American Board of Christian Foreign Missionaries (ABCFM) had arrived in 1820 and by January 1822 had worked out an alphabet and orthography of the Hawaiian language in order to spread the gospel through the written word.⁸ In less than twenty years the first public schools for the Hawaiians had been established, and by 1840 the government had assumed responsibility for teachers' wages and the maintenance of buildings. In 1849 Lahainaluna Seminary, a high school on Maui, was founded to train young native Hawaiians for the ministry. The chief reading text in the schools was the Bible, which had been translated into Hawaiian from Greek or Hebrew. In 1839, as the result of almost twenty years of painstaking labor, a copy had been printed just in time to be deposited in the cornerstone of the Kawaiahaeo Church.

The original church, a thatched structure, was built in 1821 by the Congregationalist missionaries and was the first organized Christian church on the Islands.⁹

The common school system, though somewhat shaky, was by the early thirties serving fifty thousand students, most of them adults, enrolled in about 1,100 schools.¹⁰ Four out of every ten Hawaiians were learning to read through Christian textbooks written in the Hawaiian language. In 1840, "the high tide for the Sandwich Islands Mission, 10,000 newcomers partook of baptism and communion."¹¹ It is said that by 1843 Hawai'i had become a Christian nation in one generation, though not an English-speaking one.

Educational opportunities

The great task of Christianizing the Hawaiian nation and educating its royalty in the intricacies of government organization and administration lay mainly on the shoulders of the American missionaries and other foreigners whom the Hawaiian rulers relied upon. In education, both government and religious affiliations did their part to bring about amazing progress.¹² In 1840 the kingdom had its first written constitution. In 1841 the government supported the public school system. The Congregationalists (ABCFM missionaries) opened Punahou (later called Oahu College) that same year to provide a secondary college-preparatory education for their own children. In 1846 the Department of Public Instruction was established with William Richards as its first minister of instruction. In 1855 Punahou was opened to students of Hawaiian blood. In 1859 Sacred Hearts Academy, a Catholic school, was founded for girls. In 1862 Bishop Stately arrived to establish the first Anglican schools. In 1867 St. Andrew's Priory, an Anglican school for girls, was founded. In 1872 Bishop Wills arrived and founded Iolani College, another Anglican institution.

By 1879 there were not only public and private schools but also English classes for Chinese adults. One near Chinatown was run by the Reverend Samuel C. Damon at his Bethel Mission.¹³ But Sun would not want just to go to classes in English when his brother could afford the best Western education that money could provide.

The final choice

What choice then did Sun have?

While there were small private schools scattered throughout the Islands, only two of significance existed then in Honolulu. The more prestigious was Punahou, then named Oahu College, which had been founded by Congregationalists to prepare their children for colleges on the mainland. Sending them to preparatory schools on the mainland would have meant being separated from them by many miles of sea and continent at a time when transportation was very slow and communication difficult. Punahou was situated about

two miles from Chinatown on a hillside below Manoa Valley. Most of the students were boarders from the neighbor islands.¹⁴ In 1872, day students were transported to school from Nuuanu and other parts of town by two omnibuses drawn by horses. The college's reputation for high standards was so forbidding that no immigrant boy without a good command of English would dare hope to be admitted. Principally because he would not have qualified, Sun did not go to Oahu College in 1879.

The only other private school of repute was Iolani, which was situated less than a mile above Chinatown on Bates Street (a block below Judd Street) in Nuuanu. It was a small boarding school establishing by Anglicans for Hawaiian boys and open to Chinese students as well.

Education vs. prejudice

Why was Sun Mei, with his intense Chinese ethnocentric pride, willing to send his brother to a Christian school? Was it not run by "white devils" whom the Chinese considered barbarians? The probable answer is that his Chinese respect for scholarship and for its usefulness, no matter what the cost, overcame deep-seated reservations about the wisdom of allowing an impressionable youth to receive learning under the tutelage of zealous, proselytizing missionaries. Most important of all, to learn the English language was extremely practical, for skill in its use would provide opportunities for rising economically in a society dominated by British and American residents.

In 1881, only five hundred of the fourteen thousand Chinese in Hawai'i were Christians.¹⁵ Most of these were Hakkas, in contrast to the Puntis, who were on the whole non-Christian. Sun Mei, however, was a Punti, one of the multitude of immigrants from the Zhongshan district and other areas of Guangdong who felt themselves superior to the Hakkas. The Hakka Christians, on the other hand, felt superior in religion to these "heathens," who worshipped idols and ancestors in their ignorance of biblical truth.

HAKKAS VS. PUNTIS IN CHINA AND CHRISTIAN CONVERSIONS

The early cleavage between the Hakkas and the Puntis had arisen from conflicts in the old country. The Puntis considered themselves the natives of Guangdong Province. They were a mixed race of the original tribes in Guangdong and the people from North China who had originally migrated to central China, then to southeastern coastal Guangdong, where they themselves became "natives." The Hakkas had migrated to Guangdong from northern and central China during later periods. Thus they were known as latecomers or "guests."¹⁶ The inroads of the Hakkas into lands occupied by the Puntis, along with differences in speech, created rivalry

and even a very violent Hakka-Punti War in Guangdong. Their conflicts reached a climax in 1856 and were not finally resolved until September 1866, when a new governor arrived who sent eight thousand troops under the grain intendant of Canton to the western districts to compel the Hakkas to give up their arms and disperse.¹⁷

It has been noted that Zhongshan county had been little touched by European evangelists. Most of the Hakka Christians, on the other hand, had come from areas near Hong Kong (Kowloon and the New Territories) and towns in the coastal area, such as Lilong, or from Mei-xian (Jiayingzhou) or Hua-xian. Their parents had been converted by Basel and Berlin missionaries, who first came to Guangdong in 1847.¹⁸ These Lutheran missionaries, along with those of the Barmen Mission, evangelized in the port cities of Guangdong and penetrated into the rural areas and small towns further inland.¹⁹ The Berlin Mission's most noted convert was a Punti from Foshan, the Honorable Woo Set An, a scholar-official who resigned his position to become a Lutheran minister. His son, Woo Yee Bew, was called to Kohala on the Big Island to become the first Chinese minister of an Anglican church but did not arrive in Hawai'i until 1883.²⁰

The work of the Basel Mission was begun in 1847 by a Swede named Hamberg and a German, Rudolf Lechler, who was the spiritual father of many Chinese who immigrated to Hawai'i in 1870–80. The converts were primarily Hakkas.²¹ Basel catechists who were herbalists were more successful as evangelists, perhaps because they also learned simple medical practices from their Western teachers.²² The mission put heavy emphasis on Christian education. Besides Bible study, the main subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, world history, and choir. For girls, home economics—training in domestic duties and household work—was emphasized.²³ A manuscript by Dennis A. Kastens (see note 18) documents a middle school and a seminary at Lilong that trained future pastors and teachers.

CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN HAWAI'I

The first Basel-trained pastor to serve in Hawai'i arrived in 1872. He was sent to Kohala to work for the Congregational Church under the direction of the Reverend Elias Bond. Kong Tet Yin had worked in Australia and was therefore a pastor at one time or another of three Christian denominations—the Lutheran, the Anglican, and the Congregationalist.²⁴ The Chinese churches in Hawai'i can be said to be the fruits of the early labor of the Lutheran missions, mainly the Basel Mission Society, for many of the pastors in the years that followed were trained in the seminary at Lilong.

These Lutheran missions owed much of their success to a revolutionary step. They turned their many illiterate disciples into literate readers of the Bible by creating a romanized script of the Hakka dialect called Hakka *shuk-wa*, so that

all Hakka Christians could not only read the Old and New Testaments, the liturgy, the Bible stories, and the hymns but also correspond with each other without knowing a single Chinese character.²⁵ These missions also founded foundling homes where basket babies and orphans grew up in a purely Christian environment. Many once-unwanted girls became deaconesses, teachers, and good Christian wives and mothers of Christian families.²⁶

During Sun Yat-sen's Iolani days, the Congregationalist Hawai'i Evangelical Association (HEA) continued to welcome Chinese Christians of Lutheran backgrounds and to evangelize among the sojourning non-Christians. Already, in 1877, young Christians had formed the Chinese YMCA (later the Christian Association of Hawai'i), which was granted a charter by the Hawaiian government.²⁷ In 1879, the year Sun entered Iolani, the Chinese Christian Church was founded and received a charter of incorporation from the Hawaiian government. In 1881 the church, with more than one hundred members, dedicated a two-story building of its own on Fort Street near Beretania.²⁸ This was just one block away (toward the Ewa District) from Emma Street, where Sun and his fellow Iolani students attended Sunday service at the pro-cathedral of the Anglican Church. In that same year, the Reverend Francis M. Damon, who was to play a supporting role in Sun's conflict with Sun Mei on his second trip to Hawai'i in 1885, was made superintendent of the HEA's work among the Chinese.²⁹

Although the number of Chinese Christians was small in 1881, their presence was very significant. They were a force to be contended with, for they represented the "enlightened" ones who mixed well with the "white devils," learned English quickly, were not hesitant to send their daughters to school, did not bind their daughters' feet, and were in time to rise up to positions in American and British firms and serve as bridges between the local Chinese and haole residents.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD IN PRACTICE

Serving on the church's board were self-made Chinese, such as Goo Kim Fui, and earnest Caucasians, who helped to "manage the property, raise funds for repair and improvement, and provide for an expansion of the work." Represented among the latter were Charles M. Hyde and members of the Davies, Atherton, Damon, and Waterhouse families.³⁰

The cordial relations of the Chinese with the haoles were very evident in the help given them in raising funds to build the Chinese Christian Church of Honolulu at its Fort Street location. The Caucasians even lent the church parlors of their older Fort Street Church for a bazaar, and at the dedication of the new church building on January 2, 1881, the women brightened the indoors and outdoors with lanterns, brocades, tapestry, and other glittering attractions. The royalty,

too, graced the affair with their presence. Likelike, sister of King Kalakaua, who was away on his world tour, represented him. Also in attendance were clergymen, government dignitaries, and their families.³¹

Surely Sun Yat-sen must have known about this important event held in the vicinity where he studied and resided. These White people were not like the ones who started the Opium Wars and pointed their guns at China's ports to open the way for further exploitation. These were a different breed: Christians with whom he had become acquainted while at Iolani. Furthermore, while prejudice against the Chinese took various forms, both legal and vocal, the HEA persisted in believing that "Christian brotherhood held the best, perhaps the only answer" to the vexing questions of racial conflicts.³² To have White people cooperate so amicably with his own countrymen and believe in their goodness must have nurtured a faith that was to sustain Sun in the years when European nations failed to support his cause.

With such a history of progress, one would suppose that the HEA would have opened a boarding or English-language school with an academic curriculum for Chinese boys. However, that was not done, and English classes for immigrants held at the church did not meet Sun's yearning for the best Western education possible.

IOLANI: AN ANGLICAN SCHOOL

Iolani, then, was the school for him. It was Anglican, a mission school administered under the auspices of the Church of England, from which the Congregationalists (Calvinist Protestants) had fled to settle in New England early in America's history. Anglicans were far less puritanical in their religious and secular beliefs. Their initial role in Honolulu was not so much to evangelize as to satisfy King Alexander Liholiho's dislike of the American mission where he had been educated and to establish church practices patterned after those of the English.³³ While in London he had met royalty and found in the English hierarchical system and splendor a model to emulate. Furthermore, he loved the ritual of the Anglican service, with its chanting, its liturgy, and the rich, elegant robes of the clergy, all set in beautiful cathedrals with stained-glass windows.

In 1861 the king offered to donate a site for an Anglican church in Honolulu and \$1,000 a year for a clergyman's services. With the aid of several prominent English churchmen, Manley Hopkins, the Hawaii consul at London, formed a missionary bishopric with the Reverend Thomas Nettleship Staley as its head. Bishop Staley arrived on October 11, 1862. Queen Emma was baptized two weeks later, and the royal couple were confirmed as members of the newly chartered Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church. In December the high chief Kalakaua was confirmed. With the addition of key Anglican leaders in the kingdom and Staley's position in the

Privy Council, the political power of the American missionaries was visibly threatened.³⁴

King Alexander Liholiho himself translated the *Book of Common Prayer* into Hawaiian. Staley, to the disgust and dismay of the puritanical Congregationalists, encouraged the revival of hula dancing and chanting at the funerals of chiefs. The theatricality, the chanted liturgy, the rich vestments of the clergy, as well as pictures on the walls of the church were said to have satisfied the native Hawaiians' inhibited desire for celebration and pageantry.³⁵

When King Alexander Liholiho died on November 30, 1863, at the age of twenty-nine, and again when Princess Victoria Kamamalu died in 1866, their respective funerals were sufficiently elaborate and loud with the laments of natives to please the most traditional Hawaiian.³⁶

However, Bishop Staley was not able to please the White members of his congregation in matters of doctrine and practice. In May 1870 he resigned. The clergy in England, his superiors, considered turning the mission over to the American Episcopalians (Anglicans before the American Revolution of 1776). Queen Emma fought the move and won.³⁷

The first Anglican schools

It was Bishop Staley who opened separate church schools for boys and girls at the request of King Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho) and Queen Emma to train young Hawaiians for leadership roles in the government. They desired that the schools should provide their young ones with "the highest English culture and religious training from childhood; otherwise they cannot take their share in their own government and uphold the ideals therein as the king desires. At present there are no Hawaiians occupying high office in the government of the country."³⁸

Both schools were conducted in English. The king contributed \$4,000 for the erection of a building for the Female Industrial Boarding School at Kaalaa at the entrance of Pauoa Valley. Under the patronage of Queen Emma, the school was advertised in the *Polynesian* on November 8, 1862, as a family boarding and industrial school that emphasized the domestic arts and offered French, German, music, dancing, and embroidery at extra cost. The tuition was \$25 a term for girls under twelve. Mrs. George Mason was its head.

The boys' school, St. Alban's College, was opened on January 12, 1863, under the charge of Father George Mason. The king donated \$1,100 for its buildings.³⁹ Its offerings included "Latin, Greek, Euclid, algebra, and the usual branches of an English education, at the tuition rate of twelve dollars a quarter." In 1863 it had twenty boarding and several day students and was doing so well that a schoolmaster from England was sent for to assist Father Mason.

In that same year Father Mason was sent to Lahaina, Maui, to build up a school named Luaehu, started in 1863 by the Reverend William R. Scott, who had returned to Eng-

land because of failing health. Iolani School recognizes the establishment of Luaehu School by Reverend Scott as the beginning of Iolani School.⁴⁰ Luaehu School was popularly referred to as the Reverend George Mason's School.⁴¹ At St. Alban's in Honolulu, changes were taking place in the meantime. In 1864 Mr. Edmund Ibbotson, who had been in charge of the Cathedral Grammar School, a charity school for "poor, outcast Hawaiian boys," became the head of St. Alban's. He remained in that capacity until 1866, when Mr. Turner succeeded him. St. Alban's must have encountered difficulties, for in 1868 it had only sixteen scholars while Luaehu had eighteen. In March 1868 the stronger Luaehu was merged with St. Alban's.⁴²

The role of Bishop Alfred Willis

In 1872, Bishop Alfred Willis arrived to take charge of the mission, which was renamed the Anglican Church of Hawaii. (It was not until 1902 that the American Episcopal Church assumed jurisdiction over the Anglican Church in Hawai'i.) He stayed thirty years and was the bishop who established Iolani School. Upon his arrival, Bishop Willis promptly purchased land on Bates Street in Nuuanu Valley for the school. He considered it a continuation of the combined schools at Pauoa and named it Iolani College, a name that King Kamehameha V had already applied to St. Alban's.⁴³

St. Alban's had been intended for haole (White) boys, but Iolani College was intended for Hawaiians and part Hawaiians. In 1876 St. Alban's had thirty-four boys and one girl; Iolani also had thirty-five students. In 1887 St. Alban's closed.⁴⁴ By 1878 Iolani had only fifty-eight boys. With Bishop Willis as the headmaster, assisted by several instructors from England, this private school grew slowly, as it was suffering from dissension within the church and competition with Oahu College. To enlarge its enrollment, it admitted Chinese boys, among them Sun Yat-sen, all of whom had little or no previous schooling in the English language.

School life on Bates Street

In September 1879, when Sun entered Iolani, known then as Bishop's School, he was one of ten Chinese boys there.⁴⁵ The first two who registered were Tong Phong, son of Tong Ching, one of four partners of the wealthy Sing Chong Company, and Lee Butt, brother-in-law of Chun Afong, the most notable Chinese in the early history of the Chinese in Hawai'i (see article by Robert Paul Dye in this volume). Two weeks after school opened, Sun Tai Cheong (Di Xiang), as Sun was familiarly known to his schoolmates, was enrolled under the name Tai Chu.⁴⁶ Already Chung Kun Ai had registered by himself. Admitted later were John Akana, Chun Mun-Him, Lee Kam-Lung, Leong Neg, Leong Bun, and Look Lee.

Chung Kun Ai describes the difficult adjustment for those who understood neither English nor Hawaiian well.

They were hard pressed to keep up. Mr. Merrill, their spelling teacher, would spank them on the palm three times with his ivory ruler when they missed three words. The punishment was more severe for five mistakes or more. In the study hall at night, no one dared to make a noise. Once in bed, no one spoke. Bishop Willis visited the dormitory at unexpected hours of the night and very paternally covered the boys with a blanket if it had been kicked off.⁴⁷

The six boarders had their fun, swimming at Kapena Falls, staying there two or three hours; eating mangoes fallen from the property next door; and enjoying food sent by doting parents. They had chores to do, too, like planting vegetables and lugging water for indoor use.

A more detailed description of school life on the Bates Street campus between 1872 and 1902 is given in the *Hawaiian Church Chronicle* of September 1912.⁴⁸

A Day at Iolani began at 5:30 o'clock A.M. with the ringing of a bell, to this duty a boy was assigned for a week. After an early rising the boys walked up to Alekoki or Kapena for a morning plunge. This was before we got water from the government main. At 6:30 the boys were lined up on the verandah of the dormitory and there each name was called out; afterwards the boys filed into the chapel; then after chapel for half an hour the boys were detailed to clean up the different places, to which a number of boys were assigned. Breakfast followed at 7:30. 8:15 to 9 A.M. drill was held on Mondays and Fridays, from 8:15 to 9 A.M. singing lessons on Tuesdays and Thursdays; from 9 to 11:45 A.M. was taken up with our studies. Lunch at 12; school again from 1 till 2; from 3:45 till 4 P.M. each day was set aside for manual labor consisting of gardening, working in the printing office, carpenter shop and general cleaning up of the premises. At 4:15 the bell rang again to discontinue work and go up to Kapena to bathe.

We sat down to supper at 5:30, chapel again at 6:30. Then study from 7 till 9, when everyone retired and lights were ordered out by 9:20.

The buildings consisted of the bishop's house, dormitory, schoolhouse, carpenter shop, dining hall, chapel, hospital, printing office, bathhouse, and three cottages. The printing office turned out a good deal of the church and school printing. The first hymn books and Hawaiian catechism and other religious publications were printed at Iolani. Mr. Meheula was quite prominent in the printing office.

Since Iolani was primarily a religious institution, it was natural that the religious education of its students was the church's main concern. "Daily attendance at morning and evening prayer was a required routine. . . . The Bishop concerned himself with the instruction of his pupils in Christian doctrine. He inculcated in them a critical attitude toward superstition and idolatry. . . . Every reasonable persuasion was brought to bear on the boys to present themselves for baptism."⁴⁹

Chung Kun Ai tells about the bishop's hiring of a young Chinese evangelist, Wong Shak-Yen, for six dollars a month, plus the chance to study English as a day student, to teach the boarders the Bible in the afternoon on the school verandah. However, Wong evidently bored them to the point

where he had to give up evangelizing and keep their attention by telling them Chinese stories instead.⁵⁰

All boarders were required to go to church on Sunday.⁵¹ The services were held in the procathedral, a temporary wooden structure that would not be replaced with the present magnificent St. Andrew's Cathedral until 1886. The boys marched from Bates Street down Nuuanu Street to Beretania, turned left to Fort Street, then walked on to Emma Street, where the procathedral was located. An earlier service was held in Hawaiian followed by the English service at 11:00, which the boys attended. They sat in assigned pews to the right of the aisle. After the service they marched back to Bates Street.

Sun was a conscientious student and on July 27, 1882, was presented upon his graduation with the second prize for excellence in English grammar by King Kalakaua himself. The prize was an English book about China. Queen Emma and Princess Liliuokalani were also present.⁵²

Sun Yat-sen's three years at Iolani introduced him to Western learning. They also "led him to want more western education—more than that required to assist in his brother's business," comments biographer Harold Schiffrin.⁵³ By this time Sun was also seeking his brother's permission to become baptized. Sun Mei, being a traditionalist, refused.

ST. LOUIS COLLEGE: A CATHOLIC INSTITUTION

Where was the younger Sun, with his strong Christian predilection, to go to continue his studies?

In 1882 two other private Christian schools existed, St. Louis College and Oahu College. Two questions plague the historian: Did Sun attend both, or just Oahu College, or neither? What substantiation is there of his studies at either school?

Jen Yu-wen, in a short statement—"Then, he transferred to the St. Louis College (of high standing)"—seems to accept his attendance there as an established fact.⁵⁴ Paul Linebarger's study of Sun contains a more credible statement based on his personal interviews: "After graduation from the Bishop's School with first honors, he attended to the business affairs of his brother for a half year, after which he attended a higher school in Honolulu called St. Louis School. Here he studied for a term, finally pursuing his studies in the Hawaii College."⁵⁵ By "Hawaii College" Linebarger no doubt meant Oahu College. John C. H. Wu also claims that Sun "was permitted in the winter of 1882, to enter St. Louis College in Honolulu, where he studied for a semester."⁵⁶

Records of the early history of St. Louis College are lacking. No mention of Sun's presence there can be found. The question of whether Sun actually matriculated at St. Louis is tied to the question of when he subsequently attended Oahu College. It is also related to other questions: Were the

Chinese in Hawai'i early converts to Catholicism? How was Catholicism regarded in the Hawaiian Kingdom? Were Catholic schools successful in proselytizing through their offer of educational opportunities?

Catholicism in Hawai'i

Catholicism was the target of a series of religious conflicts with political ramifications. The arrival of the first French missionaries to Honolulu in July 1827 exacerbated an already volatile political situation.⁵⁷ They were not welcome as no one had cleared the way for their presence. They landed without permission and Governor Boki ordered that they be put back on board their ship, but in his absence they were later left ashore.

The Congregationalists were visibly upset by the intrusion of the very establishment from whose authority the Protestant revolt had freed them. The Catholics were accused of idolatry because of their statuary, but Hawaiians and Chinese found no difference between one *kii* (idol) and another, be it heathen or Catholic.⁵⁸ Hence, despite opposition, the Catholic Church attracted members. Under the constitution established in 1840, which guaranteed freedom of religion, all sides managed to coexist, though not without controversy.

The 1840s were good years for both Congregationalists and Catholics. In 1841, as has been stated, the Congregationalists voted funds for the establishment of Oahu College. In 1842 the fifth Kawaiahaeo Church, its present edifice, was completed. In 1843 the Catholics built their beautiful Lady of Peace Cathedral, the only church building in central downtown Honolulu easily accessible to Chinatown residents for both personal and corporate worship. In 1846 the Catholics organized Ahuimanu, a school in Ahuimanu Valley on the windward side of Oahu. In its best years, 1864–65, it had fifty students.⁵⁹

Like other Christians, the Catholics sought to evangelize through formal educational institutions. In 1880 Father W. J. Larkin, an Irish priest, arrived in Hawai'i and was given \$10,000 to start St. Louis, taking over Ahuimanu as a boys' school.⁶⁰ The school was named in honor of the patron saint of Bishop Louis Maigret, head of the Catholic Church in the Islands.

St. Louis College at the Stonehouse

St. Louis College began in the Stonehouse at 91 Beretania Street, the site at three separate periods for the three schools that Sun was said to have attended. It was a coral house situated next to Washington Place and had been erected in 1846 on land belonging to the king as a residence for the Reverend William Richards, who had been appointed to the newly created office of minister of public instruction. He lived there until he died in November 1847. The Reverend Richard Armstrong was appointed as his successor on June 10, 1848.

He made arrangements to purchase the house, agreeing to pay for it in seven years.

In 1843, when the Armstrongs were living in the parsonage, an adobe house on the premises of Kawaiahaeo Church, Admiral Sir Richard Thomas, who came to restore the independence of the kingdom wrested from the Hawaiians by British Consul Richard Charlton and his supporters, was a frequent guest. He was fond of their children and sent them "many pleasant tokens of his remembrance." On Restoration Day, July 31, 1848, Reverend Armstrong named the coral building "Stonehouse" after the residence of Admiral Thomas in England.⁶¹

The lot extended from Beretania Street *mauka* (mountainward) through a portion sold by Mrs. Armstrong in 1867 to the Sisters of Holy Trinity when they founded St. Andrew's Priory. In 1880 Mrs. Armstrong sold the Stonehouse property to the Roman Catholics to be used as a boys' school; Ahuimanu on the windward side of the island was probably too far away to attract students.

In that year Father Larkin placed an announcement in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* that "the College of St. Louis, an Hawaiian Commercial and Business Academy, offering Classical, Scientific and Commercial courses," also offered courses in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, and Italian. Moreover, an evening session offered adults "theoretical and practical knowledge of commercial and business transactions."⁶² Sun Yat-sen was still attending Iolani at Bates Street when St. Louis opened at the Stonehouse. Since Iolani offered no courses in business, Sun Mei might have considered the practicality of his brother's continuing to study subjects beneficial to his own expanding interests by entering St. Louis after graduation.

The school opened on January 20, 1881, with twenty-five students enrolled.⁶³ Father Larkin was assisted by two professors, Messrs. Nichols and Popovich. However, his tenure was brief, for he was forced to leave because a structure he had built on the premises caught on fire and a young Hawaiian was killed. Besides, the father of the mission distrusted him, as he seemed to be "aspiring to become Vicar Apostolic of Hawaii through the influence of King Kalakaua; who, on his tour around the world, was to visit the Holy See."⁶⁴

Father Clement Evard succeeded him. As the need for a fresh start was evident, an effort was made to secure the aid of some religious teaching order. Father Leonard Fouresnel, the vice provincial of the mission, left on March 13, 1882, for the mainland and was able to secure the services of the Brothers of Mary, or Marianists.⁶⁵

The Nuuanu Stream site

The mission bought a lot on the Ewa (west) side of Nuuanu Stream in June 1882 and laid the cornerstone of the new St. Louis College on July 3. On September 18, Father Clement opened the school with its new buildings. He was assisted

by Father Hubert Stappers, the last director of Ahuimanu College, and two lay professors, Messrs. Donnelly and Richard Stewart.

It is very possible that Sun may have entered St. Louis that September. It has been said that he spent half a year with his brother in Kula and studied a semester in the winter of 1882 at St. Louis. I doubt that he could have lived six months in Kula without becoming bored and in constant conflict with his brother over his Christian leanings. However, he may have entered St. Louis after September.

Since the new St. Louis College was situated across the river from the busy heart of Chinatown with prospects for study in both commercial and academic subjects, it must have been attractive to young Chinese who could afford to attend. Very appealing also was the news that eight brothers of the Society of Mary would be arriving in 1883, three of them to take charge of St. Anthony's School in Wailuku, Maui, and five to teach at St. Louis. Their arrival did increase the enrollment dramatically. Over a hundred enrolled on September 19, 1883. In two weeks, fifty more were added. By 1885 there were 283 day scholars and 47 boarders.⁶⁶ However, it must be noted that this rapid growth occurred after Sun had returned to China.

Therefore, if Sun did attend St. Louis for a term or a semester in 1882, he probably found the many academic offerings mere statements of hope, for the standard of the new students was no doubt very low. Chanting, kneeling, genuflecting, and making the sign of the cross would have reminded him of the Anglican church. At Iolani he had learned at least to read the English liturgy in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but the Latin of the missal was totally foreign to him. And what would he have made of the statues of the saints? Were they not a form of idols? Probably, like most Chinese, Sun would have respected the Marianist brothers for their monastic life, for in that respect they seemed much like the Buddhist and Taoist monks in China. All in all, though, he needed more challenge to stimulate his eager mind, which may have sought, even at his young age, to learn of Western attributes that would help his country and people.

OAHU COLLEGE AND ITS EXPANSION

Fortunately for Sun, he was finally given the opportunity to attend the school of his choice, the prestigious Oahu College (Punahou School). Su De-Yong cites Dr. Sun's own words of pride when he entered Oahu College after three years at Iolani: "It was the island's most advanced institution of learning."⁶⁷ The school was first named Punahou as it was situated on a slope of a hill where Ka Punahou, the New Spring, bubbled forth into a pool. In 1859 the name was officially changed to Oahu College.⁶⁸

By a stroke of fortune, when St. Louis decided to move in 1882 the trustees of Oahu College were looking for a site

to expand their preparatory department. They found the Stonehouse property perfectly suited to their purposes. This location suited Sun too. It was near Chinatown and close to the procathedral where he had attended Sunday services for three years.

His schooling at Iolani had served him well. He was adequately prepared for the entrance examination. Also fortunately for him, Punahou, which had been established in 1841 for the children of ABCFM missionaries, was opened in 1853 to scholars from the whole community. In 1855, the ABCFM began to withdraw its direct support of Oahu College.⁶⁹ The control of the school's estate was transferred to the local board of trustees. It was no longer a missionary institution. It became an endowed private school that included a secondary curriculum. The school attracted more and more students from the community with its very high standards for college preparation.

In 1881, at the fortieth-anniversary celebration of the school, a public appeal was made to provide for a professorship of natural science and for new buildings.⁷⁰ President William L. Jones expressed the need for Punahou to meet the changing times in a speech. His appeal was so successful that the trustees moved to purchase the Armstrong premises at the head of Richards Street from the Roman Catholic Mission for the Punahou preparatory school.

On December 1, 1882, a two-column article in the *Friend* stated the purpose and plans for the preparatory school and announced the purchase and cost of the property.⁷¹

The Trustees have long been prospecting for a suitable site upon which to erect a preparatory school building in the city, which would accommodate valley as well as town. They have finally secured the Armstrong premises, with the design of commencing a department preparatory to the college. Their desire is to raise the grade of the college, and for this purpose to be more strict in regard to the terms of admission. Other objects they also have in view to meet the wants of the increasing foreign population of the islands. In former years our education standard has been higher and better than that of schools in many parts of the world. If our young people go abroad we are determined, the reason shall not be, that they cannot obtain a good and finished education in the islands.

The article reported on the very sound financial condition of the college. It had an endowment of \$19,000 invested in the United States, another endowment of \$21,642 invested in Hawai'i, a building fund of \$14,382, and the sum of \$21,400 realized from the sale of pastureland. The decision was made to transfer \$10,000 from the \$21,400 for the purchase of the Armstrong premises.

The property included the Stonehouse, or Stone Hall. It was a very pleasant area, with a garden in front where a rubber tree grew among tall shade trees. A traveler's palm stood near a fern grotto built by the Catholics to enshrine a statue of the Madonna. Maidenhair fern lined it and drooped down the sides of the grotto's cool fountain. There the girls sat and ate their lunches.

The open backyard was the boys' playground. At the farther end was a fenced-off paddock for the saddle horses of students who rode to school. For exercise there were gymnastic bars and rings. Sounds of hula music and drumming emanated from Washington Place, home of Liliuokalani, next door to the school.⁷²

The preparatory school

On January 15, 1883, the preparatory school opened, and Sun, registered as Tai Chu, is believed to have been one of the fifty students who were lined up in front of the two-story building to march upstairs into the two classrooms.⁷³ Sun was probably as excited as the other students, most of whom "were entering school for the first time." The textbooks for the first-year students were "Robinson's *Practical Arithmetic*, Cornell's *Geography*, and *English Grammar*, and Barne's *History of the United States*."⁷⁴

Their principal was Miss Lulu Moore. Her assistant was a Miss Storrs, "bonny, rose-cheeked," whom the children must have loved and who won the heart of a Mr. F. J. Lowrey, who courted her at noon recess. She taught for only a year. On the faculty were also three other female teachers, Augusta Berger (Mrs. W. M. Graham), May Baldwin (Mrs. D. B. Murdock), and Mary Alexander. They walked home after school, the first two to Makiki Street and the other to Punahou Street, along Beretania Street, with its lovely homes and gardens to enjoy on the way. The children left too, Sun probably to Chinatown and the others to mansions in Nuuanu and other residential areas of the well-to-do.

To be in a coeducational school and be taught by cheerful but strict females must have been an eye-opening experience for Sun. In 1914, three years after the success of the Revolution, his decision to divorce his village wife to marry Song Qingling must have been influenced to some degree by this brief encounter with American girls and women. They may have left an indelible impression of the delight in their company that was missing in his Cuiheng village school.

Sun's studies must have kept him on his toes. For admission to the first-year preparatory course, he had been examined in "Arithmetic, as far as Fractions; in Geography, on North America, and to read with ease in Wilson's Fourth Reader."⁷⁵ He no doubt passed with ease and so was placed in the course with thirty others. Listed as Tai Chu, he was one of three Chinese students, the others being Chung Lee and Hong Tong.

The preparatory course was made up of first- and second-year students.⁷⁶ After completing this course, a student would be admitted to academic courses—junior, junior-middle, senior-middle, and senior—and finally permitted to take the classical courses, which ranged from the first year to the fourth. To advance, "candidates for admission to the Academic Course must have finished all the studies in the Preparatory Course." There was, however, great flexibility and

adjustment to individual progress. Besides the prescribed courses of study, preparatory students also had "General Exercises," that is, "Reading, Spelling, Penmanship, Composition, Declamations, Class Instruction in Drawing and Vocal Music throughout the Course."⁷⁷

As further evidence of the high standards of Oahu College, the *Punahou School Directory* shows that although the institution first opened its doors for instruction on July 11, 1841 there were only six graduates by 1878. From that date on, no class received graduation diplomas until 1881, when six graduated. In 1882, another six graduated. In 1883, the year Sun was there, only three received diplomas.⁷⁸

The school year was divided into three terms: fall from September to December, with a vacation of two weeks; winter from January to March, with a vacation of two weeks; and summer from April to June, with graduation exercises in July. At the end of the first and second terms examinations were held. The final examination of the school year took three days.

Evidence of Sun's enrollment

If Sun entered in January, he was in Oahu College for the winter and summer terms of the school year 1882–83. The only other evidence of his presence under the name Tai Chu is found in the treasury ledger under the date June 19, 1883. It was for payment of \$55.00 "to Sundries . . . By Cash." Tuition was \$1.00 a week, or \$12.00 for a twelve-week term. Sun must have paid about \$24.00 for his two terms in the college.⁷⁹

It is strange that he is not listed as Tai Chu in any of the directories or catalogues, but as Tai Chock, a name that cannot so far be substantiated by other sources, although like all Chinese, Sun had several names and took on a variety of pseudonyms after he began his revolutionary activities. Since Tai Chu is not in any official listing and Tai Chock was not listed among the first-year preparatory course students, it is assumed that they are one and the same person. In the catalog of 1891 and the lists of 1841–1906, he is listed as "Tai Chock China" for the school year of 1882–83. In the college directories of 1841–1916 and 1841–1935 and the Punahou directory of 1841–1961, he is also listed as "Tai Chock 1882–3."⁸⁰

In three instances, the letter "a" listed after his name meant that he was a student at the academy. This suggests the possibility that he had advanced so quickly that he was promoted to academic courses. Another explanation hinges on the fact that the preparatory department was not open until January 1883 and all students before the school year of 1883–84 were still listed as "academy" students. The letter "o" stood for Oahu College and applied to all students of all departments until 1934, when the school's name was legally changed to Punahou School.⁸¹ Sun was so listed in the directory of 1841–1935.

All in all, Sun Yat-sen must have found his two terms at Oahu College stimulating and enjoyable. He was freer as a day student than as a boarder in a strict Christian environment. Although he was again in a Christian institution, the emphasis was primarily on academic preparation for study at the best universities on the East Coast. He must have been amazed at the brilliance of the girls, who could match the boys in intellectual achievement. The three graduates in 1883 were all girls.

Sun must also have observed that the Americans were generous in sharing with him fine examples of Christian love and democracy at work. His own ideals were strongly reinforced by the discipline required of him. In the "Rules and Regulations of Oahu as amended on September 17, 1867," Christian character training was not neglected: "The exercise of the Institution shall be opened daily by the reading of the Scriptures and prayer. . . . There shall be a Biblical recitation once a week throughout the course. . . . No student habitually guilty of using profane or obscene language, or of lying, stealing or other openly immoral conduct, or of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall continue a member of the Institution."⁸²

In 1901, the preparatory school was moved to the Punahou campus. The Beretania Street property was rented in 1902 to Iolani School, which began negotiations for its purchase in 1903.⁸³

What would have happened if Sun had not pressed to be baptized and if Sun Mei had been willing to support him through Oahu College? Would Sun Mei have been willing to forego his brother's assistance in building up his wealth and allow him to purchase higher education at an eastern school, such as Harvard or Yale?

Speculation aside, Sun Yat-sen forced his brother's hand by insisting on baptism until his brother had no recourse but to give up his responsibility and concern for the young rebel and send him back to his father to control. Thus his school days in Honolulu ended. Sun told Linebarger that "among the treasured books Sun carried back with him from Honolulu to China was the Bible."⁸⁴

HONG XIUQUAN II

When Sun Yat-sen returned to the village, he and his friend Lu Hou-dong desecrated the temple idols.⁸⁵ Later in 1884, while a student in Hong Kong, he and his Iolani classmate Tong Phong were baptized by an American Congregationalist missionary, Dr. Charles Hager.⁸⁶ Besides Dr. Hager, two Chinese Christian ministers, Qu Feng-zhi and Wang Yu-chu, were instrumental in bringing about Sun's bold commitment to Jesus Christ. Sun was baptized with the name Ri-xin (which in Cantonese is pronounced Yat-Sun), meaning "new day." Dr. Hager later changed this name to the homophonic characters that were pronounced Yat-sen in Cantonese and Yi-xian in Mandarin.⁸⁷ These new characters combined

the meanings of "free, extraordinary" and "immortal spirit," which aptly described the character and aspirations of the young convert. This romanized version of his new name, Sun Yat-sen, became the accepted one by which he became known internationally.

In 1894, Sun returned to Hawai'i to establish the Xing Chong Hui, his first revolutionary society. Among its founders were many Christians, one of them being C. K. Ai, his fellow student at Iolani.⁸⁸ Later on, his marriage to Song Qingling, a Christian, in 1914, was a scandalous break from the old marriage customs he had been brought up with. His first wife, however, very graciously sanctioned the divorce and his remarriage, being present at the wedding ceremony. She herself became a devout Christian.⁸⁹

DEATH OF A CHRISTIAN

At Sun's death, a Christian memorial service was held. Dr. H. H. Kung, his brother-in-law, was informed in a letter from the Reverend Logan R. Roots, bishop of Hankow's American Episcopal Church, that Dr. Sun had requested in a low voice: "I want it to be known that I die a Christian."⁹⁰ His widow, Song Qingling, and son, Dr. Sun Fo (Sun Ke), decided on a Christian funeral service, but their wishes were questioned by some of Dr. Sun's influential anti-Christian followers, who "linked the Christian religion in China with imperialism." The first service was thus a private one, held in the great hall of the Peking Union Medical College on March 19, 1925. It was conducted by the Reverend Timothy Lew of Yenching University, one of the Protestant colleges established in Asia by the United Board of Christian Colleges of the United States of America.⁹¹

Professor L. Carrington Goodrich, who was one of the double male quartet singers at the service, described the service in his diary as follows:⁹²

As the choir filed down the chapel corridor to the bower of flowers by the altar the place was hushed save for the tones of the preacher reading in Chinese from the Scriptures. The casket draped in a Kuo Min Tang flag was placed below the dais beneath the flowers and under a large picture of Dr. Sun, showing him clad in the simple garb of a commoner. Then followed prayer by Dr. Tsu, a simple testimony by Dr. Lew, songs by the congregation, by a contralto soloist, and by a double male quartet. All these were effective enough, but the remarkable features of the service were the addresses of the Hon. George Hsu, former minister of justice, and Mr. K'ung Hsiang-hsi [Dr. H. H. Kung], whose wife is the sister of Madame Sun, and who has long been connected with Christian institutions in China. . . .

Mr. Hsu in limpid Mandarin outlined the beliefs of his friend, and in one quotation after another showed how deeply Sun had been actuated by the spirit and teachings of Christ. "He was a revolutionist; so am I." "He came to save the poor, and the unfortunate, and those in bondage. So have I also tried to do." "He decried the traditions maintained by the lawmakers of Judea, and plead for universal brotherhood. It is because of similar shackles that bind China that I have made my crusade. It is

because the organized Church has been so divided and divisive that I have long given up my membership in the church, but I believe in Christ and his teachings and have endeavored to make them my own." Mr. K'ung was more brief, but he was equally outspoken: "Just a day or so before his death Dr. Sun called me to his bedside, and taking both my hands in his, said, "You're a Christian and so am I. I wish to tell you something I have always felt which you will understand. Just as Christ was sent by God to the world, so also did God send me."

It had not been easy to be a Christian, to compromise with compatriots who had ties to many old practices that he himself deplored, or to join one denomination in preference to another. Nevertheless, he was guided by ideals of brotherhood quoted on both sides of the ocean and expressed by the Confucian saying often quoted by the Congregationalists of Hawai'i, "Si hai zhi nei jie xiong di ye" ("Within the four seas all men are brothers"). His calligraphy expressed the same hopes for mankind: *Bo ai* (universal love) and *Tien xia wei gong* ("The world belongs to the people").

THE TEST OF FAITH

In analyzing the forces at work in shaping the history of modern China, Immanuel C. Y. Hsu made a statement about the Chinese that summarizes Dr. Sun's own search for direction. He wrote: "They were faced with the agonizing problem of deciding how much of the old China must be discarded and how much of the modern West must be accepted for China to exist and win a respectable place in the community of nations."⁹³ Sun knew what he wanted for China. He died without realizing his goal of a strong, democratic, peaceful China with equal opportunities for all his countrymen. But he remains the invisible leader of both Taiwan and mainland Chinese because he never gave up the struggle and had the resources to nourish his faith despite obstacles too impregnable to overcome in his lifetime. His charisma was inborn and sustained by spiritual depths he himself had discovered in his four years as a student in Christian schools in Hawai'i. The adolescent Sun came to the Islands at a period of missionary zeal. One might ponder, what if he had not come then—or at all?

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A Century of Chinese Christians

A Case Study on Cultural Integration in Hawai'i

Carol C. Fan

Carol C. Fan, "A Century of Chinese Christians: A Case Study on Cultural Integration in Hawai'i," *Chinese America: History & Perspectives – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 87–93.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study is twofold: (1) to advance knowledge of the history of the Chinese Protestant Christian churches in Hawai'i by examining their founding, development, and contributions from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the present, and (2) to analyze how church purposes and practices interacted with historical circumstances to advance or deter the establishment of self-governing and self-supporting Chinese churches.

American anthropologists, sociologists, and social historians have long been interested in the acculturation of different ethnic groups in this country. The organizing of Christian churches (either through the initiative of Chinese Christians, as in the case of the First Chinese Church of Honolulu, or through general missionary endeavor, as in the case of St. Peter's Church of Honolulu) offered the newcomers fellowship, comfort, and a sense of belonging. By contributing their time, talent, and money to the churches, the newcomers in turn demonstrated their willingness to join the mainstream in building a new cultural paradise in the Pacific. Membership in these congregations was and is one of the most significant experiences of Chinese in Hawai'i. However, there has been no large-scale study of the history and influence of these churches. There are some articles on the life and work of a few individual Christian workers and missions in the *Hawaiian Journal of History*, and pamphlets and publications on the occasions of anniversaries and golden jubilees. These are either commemorations or justifications of church life. A rich source of information can be found in the reports from different missions in the *Friend*, *Hawaiian Evangelical Report*, *Anglican Church Chronicles*, and its successor, the *Hawaiian Church Chronicles*. Biographical sketches of some church leaders are given in 1929, 1936, and 1957 issues of *Tan Shan Hua Qiao* (The Chinese of Hawaii).

The establishment and development of Chinese churches relates directly to the political, social, and economic conditions of Hawai'i. The process of acculturation seemed accelerated among the early Chinese Christians in Hawai'i, for they were able to take English-language classes, which the missions employed as a pre-evangelical approach to reach the new arrivals. Through the influence of some American missionaries, they could get better jobs.

However, whether consciously or unconsciously, the church leaders exercised the most distinctive feature of the Chinese mind, which finds unity in all human experience, whether of the secular or the spiritual realm. Most Chinese Christians continued to celebrate their traditional festivals, to teach the Chinese language to their children, and above all, to enjoy Chinese cuisine, especially on happy occasions. This eclectic approach was clearly demonstrated by Luke Aseu, who was baptized by the Basel Mission (a Lutheran mission in Kwangtung), came to Hawai'i, and became one of the founders of the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); the First Chinese Church (Congregational Church); and two Episcopal churches, St. Paul's at Kohala and St. Peter's in Honolulu. In forming a new church or dividing an existing one, geographic origins, linguistic similarities, and personal or family relationships (rather than ideological difference) were often determining factors.

CHINESE IN HAWAI'I

There were only a few Chinese entrepreneurs in Hawai'i in the middle of the nineteenth century. The sugar industry, followed by rice farming, completely changed the island economically and politically. The first sugar mill was introduced to Hawai'i by a Chinese in 1802.¹ To be commercially profitable, it had to import foreign laborers, for the native population had diminished from 300,000 in 1775 to 130,131 in 1832 and 71,019 in 1853.² The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, which was founded in 1850, began to bring workers to sugar plantations in 1852, first from Fuchien Province and later from Kuangtung, Hong Kong, and Macau. These people spoke two dialects: Punti and Hakka. The Punti speakers were from Chungshan county; the "Sam yap" were from the

counties of Pengyu, Shunte, and Nanhai and the “See yup” from the counties of Taishan, Enping, Kaiping, and Hsinhui. The Hakka were from the counties of Paoan, Huahsien, Weichou, Tungkuan, and Meishien.³

Most of the migrant laborers left their families behind and came willingly (though often in response to deception), and all dreamed about some day making enough money to return home with wealth. When they arrived they were quarantined and fumigated⁴ and forced to sign five-year contracts at three dollars (1853) to fifteen dollars a month for ten hours a day, six days a week.⁵

The plantations offered neither family life nor recreational facilities. Lonely and frustrated by the hard work and low pay, some of the migrant laborers sought excitement in gambling⁶ and some found escape in opium smoking.⁷ Almost all of them left the fields and looked for other employment after fulfilling their contract obligations.

After the signing of the Reciprocity Trade Agreement between the United States and Hawai‘i in 1875, there was a tremendous increase in immigration; by 1884 the Chinese laborers constituted about a quarter (22.6 percent) of the total population of Hawai‘i. The presence of large numbers of foreign workers led to anti-Chinese feelings. Up to then the major criticism of the Chinese had been of their unwillingness to marry, settle, and increase the island population. As King Kamehameha IV said in 1885, “They seem to have no real affinities, attractions, or tendencies to blend with this or any other race.”⁸ The business community resented the competition from Chinese small businessmen after 1885. Legislation restricting immigration followed, and after 1898, when the Hawaiian Islands were annexed and the U.S. Exclusion Act of 1882 adopted there, Chinese immigration was prohibited. However, merchants, scholars, artists, Christian ministers, and Buddhist and Taoist priests could still enter the Islands under another category and could bring their wives and children with them under the principle of *jus soli*. These people offered a broader basis for the development of a Chinese ethnic group in Hawai‘i.⁹ Urbanization and family life became more characteristic of Chinese in Hawai‘i. Thereafter the Chinese reacted to opposition from the Hawaiian government and American business in three ways: leaving the Islands as soon as economically feasible; naturalizing and becoming Hawaiian citizens by marrying Hawaiian women; and organizing themselves into business, social, and religious groups.

EARLY CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN HAWAI‘I

Two mission boards—the Hawaiian Evangelical Association¹⁰ and the Episcopal—have supported most of the Protestant work among the Chinese people of Hawai‘i.

Christianity was introduced into Hawai‘i in 1820 when the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions of Boston sent missionaries to spread the gospel and Western civilization to the Hawaiian people in the Hawaiian lan-

guage. Twenty years later, King Kamehameha III provided in the constitution that “no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah.”¹¹ The first church for foreigners, the Bethel Union Church, was started in Honolulu in 1833 to meet the spiritual needs of American merchant seamen. A branch was established as the Fort Street Chinese Church in 1856. In 1887 the two reunited to form the Central Union Church. The Reverend Samuel Damon was minister of the Fort Street Chinese Church, editor of the *Friend*, and an important member of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. After large numbers of Chinese contract laborers arrived to work on the sugar plantations, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association appointed Samuel P. Aheong (Siu Phong, Seau Hung, Hsiao Hsiung) as colporteur to work among the Chinese in 1868. Aheong conducted Sunday evening services in English, Hawaiian, and Chinese. He opened an English-language school for the Chinese in the Bethel Union Church at the same time.¹²

The contract laborers coming to Hawai‘i included Hakka Christians who had been baptized by the Basel Mission in Pao-an, Kuangtung Province. Members of the German Basel Mission Society had been the earliest Protestant missionaries to arrive in China in 1847. They were from the Basel, Barmen, and Berlin missions, which were support societies for the Chinese Christian Union founded by Karl Gützlaff, an independent missionary and an official in the Hong Kong Colonial Service, in 1843. His goal was to establish a mission to preach the gospel to the Chinese with indigenous leadership and staff.¹³ These missionaries established schools and a seminary at Lilong, Kuangtung. With help from educated Chinese, they romanized the Hakka dialect, printed religious tracts, and translated the Bible.¹⁴

The term Hakka (K’e-ch’ia) simply means “guest family.” The Hakka were adventurous, energetic people, originally from the Yellow River valley, who moved to the Yangtze River region around the fourth century and then to southeastern China in about the twelfth century. They came to Hawai‘i with women and children and intended to settle in a new environment with different values and moral and social practices than other Chinese subscribed to. For them, to go to a faraway land was not such a frightening experience. Both men and women were able to read, write, and work in fields. Many of them had been converted to Christianity, so they had established a custom of getting together for sharing, singing, reading the Bible, and praying in their spare time. When they came to Hawai‘i they continued these practices.

In 1876 a group of newly arrived Hakka Christians led by Sit Moon went to ask Rev. Damon to help them in their spiritual growth. Rev. Damon was very impressed and commented on the visit: “So far as I am able to learn, these professing Christians have adorned their Christianity with a degree of firmness and propriety that might be emulated by many professing Christians as they come from America and Europe.”¹⁵

From then on, Samuel Damon held Sunday afternoon services and a night school to teach them English and basic

biblical truths. This group of Chinese young men, assisted by members of the YMCA of Honolulu, formed the Chinese YMCA in 1877. The first meeting was held at the Bethel Union Church and was attended by the leaders Sit Moon, Yap Ten Siau (Yap Ten Chiu), Goo Kim (also referred to as Goo Kam, Goo Kim Fook, Goo Kam Hui, and Ku Chin), and Luke Aseu.¹⁶ (Luke was a Christian name; Young Seu was his given name; Chang, the local Chinese romanization of Cheng, was his family name.)

CHINESE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association

The First Chinese Church. Thirty-six Chinese Christians, both men and women, led by Luke Aseu, Goo Kim, Ho Fon, Sit Moon, Yap See Young, and Joseph Ten Chiu Yap, organized the Fort Street Chinese Church, later called the First Chinese Church, in 1879. The congregation purchased a site for building their church. To protect their interest, they petitioned King Kalakaua for a charter of incorporation. He not only granted the royal charter but took a keen interest in the Chinese religious activities and on many occasions attended their functions as an honored guest. A building was completed and formally dedicated on January 2, 1881. At the service, Rev. Samuel Damon gave the sermon and stated, "The dedication of this First Chinese Church in Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands is an event of no ordinary interest in the history of Christianity in the Pacific Ocean. I am thoroughly convinced there is no place in the world so favorable for effectively reaching the Chinese with Christ's gospel [as] Honolulu."¹⁷

For community service, the Fort Street Chinese Church started a kindergarten in 1892 that was the first preschool in Hawai'i and continues to operate today. It also supported the Wai Wah Hospital for needy Chinese, staffed by two Western-trained Chinese Christian physicians, Dr. Khai Fai Li and Dr. Tai Heong Kong.¹⁸ The church has been totally self-supporting and has contributed to mission work since 1919.

In 1926, a survey of the congregation showed that only forty families lived in the Chinatown Fort Street area while one hundred fifty had moved to the Makiki district. To be closer to the majority of its members, the board purchased a new site and adopted a new name, the First Chinese Church of Christ. The congregation studied many proposed plans for a new building and selected the sketch of architect Hart Wood. Upon completion, an auspicious dedication service was held on June 16, 1929. The new building at 1054 South King Street is one of the landmarks of Honolulu. It has a distinctive Chinese architectural style: a high ceiling and eaves with a gabled tiled roof that curves upward at the ends.

Rev. Samuel Damon and his son and daughter-in-law were devoted friends of the early Chinese Christians in Hawai'i. This was especially true of the son, Frank Damon, who was born in Hawai'i, toured the world with Henry

Carter, and married Mary Happer, a missionary's daughter, who had been born and reared in Kuangzhou, China, and spoke fluent Cantonese. Frank Damon was appointed by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association as the superintendent of Chinese work in 1881. He founded the Mills School, which later moved to Manoa and joined the Kawaiahaeo Girl's Seminary to become the Mid-Pacific Institute, originally a boarding school for Chinese and Japanese boys.¹⁹

Following the establishment of the Chinese church in Hawai'i, many more outstanding people came to the Islands as entrepreneurs or contract laborers. Together with the sons of the early immigrants, they constantly served their churches and spread Christian teachings by generous gifts of time, talent, and money. They were also community leaders who established schools and a hospital and founded many Chinese social, economic, and political organizations.

Goo Kim (1826–1908), a founder of the Chinese YMCA and the First Chinese Church, came to Hawai'i in 1867. He was also one of the founders of the United Chinese Society in 1882 and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (formerly known as the Chinese Merchants Association) in 1912. He was named associate commercial agent by the Chinese imperial government during the Manchu dynasty. When he visited China briefly in 1892, he built a school and a church there. After he returned to Hawai'i he continued to support a preacher and a teacher in his hometown in Chiayinchou (present-day Mei Hsien) in Kuangtung.²⁰

William Kwai Fong Yap (1873–1935), son of Yap Ten Siau, one of the founders of the Chinese YMCA and the First Chinese Church, continued as a leader in those two organizations. He helped Dr. Sun Yat-sen, an Iolani school-mate, form the Hsin Chung Hui (Revive China Society, later the Kuomintang Nationalist Party) in 1894 in Honolulu. He also served as English secretary of the United Chinese Society and as a member of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Yap initiated and supported the expansion of the Agricultural College into the University of Hawai'i. He also founded the Chung Wah School and the Chinese of Hawaii Overseas Penman Club, and supported the Palolo Chinese Home in 1919.²¹

Chung Kun Ai (1879–1958), another classmate of Dr. Sun's and member of the Hsin Chung Hui, president of the United Chinese Society, and supporter of the Wai Wah Hospital and the Palolo Home, was the president of the trustees and standing committee of the First Chinese Church and a major contributor to the construction of the church building on South King Street in 1929.²²

The United Church of Christ (formerly known as the Beretania Church). The United Church of Christ was started by Elijah and Jessie MacKenzie as a mission station on Beretania Street to help people suffering from the second Chinatown fire in 1900. Later the MacKenzies started a Sunday school for Chinese children, then a night school for adults learning English. In 1915 the superintendent of the Chinese Mission

of the Evangelical Association, Frank Damon, suggested the organization of a second Chinese church in Honolulu that would hold services in Cantonese. The Punti-speaking members of the Fort Street Chinese Church welcomed this suggestion. The Reverend Tse Keo Yuan was called to organize the church and serve as its first minister. His courage and effort were commendable. This church continued to grow by leaps and bounds. Its membership had increased to 375 by 1929 and to 809 by 1935. Between 1916 and 1918, leaders such as Yee Young, Ho Fon, Tong Phong, and Chung Kun Ai engaged in an intensive campaign among Chinese and Caucasian friends for a building fund. In 1918 the red brick building on Maunakea Street was dedicated. On the fortieth anniversary, a new sanctuary on Judd Street was completed. Nine years later a two-story parish hall was added. To this day the United Church of Christ is still ministering in both Chinese and English to young and old.

The church, which had initially offered an English school for Chinese immigrants, reversed its strategy by supporting a Chinese-language school in 1932. The Reverend Lau Tit Wun and his wife were in charge of it. The language school began with an enrollment of 32 and three years later had 312 students. It was the first Chinese-language school operated by a church in Hawai'i.

The phenomenal growth of the school enrollment and church membership indicated the growth of the Chinese population in Honolulu and the concentration of Chinese in Chinatown. It was a sign of the passing of the early immigrants and the emergence of the Hawaiian-born and American-educated younger generation. Parents began to be concerned about their children losing their traditional culture.

The church faced unusual trials in 1934. The Great Depression affected everyone throughout the world. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association also suffered from financial difficulty and withdrew most of its assistance to the church, merely contributing \$50 a month for building maintenance. Meanwhile, two opposing groups had developed. The younger group was composed of college students and graduates and business and professional men. This group was led by Leigh Hooley, who had been in charge of the English department of the church since 1925 and was an enthusiastic promoter of group activities for the young people in the church. The other group was made up of the older members, led by the minister, Lau Tit Wun, who was a Chinese scholar, spoke no English, and constantly reminded the second- or third-generation Chinese born in Hawai'i that they should study the Chinese language, learn about Chinese culture, and preserve the traditional Chinese values. Leigh Hooley didn't agree with Rev. Lau's teachings at all and considered Hawai'i's Chinese to be Americans whose school, business, and religious life required only English.²³ The younger group unsuccessfully attempted to wrestle power from the older group, then left the church and formed the Keeaumoku Church in 1934.

Despite all these trials and tribulations, the church had a most auspicious celebration on its twentieth anniversary in 1935. A beautiful volume of 203 pages written in stylish vernacular Chinese, with a few pages in English, was published to commemorate the occasion. Many political leaders in the Chinese Nationalist government sent their calligraphy to congratulate the church on its anniversary, including Chairman of the National Government Lin Sen, Minister of Finance H. H. Kung, President of the Executive Yuan Wang Ching Wei, and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to the United States C. C. Wang.²⁴ From this impressive list, one can easily see that this church still kept in close contact with the homeland of most of its members.

The Episcopal Mission

St. Peter's Episcopal Church. St. Peter's was founded in 1886. The church building was completed in 1914 at 1317 Queen Emma Street, Honolulu, and there was a membership of about five hundred at that time. It was the fruit of the Anglican Church Chinese Mission organized in 1884.

Bishop Alfred Willis of the Anglican Church wrote a letter to the secretary of Anglican headquarters in 1878 to report on the new arrivals to Hawai'i and urge some mission work among the Chinese: "Would the Society be ready to make a special grant towards the support of Mission to the Chinese in this country, if a catechist can be obtained? A steady tide of immigration is setting in from China, and I feel the Church ought to be doing something for this section of population. . . . Among the late arrivals were some 80 Christians, converts of the Basle Mission at Hongkong."²⁵

With the help of many Chinese Christians (namely Luke Aseu Chang and Yap See Young), the Reverend Woo Yee Bew, who worked among the Chinese in Kohala and had established the St. Paul's Mission in 1882, and his wife were persuaded to come to Honolulu in 1888 to join St. Peter's Church. In 1902, Bishop Henry B. Restarick ordained Rev. Woo priest under the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.²⁶

Most of the members of St. Peter's were poor shopkeepers or gardeners. The monthly offering amounted to only about \$10–\$15, which was not enough to carry on all the desired activities. The church was forced to look for financial donations from the community, especially when Hawai'i was annexed to the United States and all the financial help from England stopped. The transfer to the Episcopal Church of the United States in 1902 gave new hope and encouragement to the members.

St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church. By the turn of the century, many Chinese had moved to Honolulu from the outer islands, and most of them had settled in the Palama and Chinatown areas. When an Episcopal missionary, Miss Drant, expressed her interest in serving in Hawai'i, the first Ameri-

can Episcopal bishop to Hawai'i, Rev. Restarick, assigned her to the Palama area in 1902 because of its increasing number of Chinese residents. Miss Drant rented a settlement house that she called St. Elizabeth's and opened a school giving sewing lessons to children by day and instruction in English, mathematics, and typing to adults at night.

As the mission grew, it needed room to expand. The present church building was made possible by the generous donations of two individuals in 1904. Luke Aseu was the lay worker assisting the canon, the Reverend William E. Potwine, as teacher and interpreter. Two Chinese students from Miss Drant's night school became Episcopal ministers. A Christian worker at Kula, Maui, was ordained as their vicar. It was a proud moment for the Episcopal churches when Wai-on Shim, son of the Reverend Yin Chin Shim, was ordained as the vicar of St. Elizabeth's Church in 1935. For the congregation to be able to support its own church was an important landmark of growth in 1937.²⁷

The Outer Islands

Both the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and the Episcopal Mission sent missionaries to and established stations on the outer islands in the nineteenth century. Frank Damon, the superintendent of the Chinese Mission, who was the most serious and tireless worker, traveled all over the Islands, wherever there were Chinese. His footsteps reached to Hilo, Ka'u, Kona, Hamakua, Kohala, Wailuku, Paia, Makawao, Lahaina, Kula, Waimea, Hanapepe, and Kekaha.

In Kohala, the Reverend Elias Bond started a missionary plantation. There were thirty Chinese Christian workers, four with their wives and two children, in 1876; fifteen more joined them the following year. Rev. Bond wrote to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association asking for a Chinese evangelist. In 1877 Mr. Kong Tet Yin, a Chinese Christian who had been converted by the Basle Mission in Kuangtung and worked in Australia, took the position and came to Hawai'i with a letter from the Australian bishop. In 1883 a chapel called Kaiopihī was dedicated on the plantation.²⁸

The Hilo Chinese Church, located at Ponohawai Street, was dedicated in 1896, supported by the association. There were sixty-two members in 1929. The church sold its original building and purchased two acres of land in 1936. A sanctuary building and parsonage were built on the corner of Mohouii and Kinoole streets.²⁹ The minister was Tsui Hin-weng. Since 1939, the worship service has been conducted in English. The church became self-supporting in 1951 and changed its name to the United Community Church.

On Maui, in Wailuku and Makawao, the Wailuku Chinese Church had a membership of forty-nine in 1929.

On Kauai, there were stations at Waimea, Hanapepe, and Hanalei. Frank Damon worked diligently at them all. The Waimea station was the only one that developed into a church. When Lo Yuet Fu came to the field in 1909, he wrote

that there were about one hundred Chinese rice farmers in Waimea. There were three church schools at Waimea, Hanalei, and Hanapepe, all established by Frank Damon about 1884.³⁰ Another observer, the Reverend Charles Kwock, wrote about the difficulty for Chinese Christians in these areas. A minister had to serve all three places, and the only organized church—Waimea Chinese Christian Church—had only about fifty members (including infants, children, and youth), who lived far apart. It was almost impossible to plan and organize.³¹

The Episcopal Mission began its work among Chinese on the outer islands as early as 1882, starting to organize St. Paul's at Kohala and St. John's at Kula, Maui. Mr. Shim Yin Chin, a Lutheran minister from China, taught Chinese and Christianity among the Chinese in Kula. Bishop Restarick was so impressed with Mr. Shim's earnestness and devotion that he recommended the mission ordain him as deacon in 1905 and priest in 1907.³²

In the 1920s major changes took place among the Chinese, especially after the passage of the 1924 Omnibus Immigration Act. The Chinese population fell to 7.3 percent of the total population in Hawai'i. Most of the Chinese on the outer islands moved to Honolulu. In 1884 some 28.6 percent of all Chinese in Hawai'i were in Honolulu. By 1910 this proportion had risen to 44 percent, by 1930 to 66 percent, and by 1940 to 78 percent.³³

During the 1920s the Chinese community became settled, familialistic, and increasingly urban. This change affected the churches in three ways: there was a marked increase in membership for all four churches in Honolulu; neither Cantonese nor Hakka was the only language, but English along with one of the Chinese dialects was used for services; and this period marked the beginning of the end of all Chinese churches in the outer islands, because the steady decline of the Chinese population on those islands caused church memberships to diminish. For survival, the churches welcomed all ethnic groups in the community and ceased to be Chinese churches.

UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF CHINESE CHURCHES

During World War II, the Americans and British fought side by side with the Chinese on the Asian front against the Axis. It was urgent for the United States to make some political and diplomatic move to win Chinese confidence for the war effort. Both the United States and Great Britain finalized new treaties with the Chinese Nationalist government that would abolish all previous unequal treaties by January 1943. A century-old treaty system was finally ended, and the long process of restoring and recovering the full sovereignty of China was completed. However it was not until President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill met President Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo Conference in November

to consider problems of war and peace in Asia that it was finally recognized that China was one of the great powers and promised that postwar Asia would be built upon a fully sovereign and independent China. Meanwhile, under pressure from the Chinese government, the U.S. Congress repealed the Exclusion Act and an annual quota of 105 was established for persons of Chinese descent in December 1943.

Further legislation was enacted in 1957, 1958, 1959, and 1965. The 1965 immigration law finally abolished the national-origin quotas and admitted foreign nationals based on preference categories.

From 1950 to 1964 about one hundred Chinese arrived annually from Hong Kong and Taiwan. After enactment of the new immigration law in 1965, the figure was tripled; ten years later, it was quadrupled. By 1984 over eight hundred Chinese came annually. In the following two years, the number of new arrivals leveled off at 799 in 1985 and 724 in 1986.³⁴ The new immigrants are mostly from the urban environments of Hong Kong and Taiwan. Most of them are well educated, with a good command of the English language. They are either professionals or investors in business. They prefer to live in suburban or city areas, but away from Chinatown. The new immigrants came with their families and intend to stay.

In the 1950s there were Bible study groups on many college campuses in the United States. It was natural for people with common cultural backgrounds, speaking the same language, and having the same intellectual abilities to meet on campuses and start informal discussion groups. This gave lonely students and faculty semi-intellectual and religious fellowship without financial obligation. These Bible study groups eventually grew into Chinese churches in the '70s.

There are four recently organized Chinese churches in Honolulu, two Mandarin and two bilingual (Cantonese and English). The recently formed congregations range from seventy to two hundred fifty. The Assembly of God Calvary Church was founded in 1956 by the Reverend and Mrs. Albert Kehr and offers services in Cantonese and English. It is the only one of the four recently organized churches to have its own building. The congregation participated in building this church, which was dedicated in 1964 and is located at 960 Io Lane, Honolulu.³⁵ The Honolulu Chinese Alliance Church, formed in 1975 by a group of students from Hong Kong, is self-governing and self-supporting.³⁶ Hawai'i Chinese Alliance Church, organized in 1976 by a Mandarin-speaking minister, the Reverend Shih-chung Tseng, is also self-governing.³⁷ The Chinese Lutheran Church, originally known as the Mandarin Fellowship of the Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, began Mandarin worship services in 1974. It became self-governing in 1980. It was formerly partially supported by the American Lutheran Church but is now self-supporting.³⁸

There are also churches that offer separate services and activities using Cantonese, Mandarin, or Taiwanese. Three

denominations have separate Chinese ministries—the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the United Church of Christ. The Reverend Tao-sheng Huang started this ministry at the Nuuanu Baptist Church and still serves the group of seventy to eighty people.³⁹ At the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Ming Chau Hsu began a Chinese-language ministry in 1983 that now serves seventy-five people.⁴⁰ The First Chinese Church began holding Sunday services and Sunday school in Mandarin in 1987.

Most of these churches belong to the Hawai'i Chinese Christian Churches Union, which was organized by all Chinese-speaking evangelical churches in Honolulu in 1975 at the urging of the Reverend Thomas Wang. Rev. Wang is the executive secretary of the Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism.

The early Chinese Christians came to Hawai'i with women and children, intending to settle in a new environment with values and social practices different from those of other migrants. They worked successfully with American and British Christians in establishing new churches, maintaining the properties, raising funds for charity and education, and sponsoring evangelical expansion.

They founded the Chinese YMCA in 1877, one of the earliest Chinese societies in Hawai'i. The same group helped form the four major Chinese churches in Hawai'i: First Chinese Church of Christ, United Church of Christ, St. Peter's, and St. Elizabeth's. They were also community leaders who helped found the United Chinese Society, Hsin Chung Hui (the Revive China Society), the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Wai Wah Hospital, and schools.

The process of acculturation accelerated among the Chinese Christians. Nevertheless, they continued to practice Chinese tradition. They were able to integrate with the host culture and still maintain their identity in Hawai'i.

NOTES

1. Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawai'i: A History*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961, 92.
2. *Ibid.*, 306.
3. Tin-Yuke Char, *The Sandalwood Mountain*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1975, 16.
4. William Abbot, "The Fragrant Sandalwood Hills," in *Hawaii Pono Journal*, February 1871, 41.
5. U.S. government, *Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii*, 1902, 57–58, 81.
6. Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*, Honolulu: Hawai'i Chinese History Center and University Press of Hawai'i, 1980, 38.
7. Frank W. Damon, "Tours among the Chinese," *Friend*, July 7, 1882, 76.
8. Hawaiian government, *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly*, 1886, 9.
9. Glick, 21.
10. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association was originally the Hawaii Board of Missions, which was dissolved in 1853

because the American board considered Hawai'i to have been Christianized. Therefore, Hawai'i became a home mission rather than a foreign mission. In 1957 a combination of four denominations—the Evangelical, Reformed, Christian, and Congregational churches—formed the United Church of Christ.

11. Kuykendall and Day, 76.
12. Tin-Yuke Char, "S. P. Aheong, Hawaii's First Chinese Christian Evangelist," in *Journal of History*, VII, 1977, 69–79.
13. Herman Schlyter, *Karl Guetzlaff*, Lung: Hakan Ohlssons Boytryckeri, 1946, 296, 297.
14. George Ziegler, "Der Basler Mission in China," *Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, February 1906, 12.
15. Charles Kwock, ed., *Souvenir of 90th Anniversary Commemoration*, Honolulu, 1969, 7.
16. In Chinese, a person's family name comes first, followed by the given name. In the nineteenth century some Chinese, fresh off the boat after a voyage of fifty-some days, answered the first question put to them at a strange place, in a strange language, by giving the most familiar names they were called and adding an "A," the sound that is most common in Cantonese and Fujienese and usually used to address a family member or close friends. In Luke Aseu's case, Young Seu was his given name. "A" plus the last syllable was what his family and friends called him; therefore, he answered "Aseu," without the slightest idea that in English "name" includes both first and last names.
17. Kwock, *Souvenir*, 9, 10
18. Li Ling-Ai, *Life Is for a Long Time : A Chinese Hawaiian Memoir*, New York: Hastings House, 1972, 4.
19. Kwock, *Souvenir*, 11 and 19.
20. *Friend*, August 1892, 63–64.
21. Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1929, 184. In Chinese.
22. Chung Kun Ai, *My Seventy Nine Years in Hawaii*, Hong Kong: Cosmorama Pictorial Publisher, 1960.
23. Albertine Loomis, *To All People*, Honolulu: Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ, 1970, 215.
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26. Timothy D. Woo, *To Spread the Glory*, Hilo: Transcultured Press of the East and West, 1977, 83.
27. C. Fletcher Howe, *The First 50 Years of St. Elizabeth's Church*, Honolulu: Honolulu Advertiser, 1952, 49.
28. Ethel M. Damon, "Father Bond of Kohala," *Friend*, 1927, 210–59.
29. David Preston, "A Chinese Romance," *Friend*, August 1936, 147–48.
30. Yuet Fu Lo, *Friend*, June 1939.
31. Charles Kwock, *Friend*, December 1936.
32. Rev. Henry Bond Restarick, *Hawaii from the Viewpoint of a Bishop*, Honolulu, 1924, 364.
33. Hawai'i government, Hawaiian Census, 1884; U.S. government, 13th, 15th, and 16th Census, Washington: 1910, 1930, and 1940.
34. State of Hawai'i, Department of Planning and Economic Development: Hawaii's Immigrants, Statistical Reports, 1973, 1974, 1982, and 1986.
35. Conversation with the Reverend Waipun Siu.
36. Honolulu Chinese Alliance Church, *10th Anniversary*, Honolulu, 1985.
37. Conversation with the Reverend Shih-chung Tseng.
38. Chinese Lutheran Church of Honolulu, *10th Anniversary*, Honolulu, 1984.
39. Conversation with the Reverend Tao-sheng Huang.
40. Conversation with the Reverend Ming Chau Hsu.

The Chinese Community Press in Hawai'i

Him Mark Lai

Him Mark Lai, "The Chinese Community Press in Hawai'i," *Chinese America: History & Perspectives – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 95–103.*

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of modern Chinese journalism is considered by most scholars to date from British missionary Milne's publication of the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* in Malacca during the early nineteenth century.¹ In the New World Chinese journalism began during the mid-1850s. For the first few decades Chinese periodicals and newspapers existed only outside the Chinese Empire. Not until the 1860s with the publication of the *Shanghai Hsin Pao* did the modern press become established in China itself.²

This essay traces the evolution of Chinese community newspapers in one region in the Western Hemisphere, Hawai'i. Comparisons are made with the development of the Chinese community press on the U.S. mainland, especially in San Francisco. This analysis, however, only takes into account the effects of demographic factors. This writer has not considered other factors, such as individual commitment, political priorities, and outside subsidies, which can prolong the life of a publication long after it has proven to be uneconomical as a commercial enterprise. These last-mentioned factors may be overriding considerations, especially in the case of political organs.

CHINESE JOURNALISM IN THE NEW WORLD

During the mid-nineteenth century sizable Chinese communities sprang up in California, British Columbia, Hawai'i, Cuba, and Peru as Chinese immigration increased in response to the developing economies of these regions. As each community grew, social organizations and institutions were founded to fill the needs of the population. Since each Chinese community was affected by various economic and

political factors in the host society over which it had little or no control, each tended to develop at a different rate. The Chinese community in San Francisco quickly forged to the forefront to become the leading Chinese community in the Western Hemisphere.

The lure of gold had attracted thousands from all over the globe to California. People from many nations, including China, settled in San Francisco, the principal port of entry. The Chinese population kept pace with the city's growth and a thriving Chinatown of about two thousand in population, with associated social institutions and mercantile concerns, was established by the early 1850s. It was here, in April 1854, that the first Chinese newspaper in the New World, *Golden Hills' News*, was started by a Mr. Howard, evidently under missionary influence, to "settle and explain our laws, assist the Chinese to provide [for] their wants and soften, dignify and improve their general character." This pioneering effort, however, lasted only a few months and was succeeded by another missionary-associated effort in San Francisco. Another in Sacramento was apparently also missionary inspired.³

During this period when the press was still a novel concept to most Chinese, a Chinese newspaper could survive in the relatively small Chinese community only with the dedicated effort of the individual involved. Such enterprises quickly disappeared after the individual had left the scene. The Chinese journalistic field in San Francisco became quiescent by the late fifties and did not revive until the mid-1870s when California's developing economy stimulated increased Chinese immigration. By this time a Chinese newspaper had already been published for more than a decade in Hong Kong, the port through which most of the emigration to California was channeled.⁴ Thus the concept of newspapers was no longer new to many Chinese emigrants to California. As the state's Chinese population increased rapidly, Chinese entrepreneurs began to establish newspapers in San Francisco around the mid-1870s. They became firmly established as community institutions and for the next few years San Francisco was the sole center for Chinese journalism in the Western Hemisphere.⁵

By the 1880s and 1890s, Chinese communities in New York City, Boston, Chicago, and Honolulu had also developed

to the point that enterprising Chinese were encouraged to launch local journalistic efforts. In the East and Midwest of the continental United States, however, these efforts proved to be premature. The small and scattered Chinese populations were inadequate bases to support such endeavors, which quickly petered out.⁶ Only in Honolulu did Chinese journalism find fertile soil. Hence this city became the second center for Chinese journalism in the Western Hemisphere.

THE EARLY HAWAII CHINESE PRESS

The Chinese had reached Hawai'i even earlier than California as a result of the China trade. But the Chinese population did not increase substantially until the sugar industry expanded and Hawaiian planters began recruiting laborers from China during the 1850s. However, this effort soon faltered. By 1872, out of a total population of 56,897 in the Islands, there were only 1,938 Chinese. In Honolulu Chinese made up a mere 632 out of the 14,852 inhabitants.⁷ In contrast, the population in California had already reached 560,247 by 1870 with 49,277 Chinese, 12,022 of these being counted in San Francisco.⁸

Beginning in the late 1870s, however, the vigorous development of the cane sugar industry greatly stimulated Hawai'i's growth. The island population nearly trebled in the quarter century from 1875 to 1900. This was accompanied by development of mercantile and other support services in urban centers, especially Honolulu, where the total population increased to 20,487 in 1884 and reached 39,306 by the turn of the twentieth century.⁹

During this same period the Chinese population took a quantum jump as the sugarcane plantations resumed large-scale recruiting of Chinese labor. The Honolulu Chinese population grew rapidly when many Chinese forsook harsh working conditions in the plantations for better opportunities in the city. By 1884, the Chinese population in Honolulu reached 5,225, almost 30 percent of Hawai'i's Chinese population. By 1900 it had reached 9,061.¹⁰ Major community institutions emerged to meet the social needs of this growing community.¹¹

It was during this period that the *Lung Kee Sun Bo* or *Hawaiian Chinese News* was founded in 1883 in response to the Chinese community's need to keep abreast of current events and happenings in Hawai'i and abroad.¹² This weekly is generally considered to have been the first Chinese-language newspaper in Hawai'i and to have launched the beginning of the Hawai'i Chinese press. Honolulu, as the chief urban center with the greatest concentration of Chinese, assumed a natural role as the center of Hawai'i's Chinese journalism.¹³

The *Hawaiian Chinese News* was founded by members of the new Chinese middle class that had emerged in the community by the 1880s. Owner C. Winam was a Christian

Hakka merchant who, a few years later, also became the English secretary of the United Chinese Society.¹⁴ Ho Fon, a Christian who later was associated with the Bank of Bishop, became manager.¹⁵ Cheng Shiqiao was the first editor¹⁶ of this handwritten and lithograph-reproduced weekly newspaper.¹⁷

The success of the *Hawaiian Chinese News* was followed by the appearance of the *Wah Ha Bo* or *Honolulu Chinese Chronicle*, a weekly founded in 1893 by Chinese Christians.¹⁸ This newspaper was noted for its numerous advertisements from non-Chinese businesses, indicating that it already had many contacts with the mainstream society. William K. F. Yap, later one of the prime movers in founding the University of Hawai'i, was a translator for the newspaper. It was also one of the rare Chinese journalistic enterprises that paid dividends to stockholders. The paper continued publishing until the early 1900s when its owners, who favored revolutionary changes in China, voted to merge with the *Hawaiian Chinese News* to become the newly founded *Man Sang Yat Po*.¹⁹ Another early weekly was the *Lai Kee Bo* or *Chinese Times*, founded around 1895. This last enterprise, however, only enjoyed a relatively brief existence of about five years.²⁰

CHINA POLITICS AND THE PRESS

These early Chinese newspapers, like those existing in the continental United States during the same period, were apolitical commercial enterprises. Around the turn of the century, however, the Chinese began to become more politicized as a result of nationalistic feelings emanating from China, where demands for reform and modernization had grown increasingly intense by the 1890s. This new attitude was soon reflected in the new political role played by the Chinese-language newspapers. In 1894, Sun Yat-sen came to the Islands to seek funds and recruit supporters for the revolutionary cause. He founded the Xingzhonghui (Revive China Society) in Honolulu to work toward the overthrow of the imperial government. Both Ho Fon and C. Winam of the *Hawaiian Chinese News* became members of the group, and the founding meeting of the Xingzhonghui was held at Ho's home.²¹ The *Hawaiian Chinese News* began to publish items favorable to the revolutionary cause. Shortly afterward Xingzhonghui members in Hong Kong raised funds to enable the *News* to acquire used lead type and a secondhand manual press from Hong Kong newspaper *Tsun Wan Yat Po* in 1899. Then the *Hawaiian Chinese News* began semiweekly publication.²²

At this juncture, however, revolution was still too radical a cause for most Chinese to espouse. Another political group soon appeared at the turn of the century that offered a more moderate alternative program. In 1898, after the Hundred Days of reform, when edicts for sweeping changes in the ancient empire were issued in the name of Emperor Guangxu, the ultraconservatives, led by the empress dow-

ger, engineered a palace coup d'état and made the emperor her captive. Many reformers were executed or exiled to the frontiers. Others, including Kang Youwei, fled abroad. In 1899 Kang reached Victoria, British Columbia, where the Chinese Empire Reform Association (also known as the Protect the Emperor Association until its name was changed to the Constitutionalist Association in 1906) was founded to give support to the imprisoned emperor and to press for reform in imperial China. The organization spread rapidly among Overseas Chinese communities.²³

From the beginning the Reform Association recognized the importance of the press in generating public support for its political program. On the mainland Reform Association members converted the San Francisco weekly *Mon Hing Bo* (Chinese World) to a party organ in 1899.²⁴ Soon afterward, in 1900, Kang Youwei's disciple, Liang Qichao, reached Hawai'i from Japan. His fame and charisma helped to recruit members for the newly founded local chapter of the Reform Association.²⁵ That same year the reformers established the *New China News* (*Sun Chung Kwok Bo*) in Honolulu as the party's voice.²⁶ Under a series of capable editors the *New China News* quickly became the leading Chinese newspaper in the Islands. This newspaper started as a semiweekly but became a triweekly in 1902.²⁷ It was not until 1904 that the *Chinese Reform News* was founded in New York with the intent to establish Reform Association organs in all three major Chinese communities in the United States.

The presence of the rival revolutionary and reform groups in Honolulu led to political controversy and intrigue within the Hawai'i Chinese community as each faction sought to win adherents. When Sun Yat-sen returned to Hawai'i in 1903, he found that many Xingzhonghui members had defected to the rival Reform Association. In order to regain lost ground he convinced the owner of the *Hawaiian Chinese News* to reorganize the newspaper and to expand its staff. Its Chinese name was changed to *Tan Shan Sun Bo*. Sun proceeded to use the paper as a platform to advance the revolutionary cause. He personally authored essays attacking the rival Reform Association's political program and apparently regained some lost ground.²⁸ However, the reformers were still at the high point of their power in the Chinese community, and their *New China News* remained an influential rival voice.

Shortly after Sun departed from Hawai'i, the aging C. Winam retired and sold the *Hawaiian Chinese News* to fellow Xingzhonghui member Zeng Changfu. The *News* then merged with the *Wah Ha Bo* to form the *Man Sang Yat Po*, which began publication in 1907. This appears to have been the first Chinese-language daily in Hawai'i.²⁹ Soon afterward the newspaper's editor resigned and the owners turned to the *Min Bao She* in Tokyo for help. This latter was the official organ of the Tongmenghui, the revolutionary alliance organization formed by Sun Yat-sen in 1905 from several Chinese anti-Manchu groups in Japan. In response to their request Sun sent Loo Sun, student in Japan and former reporter on

the *Chung Kuo Jih Pao* (China Daily News), a revolutionary organ in Hong Kong. Soon after Loo arrived in Honolulu to assume the editorship, political enemies persuaded immigration authorities to initiate deportation proceedings against him, alleging that newspaper editors were not among the classes exempted from the Chinese exclusion acts. The newspaper's owners appealed to Washington, D.C., and received a precedent-setting ruling that newspaper editors should be considered as teachers.³⁰

Secured in his new post, Loo began to launch attacks against Manchu rule in China. But the owners' apparent less-than-enthusiastic support for his efforts soon led him to resign his position. Loo was not out of work long, however, for in 1908 local supporters of the revolution, led by Zeng Changfu, established another newspaper, the triweekly *Chee Yow Shin Po* or *Liberty News*, which became the first Tongmenghui organ in the Western Hemisphere.³¹ The following year the first revolutionary organ in the continental United States, the weekly *Youth*, started publication in San Francisco. This latter paper changed to the daily *Young China Morning Post* in 1910.³² Honolulu and San Francisco were the only two Chinese communities in America to have official Tongmenghui organs before the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912.

Honolulu supporters of Sun Yat-sen also established the *Dasheng Bao* beginning around 1909. Used to shield the *Liberty News* from lawsuits, it published items—often written by *Liberty News* editors—that may have been potentially libelous. Due to a shortage of personnel and funds, however, the *Dasheng Bao* soon ceased publication.³³

In the meantime the *Man Sang Yat Po* had difficulty finding an editor, and the owners finally sold the enterprise to merchants belonging to the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1909. The newspaper was reorganized as the *Wah Hing Bo* but was familiarly known as the *Shangjia Bao* (Merchants' Newspaper). It was allegedly subsidized by the Yuan Shikai government in China and expressed support for Yuan after the latter proclaimed himself emperor in 1915. It ceased publication around 1919,³⁴ and its equipment was sold to the Chee Kung Tong organ, the *Hon Mun Bo*.³⁵

A third political force in America was the Chee Kung Tong, also known as Hoong Moon or Triads,³⁶ a secret society that had numerous lodges in Hawai'i and on the North American mainland. During the early 1900s the organization's leaders, inspired by nascent nationalistic feelings emanating from China, sought to establish its own political voice. The San Francisco main lodge took the lead with the founding of the *Chinese Free Press* (*Ta Tung Yat Po*) in 1903.³⁷ In 1908 members of local Triad organizations, the Wo On Society, Bow Leong Say, and Kwock On Society, in Honolulu organized the *Kai Ming Bo*, but when the paper began publication it bore the title *Kai Chee Shun Bo*.³⁸ This paper did not exhibit strong political stances on either the constitutionalist or the revolutionary programs. However, in 1909, the newspaper hired

a militant Sun Yat-sen supporter, Wong Hung Fei, from San Francisco as editor. He soon came into conflict with the more conservative owner because of his anti-Manchu slant. Two months later Won left to join the staff of the *Liberty News*, just in time to help Loo Sun in an editorial battle with the *New China News*. He later became its chief editor in 1910 when Loo returned to the Far East.³⁹ The *Kai Chee Bo*, now with another editor, changed its name to *Hon Mun Bo* upon the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912.⁴⁰

These political developments during the first decade of the twentieth century ushered in a new phase of Chinese journalism wherein China's politics dominated the Chinese press. Chinese communities became political arenas, with the reformers and their supporters on one side and the revolutionaries and their allies on the other, waging ideological battles to win the hearts of their compatriots. Editorials became an important feature of newspapers as political factions engaged each other in a war of words. The press also was influential in molding public opinion. For example, in an editorial protesting America's harsh applications of the exclusion laws, Chen Yikan of the *New China News* made the initial suggestion that eventually led to the anti-U.S. boycott movement of 1905.⁴¹ In still another incident during the struggle between the revolutionaries and the constitutionalists (originally the Chinese Empire Reform Association), Won Hung Fei and the *Liberty News* were instrumental in instigating a Chinese community protest in 1910 against the Chinese consul's announced intention to use proceeds from registration fees he exacted from local Chinese to support the Mun Lun School, which subsequently was established in 1911 by Reform Association members.⁴²

After the 1911 Revolution, as China became embroiled in civil war, the Chinese press continued its preoccupation with China politics. Both the Kuomintang and Chee Kung Tong by this time had also established newspapers in New York, the third center of Chinese population in the United States.⁴³ Political battles were continually waged in the Chinese press throughout the United States, with the Kuomintang, successor to the Tongmenghui, supporting the forces led by Sun Yat-sen on one side, and the constitutionalists supporting the Peking government on the other. The latter side was also joined by the Chee Kung Tong, the Tongmenghui's erstwhile ally, which had broken with Sun Yat-sen after the establishment of the Republic of China.

By the late 1920s the Kuomintang established dominance as the sole legal political party in China. This political situation was reflected in the decline of the opposition press in the United States. Declining readership due to older Chinese passing away or retiring to China soon forced the Honolulu Chee Kung Tong organ, the *Hon Mun Bo*, to close in 1929.⁴⁴ San Francisco's Chee Kung Tong organ followed in 1932. The New York voices of both the constitutionalists and Chee Kung Tong also were silenced by 1937 and 1948, respectively.⁴⁵ Financial supporters, principally Chun Quon (C. Q.

Yee Hop), however, enabled the *New China News* in Honolulu and its sister publication in San Francisco, the *Chinese World* (*Sai Gai Yat Po*), to continue.⁴⁶

China politics also intruded into the Kuomintang press when a power struggle broke out in the party after its ascendancy to power in 1927. In a bloody purge the Kuomintang expelled Communists from its ranks in China. The party's "right" wing under Chiang Kai-shek established a government in Nanking, while a "left" faction headed by Wang Jingwei established a rival regime in Hankow. Although the Hankow and Nanking regimes soon reached an accommodation and merged, the schism continued to be expressed in Overseas Chinese communities by the existence of "left" and "right" factions, frequently with separate party headquarters and rival newspapers.

In the continental United States the *Kuo Min Yat Po* (*Chinese Nationalist Daily of America*; founded in 1927) in San Francisco and the *Mun Hey Po* (founded in 1915 as a weekly; started daily publication in 1927) in New York supported the "left" faction. The "right" countered with *Young China* in San Francisco and in addition started the *Zhongguo Ribao* (founded in 1929) in New York City and the *San Min Morning Post* (founded in 1930) in Chicago.⁴⁷ A similar split prevailed in Honolulu, where the *Liberty News* supported the "left" faction, while the "right" established the *United Chinese News* (*Chung Wah Kung Bo*) in 1928.⁴⁸

Despite the preoccupation with China's politics during the first half of the twentieth century, a sense of a Chinese American community was also developing in the continental United States. Nonparty newspapers emerged to take their places alongside the organs of the three Chinese political groups. In San Francisco there were the *Chung Sai Yat Po*, founded in 1900 by Chinese Christians, and the *Chinese Times*, founded in 1924 as the voice of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance. In New York the independent *Chinese Journal of Commerce* was founded in 1928.⁴⁹ This flowering of the Chinese press on the mainland was sustained by a readership consisting mostly of immigrants, who during this period still made up a majority of the Chinese population in the continental United States. Continued discrimination against the Chinese, which hindered Chinese entry into mainstream America, also tended to provide some motivation for many U.S.-born to maintain some proficiency in reading Chinese.

The same developments did not occur in Hawai'i. From an early date there had been a greater percentage of Chinese families in Hawai'i than on the mainland. By 1920 more than half of the Chinese in Hawai'i were native-born,⁵⁰ a stage not reached on the mainland until two decades later.⁵¹ The fact that there was only a small White middle class in Hawai'i facilitated Chinese entry into Hawai'i's mainstream society. A growing number of the Hawai'i-born Chinese lost the capability to read Chinese. By 1929 less than 40 percent of school-age Chinese children were attending Chinese schools.⁵² Thus, although U.S. census figures indicate that from 1920

to the eve of World War II the total Chinese population in Honolulu exceeded that in San Francisco, there was also a greater number who were illiterate in Chinese. Accompanying this phenomenon of Americanization was also a decreasing interest, especially among the Hawai'i-born, in China politics. Thus, even when the Chinese press was at its height in Honolulu during the first three decades of the twentieth century, none of the newspapers could publish more than three times weekly, though their San Francisco colleagues had been publishing dailies as early as 1900. (It should be noted, however that the second-largest population center for Chinese on the mainland, New York City, could not justify a daily either until 1927, and dailies were not published in Los Angeles, third in population, until after the late 1970s!)

The typical Chinese newspaper in Hawai'i before World War II was a triweekly printed with lead type, usually eight to ten pages long. Not counting the advertisements, about a fifth of the news concerned the local community. China news comprised some 30 to 40 percent, split between news of Guangdong and the rest of China. International news made up another 10 to 20 percent. Editorials could be approximately 10 to 15 percent of the text, and literature and featured articles comprised the remaining 15 to 25 percent. The contents, except for local news, thus were not dissimilar to those of the contemporaneous Chinese-language press in the continental United States.

San Francisco was the political, economic, and cultural center of Chinese on the mainland, so its Chinese newspapers had access to a large market in the continental United States, especially in the Western states, and in Mexico. This market was not accessible to the Hawaiian Chinese newspapers because their local news coverage was not relevant to most mainland Chinese. Thus they were limited mostly to serving the decreasing numbers in the Islands who were still literate in Chinese.

A brief renaissance of the Hawai'i Chinese-language press occurred during the Sino-Japanese War, when heightened interest in war news encouraged the newspapers to consider daily publication. The *New China News*, under the editorship of Dai Ming Lee, led the way on March 20, 1941, changing its English name to *New China Press* in the process. Later when martial law was declared in the Islands after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Chinese press assumed the additional role of informing Hawai'i Chinese about military government regulations.⁵³ By 1942 and 1943, respectively the *United Chinese News* and the *Liberty News* also became dailies.⁵⁴ But the revival proved to be only temporary. The decline of the Chinese press resumed soon after the war ended as the older immigrant generation passed away or retired to China and fewer and fewer of the U.S.-born were capable of reading Chinese. This situation was aggravated even more by the closure of Chinese schools by the territorial government from 1943 to 1948.⁵⁵ By the mid-1940s the *Liberty News* ceased publication.⁵⁶ After the Kuomintang defeat on the Chinese

mainland (in 1949), the *United Chinese News* was reorganized in 1961 as the *United Chinese Press (Chung Wah Sun Bo)*.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the old constitutionalist organ, the venerable *New China Press*, continued to limp along, supported principally by the C. Q. Yee Hop (Chun Quon) family.⁵⁸

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS

As the Hawai'i-born Chinese population grew, an Americanized Chinese Hawaiian middle class of professionals and businessmen emerged by the 1920s and began to develop a new sense of community. Organizations such as the University Club (founded in 1919) were established, reflecting their aspirations to achieve equal status in Hawai'i's multiethnic society. In 1925 a group of native-born formed the Hawaiian Chinese Civic Association to strive for the civil and political rights of the Chinese. In 1926 a member of the association, Dr. Dai Yen Chang, became the first full-blooded Chinese to be elected county supervisor.⁵⁹

The same year the first Chinese-published bilingual paper in the New World, the *Hawaii Chinese News*, was founded as part of this effort by Hawai'i-born Chinese to become part of mainstream society and to express their existence as a Hawai'i Chinese community. Ruddy Tong was the weekly's first editor and manager. It should be noted that the first English-language Chinese community newspaper on the continental United States, the *Chinese Digest*, was not founded in San Francisco until 1935.

The *Hawaii Chinese News'* premier issue stated that it

is the proud child of an ideal developed within the Chinese community and the happy realization of the long cherished expectation and hope of the Chinese people throughout the territory. It has been established to serve, to help, and to promote the best interests of the thousands who make up the Chinese community. It answers the flood of inquiries from thoughtful Chinese as to why the present generation, educated in American schools and colleges, cannot conduct a newspaper of their own; it fulfills the dreams of farseeing individuals who years ago, had already pictured the progress of the Chinese along all lines of endeavor.

The motto on the newspaper's masthead read: "For richer life among the Chinese" and "For more friendly relations with others."

This weekly was the first Chinese community newspaper to express a U.S. citizen's viewpoint, and it paid more attention to community, social events, and sports news than did the Chinese-language newspapers. It targeted the younger Hawai'i-born element as its audience. However, when its rivals began publishing more local Chinese news by the early 1930s, the *Hawaii Chinese News* began to lose circulation and advertising revenue.⁶⁰ It ceased publication in 1932.⁶¹ For a short time during the mid-1930s, the *United Chinese News* tried to attract the growing number of English readers by publishing an English-language section. This effort ended around 1938.⁶²

During this period a growing number of locally born Asians were rapidly becoming Americanized. In the process many had lost fluency in their ancestral tongues; however, the common experiences of the several Asian groups striving for equality in Hawai'i and their common use of the English language became factors drawing them together. On January 20, 1936, Charles Ling Fu started publication of the English-language weekly *Oriental Tribune*, a paper "aimed at and dedicated to the Westernized Oriental of Hawai'i Nei." This, the first newspaper to use the Asian American concept to unite people of Asian descent, lasted less than a year, as there apparently were not enough readers ready to embrace this principle.⁶³ The next year another weekly, the *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, describing itself as "the Voice of 27,000 Chinese," began publication on November 12, 1937. The first manager of this new venture was Chock Lun, and the editor was William C. W. Lee.⁶⁴

The *Hawaii Chinese Journal* emphasized local community news but also included China news of concern to Hawai'i Chinese. During World War II, from August 29, 1940, to December 7, 1944, this publication was bilingual. In 1952 it published a special issue to commemorate the Hawai'i Chinese centennial. This newspaper had a life of two decades before it ceased publication on December 31, 1957. It was succeeded by the *Hawaii Chinese Weekly*, "the Only English Weekly for Hawai'i's Chinese," which began publication on July 3, 1958. However, a little more than a year later, on November 16, 1959, the paper closed its doors forever.⁶⁵ Since that time English readers have had to depend on Honolulu's metropolitan dailies or outside publications such as Vancouver's *Chinatown News* to read whatever news the editors choose to print on the Hawai'i Chinese community.

SINCE THE 1960s

The relaxation of immigration curbs on Asians resulted in a large influx of Chinese immigrants into the United States after 1965. By the 1980s these new immigrants formed about 70 percent of the Chinese population, creating a large potential market for Chinese newspapers. In 1961 Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Jih Pao* began sending daily issues to San Francisco for sale. By 1963 the paper had launched an airmail edition. After a successful trial period, *Sing Tao* established offices and published different editions in major North American Chinatowns.⁶⁶ The coverage in these editions included local community news as well as features and news stories taken from the Hong Kong editions of the paper. *Sing Tao's* coming launched a new stage in development of the Chinese American press: the appearance of nationwide newspapers financed largely with capital from abroad.

During the next few years rival Chinese newspapers with national distribution also appeared, including the *World Journal* (*Shijie Ribao*, founded in 1976 by the owner of Taiwan's

United Journal); *International Daily News* (founded in 1981 by Taiwan immigrant Chen Tao); and *Centre Daily News* (founded in 1982 by Taiwan immigrant Fu Cahou-hou as the North American edition of Hong Kong's *Centre Daily News*). These newspaper networks have higher professional journalistic standards than the preexisting local newspapers and maintain offices staffed with reporters in several cities. Moreover, instead of waiting passively for news items to be delivered to their offices, as was often the wont of older existing community newspapers operating on shoestring budgets, these newcomers actively assign reporters to cover local events.⁶⁷

Hawai'i also experienced some increase in immigration, although not to the extent that the U.S. mainland did. By the 1980s the foreign-born had increased to about 30 percent of the Chinese population in the Islands. This situation led an enterprising entrepreneur to begin publishing the *Honolulu Chinese Press* on September 11, 1975, to test the local market. The results, however, were not encouraging, and the experiment was terminated on November 1 of that year.⁶⁸ Shortly afterward, in 1978, the *New China Press*, then the oldest Chinese newspaper in the Islands, also closed its doors.⁶⁹ This left only the Kuomintang-subsidized *United Chinese Press* still hanging on. The 1988 Oahu telephone directory also lists both the *World Journal* and *Sing Tao* as having business offices in Honolulu; however, their newspapers are imported from the mainland.

The demand of Chinese Americans for equal rights and affirmative action on the U.S. mainland spawned the Chinese American weekly *East/West* in San Francisco in 1967. Growing community consciousness also led to the founding of weeklies in smaller Chinese communities, such as the *Sampan* in Boston (founded in 1972), the *Southwest Chinese Journal* in Houston (founded in 1976), and the *Seattle Chinese Post* (founded in 1982).⁷⁰ But there were no such journalistic endeavors in Honolulu, where the Chinese had fought and made progress on similar issues two to three decades earlier. These issues apparently no longer presented the same challenge and stimulus for the Hawai'i Chinese population in the sixties and seventies.

CONCLUSION

Chinese journalism in Hawai'i has one of the oldest histories in the Western Hemisphere. Chinese-language newspapers were founded earlier in Honolulu than in any other Chinese community in the New World, with the one exception of San Francisco. From the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth the Chinese press played an important role in providing information about local and world events to the Hawai'i Chinese population and both influenced and reflected community sentiments.

The press went through several stages of development as Hawai'i Chinese society evolved. Initially, during the late

nineteenth century, local Chinese newspapers were apolitical commercial enterprises whose objective was merely to inform the reader. Around the turn of the century China politics became the dominant theme as the press reflected the concerns of Chinese immigrants over the course of events in their ancestral homeland. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, as Hawai'i Chinese developed an increasing sense of community, newspapers also began to give more emphasis to community news and issues. These stages of development closely paralleled developments in the Chinese community press on the mainland. However, the Hawai'i Chinese population's earlier participation as an integral part of mainstream life prevented those developments from proceeding as far as they did on the continent. Instead, the Chinese press exerted ever-decreasing influence on the Hawai'i Chinese community and finally was all but completely superseded by the mainstream metropolitan newspapers.

Throughout the history of Chinese journalism in Hawai'i the publication of Chinese-language newspapers was seldom a profitable business. During the first half of the twentieth century such newspapers were established primarily to promote specific political causes. Circulation was usually low, and often newspapers had to be subsidized by political sympathizers. For example, N. W. Ayers and Sons' *American Newspaper Annual* lists a circulation of only five hundred to six hundred during the early 1900s for the *New China Press*, one of the leading Honolulu newspapers. Just before World War II the *New China Press* had increased its circulation to around a thousand copies. Even with heightened public interest in the news during the war years, sales increased only to around two thousand.⁷¹ Such a small circulation could at most justify triweekly publication. A limited market remained one of the major obstacles to the development of a flourishing nonparty, commercial Chinese-language press in Hawai'i.

A well-managed newspaper might possibly generate sufficient income to cover operating expenses, but it would lack sufficient funds for expansion and improvements. For this reason, publishing facilities could seldom be upgraded. Editors of Chinese newspapers in Hawai'i generally had a good mastery of Chinese but no training in journalism. Moreover, the tight fiscal situation only allowed them to hire a minimum number of reporters. Hence investigative-type reporting was nil. The more common practice was to translate news from the metropolitan dailies or wire services, or to wait passively for local news releases. Consequently the quality of the reporting was poor when measured against U.S. journalism standards.

By World War II, the Chinese language had declined in importance as a vehicle for communication for the more acculturated Hawai'i-born generation. As Chinese schools dropped in enrollment, many of the Hawai'i-born lost their ability to read the language and identified less with China. As the older immigrant population decreased due to natural attrition, the Chinese-language press readership declined.

While the more recent increase in Chinese emigration to the United States has given the Chinese newspapers on the mainland a new lease on life, Hawai'i has not experienced this revival; more than 70 percent of the Islands' Chinese population remain U.S.-born.

The question arises whether an English-language community press might ever have been able to assume the same function as the Chinese-language newspapers for English readers. The answer seems a negative one, for as Chinese join the mainstream they tend to merge with the rest of the population. Although many Chinese in Hawai'i probably still have a sense of ethnic community, as can be seen from the continued existence of Chinese organizations, mainstream issues have become more relevant and Chinese community issues increasingly less so to most individuals. Thus the market for English-language community papers among the Hawai'i Chinese appears to be limited because there are not enough of the pressing local issues that would justify the existence of such a newspaper.

From the above it can be seen that population is a major factor in forming a potential market for a community newspaper. In addition, for the paper to survive, the population must have enough readers. As Chinese became increasingly acculturated and integrated within the mainstream society, there was apparently a decreasing need for community newspapers as vehicles to express their hopes and aspirations. Therefore, the Chinese press declined in Hawai'i. The same trends have been observed on the U.S. mainland, but there the large influx of immigrants from the mid-sixties through the eighties staved off the marked decline and made possible a market for Chinese newspaper networks of national and international scope. Granted, however, that demographic changes influence the continued operation of newspapers, one wonders if more subjective factors such as entrepreneurship and community spirit may play just as important a role, especially since cities such as Boston; Washington, D.C.; Seattle; and Houston, all with less than half the 1980 Chinese population of Honolulu, do regularly publish Chinese community newspapers.⁷²

NOTES

1. Ge Gongzhen, *Zhongguo baoye shi* [History of the Chinese press] (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 1995; reprint of 1935 Commercial Press edition, Shanghai), 64.
2. Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1933), 49.
3. H. M. Lai, "The Chinese-American Press," in Sally Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States: An Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1933), 27–43.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1980), 128.

8. Thomas W. Chinn, H. M. Lai, Philip P. Choy, eds., *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), 21.
9. Glick, 128.
10. Ibid.; Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1955), 58–59.
11. "Ben quan chengli shi lue" [A brief history of the founding of our meeting hall], *Tanxiangshand Zhonglus Huiquan 50 zhou'nian ji'nian tekan* [Publication to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Chinese Society of Hawai'i] (Honolulu: United Chinese Society, 1934), 1; Lai, "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent/Hui-qian System," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 1987 (Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987), 13–51; Dormant C. Chang, ed., *The Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1929), 79–81.
12. Tin-Yuke Char, "Chinese Newspapers in Hawaii," *The Bamboo Path: Life and Writings of a Chinese in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Chinese History Center, 1877), 220–33. The masthead of the facsimile of the October 8, 1904, issue shown in Chang, 11, states that the *Hawaii Chinese News* was established March 16, 1883. The issue number is 1,332. Assuming consecutive numbering from 1, weekly publication up to 1899, and semi-weekly publication from 1899 to 1904, then the paper would have commenced publication around 1883. This conflicts with information in Glick, 207, which gives a date of 1881 and states that Ho Fon took over as manager in 1883. It is conceivable, however, that the numbering of the issues began only after Ho became manager.
13. The biography of Jackson Hee in Chang, 79, mentions that he was editor of the *Tsun Wan Daily* in Hilo. The writer has not been able to corroborate this information from other sources.
14. Glick, 207.
15. Glick, 291.
16. Hong Wai (Feng Yulong), "Hua bao lishi jishi" [A historical account of Chinese newspapers], *The Chinese of Hawaii: Who's Who, 1956–1957* (Honolulu: United Chinese Penman Club, 1957), 32–33.
17. Su Yuan, "Tanxianqsbhan qiaobao canqsang lu" [Rise and decline of Chinese newspapers in Hawai'i], *Oiaowu Yuebao* [*Overseas Chinese Affairs Monthly*], No. 84 (June 30, 1959), 11–14.
18. The *Chinese Chronicle*, with Yuen Chu Ho as editor, is mentioned in a note to Table 14 in Glick, 294. This editor apparently is identical to the Ruan Zhaohe cited as editor of the *Wah Ha Bo* by Hong. A single copy (dated September 25, 1901), bearing the title *Honolulu Chinese Chronicle*, is in the collection of the Cooke Library, Punahou School, Honolulu.
19. Hong.
20. Glick, 294.
21. Chang, 12.
22. Hong; Glick, 293; Su.
23. Wu Xianzi, *Zhongguo Minzhu Xianzhengdang dangshi* [History of the Democratic Constitutionalist Party of China] (San Francisco: Democratic Constitutionalist Party of China, 1963), 25.
24. Lai. By 1901, this newspaper had become a daily.
25. Wu, 28.
26. Chang, 64.
27. *Hawaii Newspapers: A Union List*, 68, sent by Mary Ann Ahaio, Historical Records Branch, Hawai'i State Archives, February 10, 1988.
28. Su.
29. Su; Hong; Feng Ziyou, "Meizhou Geming Dang bao shu lue" [Brief descriptions of revolutionary party newspapers in the Americas], *Geming Yishi* [Anecdotal history of the revolution], v. 4 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1965), 135–44. A society, the Man Sang Sheh (Minsheng She or People's Livelihood Society), was established by Honolulu Chinese merchants in 1906 to maintain law and order in the Chinese community. In 1907 members of this revolutionary society raised capital to start the *Man Sang Yat Po*. See Chang, 77. A single copy of this paper, dated May 20, 1908 (issue no. 112), is in the State of Hawai'i Archives, listed under *Chinese Daily News*. The issue states that the paper was published daily except on Sunday. The manager was Ho Fon and the editor Chong Yee Pack.
30. "Tanxiangngshan Ziyou Xin Bao xiao shi" [Brief history of the *Liberty News*], in Feng Ziyou, *Anecdotal History of the Revolution*, v. 4, 197–201. The *Chung Kuo Jih Pao* was the earliest organ of the Xingzhonghui and was founded in 1899 in Hong Kong. The paper moved to Canton in 1911 after the revolutionaries had captured the city. See Feng Ziyou, *Huaqiao qeming kaiquo shi* [Role of the Overseas Chinese in the revolution and founding of the republic] (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1953 reprint of 1946 Chongqing edition), 8–10. By international treaty, diplomats, merchants, teachers, students, and tourists were exempt classes not barred from entry under the Chinese exclusion acts.
31. Chang, 63–64.
32. Lai.
33. Won Hung Fei, "Wo Zai Tanxianshan Tongmenghui he Ziyou Xinbao gongzuo de huiyi" [Reminiscences of my activities in the Tongmenghui and *Liberty News* in Hawaii], in *Xinhai Geming huiyi lu* [Reminiscences of the 1911 Revolution] (Beijing: Wen-shi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1982), 309–34; Huang Guangfu, "Xinhai gianhou Tanxiangshan de ji jia xuanchuan geming de baozhi" [Several newspapers in Hawaii doing propaganda work in support of the revolution before and after 1911], in *Sun Zhongshan yu Xinhai Geming shiliao zhuanji* [Special collection of historical materials on Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution] (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 91–96.
34. Hong.
35. Ibid.
36. This is a far-flung South China secret society dedicated originally to the overthrow of the ruling Manchu dynasty and to the restoration of Han Chinese rule to China.
37. Karl Lo and H. M. Lai, *Chinese Newspapers in North America, 1854–1975* (Washington, D.C.: Chinese Research Center, 1976), 90.
38. *Sun Chung Kwock Bo* (*New China News*), advertisement dated April 24, 1908, in June 12, 1908, issue.
39. Won.
40. Chang, 64.
41. Ibid., 10.
42. Won.
43. Lo and Lai, 45, 57.
44. Hong.
45. Lo and Lai, 45–46.
46. Chun Quon, "81 zishu" [Autobiography at 81], *Tributes to Mr. C. Q. Yee Hop on His 81st Birthday* (Honolulu: 1947), 91–117; "Chen Kun xiaqnsheng shishi 13 zhou'nian" [In commemoration of the thirteenth anniversary of the passing of Mr. Chun Quon], *Chinese World*, August 11, 12, 1967.
47. Lai.
48. Char.
49. Lo and Lai, 55, 89, and 97.
50. Lind, 92. In 1910, some 66.8 percent of Chinese were foreign-born; the figure was 47.5 percent in 1920 and 27.5 percent

- in 1930. The U.S. Census considers children of citizens to be native-born even if they were born abroad. Thus these percentages will be slightly higher if citizens' offspring born outside the United States are included.
51. Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold: Story of the Chinese in America* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1967), 269.
 52. Chang, 61.
 53. Interview with C. H. Kwock, former editor of *New China Press*, June 6, 1988.
 54. Communication from Mary Ann Ahao, Historical Recorders Branch, Hawai'i State Archives, February 10, 1988, including pages from *Hawai'i Newspapers: A Union List* (Honolulu, n.d.), 41, 68.
 55. Kong Sun Lum, ed., *Hawai'i Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case: A Memorial Publication* (Honolulu, Hawai'i Chinese Educational Association and Chung Wah Chung Kung Hui, 1950), 58–214.
 56. February 10, 1988, communication from Hawai'i State Archives.
 57. Lo and Lai, 37, 39.
 58. Chun Quon.
 59. Chang, 16.
 60. Glick, 295.
 61. *Hawai'i Chinese Annual* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1933), 4:16.
 62. Communication from Hawai'i State Archives, February 10, 1988.
 63. *Hawai'i Chinese Annual* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1936), 7:1, 7:14. Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, has issues from January 20 to May 27, 1936.
 64. Hong.
 65. Char.
 66. *Xianggang Baoye 50 Nian: Xingdao Ribao Jinxi Baqqing Teikan* [Fifty years of journalism in Hong Kong: Special publication to commemorate the golden anniversary of *Sing Tao Jih Pao*] (Hong Kong, 1988), . 57, 60–61.
 67. Lai.
 68. Char. Dates based on issues in Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
 69. *Chinese Times*, August 8, 1978.
 70. Lai.
 71. Interview with C. H. Kwock, former editor, May 6, 1988. Circulation figures published in trade publications such as *Ayers Directory of Publications* are apparently greatly exaggerated. For example, the *New China Press* claimed circulation figures of over nine thousand in the 1950s and 1960s, greater than any Chinese newspaper in San Francisco!
 72. Standard metropolitan population figures for 1980 include the following:

| Statistical Area | Total Chinese Population | Foreign-Born |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Honolulu, Haw. | 52,301 | 11,828 |
| Boston, Mass. | 21,442 | 14,732 |
| Washington, D.C. | 18,250 | 12,370 |
| Seattle, Wash. | 14,141 | 8,776 |
| Houston, Tex. | 13,956 | 9,822 |

Source of statistics: *Asian and Pacific Islander Population in the United States: 1980* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1988), Table 20, "Family Characteristics of Chinese Persons by Nativity for States and SMSAs with 10,000 or more Chinese Persons: 1980."

Ethnicity and Elections in Hawai‘i

The Case of James K. Kealoha

Michaelyn P. Chou

Michaelyn P. Chou, “Ethnicity and Elections in Hawai‘i: The Case of James K. Kealoha,” *Chinese America: History & Perspectives* – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 105–111.

INTRODUCTION

Hawai‘i is unique among American states. It is the only state that was once a kingdom and is composed entirely of islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. While Hawai‘i’s multiethnic population represents many ethnic groups and cultures, no one ethnic group is numerous enough to comprise a majority of the residents. Many of the people are of Asian ancestry. The concern that any one culture might gain undue influence over other resident nationalities has long been a factor in Hawai‘i’s economic and political development.

In Hawaiian politics, there is some evidence of ethnic groups voting only for candidates of their own heritage and ancestry, giving rise to accusations of bloc voting, or “plunking.” Research over the years has ranged from studies disproving the practice and its viability in influencing elections to more recent studies indicating that ethnocentric voting can make the difference in close elections. Ethnic appeals cannot be discounted, especially in Hawai‘i, and are an inevitable ingredient, however subtle, in campaigns of both the Republican and Democratic parties even today. While the GOP fielded slates that included Hawaiians, Asians, and members of other races, its powerful Caucasian leadership controlled Hawai‘i for over fifty years. Providing opportunities for qualified persons of all ethnic heritages was a major factor in the rise of the Democratic Party under John A. Burns, who consolidated the Democrats’ 1954 victory over the GOP by finally capturing the governorship in 1962. The Democrats have controlled island politics since then.

Originally settled by Polynesians, Hawai‘i became a monarchy between 1795 and 1810 when Kamehameha I consolidated his power over rival chieftains on his own Big Island (Hawai‘i), Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molokai, Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau. Discovered for the Western world in 1778 by Captain James Cook, an English explorer, Hawai‘i became

increasingly tied to the business and political interests of Americans and Europeans who settled there and gained influence with the Hawaiian monarchs. In 1893 Americans and Europeans overthrew the monarchy and established the Republic of Hawai‘i. The United States annexed Hawai‘i in 1898 and made it a territory in 1900. American laws, including the discriminatory Oriental exclusion acts (1882–1943), then became applicable to the Chinese in Hawai‘i.

Under the territorial system of government, four counties—Kauai, Oahu, Maui, and Hawai‘i (the Big Island)—were established. However, Hawai‘i’s peoples had a limited franchise. They could elect county officials and seat representatives and senators in the bicameral territorial legislature, yet they could not vote for their governor or for the U.S. president. Their elected delegate to Congress represented them but had no vote. Essentially second-class citizens, they agitated for statehood. Not until 1959, after proving their patriotism in World War II and disproving the charge of Communist influence, did they achieve full American rights.

From 1900 to around midcentury, more Asian legislators were Republicans than Democrats, and the majority of the Republicans hewed to the party line. The Hawaiians and part Hawaiians tended to be Republicans as well. Political campaigns were colorful. Candidates of all ethnic backgrounds who could sing and dance along with the mandatory Hawaiian musicians and hula dancers were especially favored by the crowds.

James “Kimo” Kealoha (1908–83) was a Chinese Hawaiian from the Big Island who, as a Republican, rose from Hawai‘i County leadership to statewide influence in 1959, only to lose political power three years later. His career can serve as a case study of a politician influenced by ethnic factors. This article first examines the role of ethnicity in the electoral process, particularly among voters of Chinese, Hawaiian, part Hawaiian, and Japanese ancestry, then discusses and evaluates Kealoha’s career in this context.

THE CHINESE IN HAWAI‘I

It is not by accident that Hawai‘i is a polyglot community with many ethnic Asians. Major demographic changes were

induced when Caucasian (haole) sugar growers, unable to secure enough Hawaiian field hands and in need of cheap, reliable labor, began to bring in Chinese contract laborers in 1852. Approximately forty-six thousand Chinese male workers arrived prior to annexation. However, the planters' initial satisfaction turned sour when, at the end of their contracts, about half the recruits returned to their homeland or gravitated to Honolulu and other urban areas, where they competed successfully against lower-class haoles and Hawaiians for jobs. The kingdom's Chinese Exclusion Act of 1886 prohibited their importation after 1888, but exemptions permitted some fifteen thousand more Chinese to enter in the 1890s (Fuchs, 1961: 87). The haole planters feared domination by any one group of Asian laborers. The Chinese were followed by Portuguese, who, as "pseudo-haoles," got better jobs as *luna* (overseers). In turn over one hundred ten thousand Japanese and more than one hundred thousand Filipino workers were recruited. The Asian ethnic groups lived and worked separately from one another (Morrison, 1977: 49–50). Other nationalities arrived as well.

In 1845 a man named Ah Sing was the first of some 750 Chinese to become a naturalized citizen of the kingdom (Glick, 1980: 328–29). A few Chinese, notably Chun Afong, gained some influence in the Hawaiian government. Under the 1840 and 1852 constitutions granted by King Kamehameha III, some Chinese met residency and tax requirements and enjoyed the right to vote (Constitution, 1840; Constitution, 1852). In 1855, however, Kamehameha IV disparaged the Chinese in his opening speech to the legislature (Kamehameha IV, 1855). The 1887 constitution specifically disenfranchised the Chinese while permitting some Caucasians to vote even if they were not citizens of Hawai'i (Constitution, 1887). At a mass protest meeting, a Chinese named C. Monting spoke out. Eventually the king conceded the vote to Hawai'i-born Asians, including Hawai'i-born Chinese, although it was doubtful whether more than a hundred Chinese were then of voting age (Glick, 1980: 224).

Under the territorial government naturalized Chinese and Chinese born in the Islands became American citizens and had the right to vote and hold elective office. However, anti-Oriental immigration laws also applied. Despite the fact that Hawai'i-born children of Chinese aliens were American citizens, they endured forms of discrimination. One indignity was having to carry special identification cards issued by the immigration bureau when traveling on the U.S. mainland (Chou, 1980: 194). It is no wonder that the electorate of Asian ancestry in Hawai'i took their voting privileges seriously. By the mid-1920s Chinese and Japanese surnames began to appear next to Hawaiian and Caucasian ones on Hawai'i's ballots.

ETHNIC VOTING

Economic alignments, popular personalities, political party activities, some racial voting, persistence, and hard work

influenced every territorial election (Purdy, 1947). Moreover, in Hawai'i's multicultural society, ethnocentric voting always has had a role. Under the late monarchy the native Hawaiian vote was the most significant, but death and intermarriage changed this. With no immunity to disease brought in by Westerners and demoralized by events they could not control, the native Hawaiians decreased in number from an estimated three hundred thousand in 1788 to a little over forty thousand (many only part Hawaiian) by 1893. Between 1900 and the early 1920s the Hawaiians remained the majority of voters, but they apparently lost that position in 1924. The part Hawaiian voters are difficult to identify, however, and early researchers like Littler omitted them. Concurrently the Japanese increased in population and political influence as island-born children of immigrants matured to voting age (Littler, 1927).

In the 1920s the percentages of eligible ethnic peoples who actually voted were as follows: pure Hawaiians, 73 percent; Caucasians, 52 percent; Portuguese, 45 percent; Chinese, 31 percent; and Japanese, 25 percent. Low participation among the last two groups was due to the failure of Asian women to register. An estimated 85 percent of the total registrants actually voted (Littler, 1927). In 1930 it was estimated that of the eligible voters, 6,398 were Chinese (10.7 percent) and 9,759 Japanese (15.3 percent). Of those eligible to vote, 69 percent of Chinese, 71 percent of Japanese, and 82 percent of all races registered. Of those registered, 84 percent of Chinese, 86 percent of Japanese, and 83 percent of all races actually voted.

In 1936 the Chinese cast 5,701 votes, 8.9 percent of all ballots. Reflecting their increase in population and as qualified voters, the Japanese cast 16,215 votes, or 25.2 percent. There is no evidence that the Chinese or Japanese voted in ethnic blocs at this time. While politicians might try to secure support from their own ethnic stock, total support was impossible to achieve. With nearly a dozen voting groups to reach, none of which had a majority or near majority, shrewd candidates realized they had to have broad appeal. Interestingly enough, the Japanese thought that while they did not vote in ethnic blocs, the Chinese did; the Chinese did not think themselves guilty but suspected the Japanese. Meanwhile, both Chinese and Japanese felt that the greatest amount of bloc voting was done by haoles (Robison, 1938).

After reviewing fifty-seven years of territorial voting, Lind determined that charges of racial bloc voting were unwarranted. He attributed any short-ballot voting to lack of information about all candidates rather than ethnic plunking. While younger, inexperienced, and relatively colorless candidates received considerable support from constituents of the same ancestry, the older, more experienced, and politically stronger candidates often incurred active opposition from their own racial group, sometimes to the point of losing virtually all such support. All politicians were subject to this phenomenon. Moreover, ethnic enclaves did not constitute political units. None of the ethnic groups belonged exclu-

sively to one political party. Chinese, Korean, Japanese, pure Hawaiians, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and others were repeatedly elected to territorial offices, including some of the more important posts, although in 1957 none of them represented as much as 10 percent of the voting strength of Hawai'i (Lind, 1957).

The career of Hiram L. Fong, former territorial Speaker of the House (1949–54) and for over seventeen years the only Republican representing Hawai'i in Congress (1959–77), proved the necessity of crossing ethnic and party lines even after statehood. Of full Chinese heritage, Fong recently noted that 17 percent of voters of Chinese ancestry never voted for him (Fong, June 18, 1988).

The successful overthrow of the Republicans by the Democrats in 1954 reflected a number of changes in the Hawaiian electorate. On Oahu, the most populous island, which also comprises the City and County of Honolulu, the chief determinant becomes voter preference for one party over another. Nevertheless, as was acknowledged, "ethnic matters are of considerable importance, and, in a close election, could be decisive" (Digman, 1957, 24). By the mid-1950s, for example, the increasing number of voters of Japanese descent began to display cohesiveness in party preference, showing a positive correlation with the Democratic Party. In general, though, Japanese candidates won by greater margins in areas more heavily populated by Japanese, regardless of party. This was so in strongly Democratic areas as well as in marginally Republican areas, while in smaller Japanese neighborhoods, Japanese candidates won by larger margins. The Japanese now tended to vote ethnically more often than other racial groups (Chun, 1970: 157–58). The political ethnocentricity of the Japanese was also noted in another study of district and precinct voting patterns between 1949 and 1959 (Lujan, 1960).

In contrast, the Chinese made up a small segment of the population and no longer lived in Chinatown-like enclaves. Hence it was difficult to identify areas that were heavily populated with Chinese. Two precincts that have been studied were both lower class, so a "normal Democratic tendency" was expected. However, Chinese seemed motivated by economic factors. From 1948 to 1959, of the twenty Chinese candidates for territorial (in 1959, state) offices, the party split was even: ten Republicans and ten Democrats. Hawaiians tended toward Republicanism, and Caucasians had definite GOP leanings. Haole executives were staunch Republicans (Lujan, 1960: 81–87). Another researcher noted that the Chinese tended to vote along straight party lines with Chinese candidates running according to their status and wealth. "The Chinese, lacking strong interests in politics, have a relatively stable number in the Legislature. Monetary affairs interest them more than politics" (Chun, 1970: 157–58).

Haole Republicans had a good chance of succeeding in upper-class areas largely populated by Caucasians, whereas nonhaole candidates tended to fail in haole-dominated areas. While classed economically as Democrats, lower-class haoles often shared traditional Republican loyalties but were

attracted more and more to the Democrats (Chun, 1970: 157–58).

While ethnicity played a major role among the more numerous Japanese, for other minorities ethnicity was a less important factor than the efforts of the political parties to achieve balanced slates of candidates. "Precisely how ethnicity has affected the consciousness of politicians remains to be judged. Its effect upon their support concerns the grassroots, the level at which patterns of ethnic intermarriage and interethnic and intraethnic socialization may have most particular effect" (Day, 1974: 370). Between 1926 and 1966, leaders from Hawai'i's different ethnic groups were elected not as a matter of social percolation but as a result of both political parties attempting to produce balanced slates (*ibid.*; Littler, 1929: 70–77).

A Chinese contemplating political office, mindful of the small percentage of Chinese in the electorate, first consulted family and Chinese community leaders to enlist their financial and moral backing. Friends were next approached, especially those of Hawaiian heritage, because of their superior numbers and also because many marriages between Hawaiians and Chinese had forged networks of relatives and friends available for campaigning.

"In the early years, the Chinese in Honolulu as elsewhere were a whole lot more cohesive a group, living and doing business together, supporting one another along ethnic lines. But even in Honolulu, the Chinese organizations usually did not push their way far into politics. The Chinese helped fellow Chinese, a few Chinese organizations were very supportive, but usually they steered clear of public campaigning as organizations" (Ching, 1988). Since many Chinese operated small businesses, it is understandable that they were unwilling to alienate their clientele by taking political positions that might prove unpopular.

Although the ethnic Chinese population dropped steadily from 16.7 percent in 1900 (when few qualified to vote) to 6 percent in 1960, nonetheless the Chinese were periodically accused of plunking (Chou, 1980: 432–42). As American-born children of immigrant minority parents matured to voting age, ethnic factors could never be overlooked. When the Republican Party was in control of Hawai'i from 1900 to 1954, the GOP fielded candidates of Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Chinese Hawaiian ancestries, particularly in racially mixed neighborhoods. The goal of ethnic balance in political slates received major impetus in the Democratic Party, especially in the case of American Japanese veterans of World War II who joined under John A. Burns's leadership.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the ethnic appeal was to the native Hawaiians because they were the most numerous citizens. Candidates of all persuasions were obliged to adopt a campaign style geared for maximum

attendance from rural neighborhoods and urban centers during the short campaign period. Whole families turned out for political rallies, with youngsters collecting and trading candidates' cards. Rallies took on the aura of entertainment. A good troupe of Hawaiian musicians and hula dancers was essential, along with the ritual use of flower leis. The ability to speak Hawaiian was important in earlier years. Candidates skilled at singing, playing ukulele, and dancing the hula felt confident of translating performance into votes (Littler, 1929: 87–91).

Yew Char, the first person of Chinese ancestry to be elected to the territorial legislature (in 1926) and a Democrat, danced the hula very well. Samuel Wilder King, part Hawaiian delegate to Congress and later appointed governor, spoke fluently in both Hawaiian and English. Ben Dillingham, scion of a wealthy, powerful Caucasian family and longtime Republican legislator, could sing "Three Blind Mice" in Hawaiian. Other candidates, like Fong, who were not Hawaiian nevertheless managed a few words in Hawaiian at the rallies and adopted Hawaiian names that were printed on campaign ads and ballots (Chou, 1980: 318–19, 735).

Under such conditions political parties assumed the role of organizers. The Republican Party had little opposition for over fifty years under the leadership of influential Caucasians. The GOP assigned campaign arrangements to county committees. Primary candidates were assessed a fixed amount for costs, usually under fifty dollars (more than a plantation laborer's monthly income), and drew lots to decide their places on the programs for the rallies. A party official presided over the rallies, which were held on weekends, often in as many as three different locations a day. When there were many candidates, each one was limited to a three-minute speech. A warning bell, if ignored, was immediately followed by musicians and dancers swinging into action as the next speaker came on. The party bore expenses for the general elections. This involvement, particularly for the GOP, minimized bitterness among candidates, maintained discipline, and encouraged loyalty to the party (Day, 1974: 150; Littler, 1929: 86–87; Chou, 1980: 319–20).

Voter turnout in Hawai'i between 1926 and 1966 was high, usually above 70 to nearly 90 percent on Oahu and between 80 and often better than 90 percent on the neighbor islands (*Voter Registration Program, 1972–1974*: 43–44). The neighbor islands' votes were very important. However, the Oahu electorate was so large that no neighbor islander could win a statewide office without a strong showing on Oahu.

JAMES K. KEALOHA

For James Kealoha, a Chinese Hawaiian, the Big Island was both birthplace and catalyst for politics and public life. At the youthful age of twenty-six, he won election to the Territorial House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1934. Two

years later, he was reelected with the most votes cast in the First District, which by tradition gave him the right to serve as Speaker pro tem in 1937. Reassigning from a divided and squabbling Democratic Party in 1938, Kealoha became a Republican while retaining many Democratic friends. Elected at the age of thirty to fill a vacancy in the Territorial Senate, he was the youngest senator in Hawaiian history and also served as president pro tem of the upper chamber. Not surprisingly, he was dubbed a "boy wonder" in island politics.

In 1940 Kealoha focused on local government and was elected to the Hawai'i County Board of Supervisors, on which he served until 1946. A failed attempt to become county chairman in 1946 turned into a successful one in 1948. With his genial ways and administrative skills, Kealoha maintained his power as chairman until statehood was achieved in 1959. At that point, Kealoha was elected the state's first lieutenant governor.

Kealoha was born in Pahoia on April 29, 1908. His father, Lee Wing Chau, was a Chinese immigrant and his mother, Alice Makaanui, was Hawaiian. Lee Wing Chau was born September 13, 1867, to Lee Doo Chou and his wife in Taishan, Guangdong, China. Using personal resources, Lee arrived in Hawai'i in 1897. By 1902 Lee had learned enough about retailing to open his own business, the Kwong See Wo Dry Goods and General Merchandise Store, in Hilo. A member of the See Yip Society of Honolulu, Lee became president of the Hilo Chinese School (Wah Mun) as well as the Hilo Chamber of Commerce (*Chinese of Hawai'i, 1956–57*: 100; *Who's Who in the Island of Hawai'i*: 111).

According to Chinese custom, Lee decided to send Kealoha to live in China. When the boy's mother learned of it, she reclaimed him and divorced Lee (Cooper, 1988). In 1913 Lee married Edith Sy Moi Yap in Hilo. They had a son, Wing Wo, and a daughter, Gladys Toy Len (Mrs. Clarence Chang). Mrs. Chang has said that she did not know about her half brother until she was in high school (Chang, 1988).

Like many island children, Kealoha worked. At age twelve he earned \$10 per week as a dishwasher and waiter at the Waiakea Restaurant and later \$25 a week plus the use of a bicycle as assistant bookkeeper. His part-time job assisting his father became full time after he graduated in 1926 from Hilo High School, where he set track records. Delivering orders took him regularly all over the island of Hawai'i, which is the largest of the island chain. Japanese formed the dominant ethnic group, and the lifestyle was rural and small-town. Everyone welcomed the handsome Chinese Hawaiian who spoke Hawaiian, Chinese, and Japanese. At 5'10" and 165 pounds, Kealoha possessed an affable manner and concern for people that quickly gained him wide recognition. "I got to know everyone on the island, and they knew and trusted me," he said (Cooper, 1988). He may not have realized it at the time, but his travels helped build an invaluable following of supporters that was essential for political power.

Lee sent his Chinese children to college but kept Kealoha to help at the store. If Kealoha was unhappy about his lack of higher education, "he never showed it. He harbored no ill will, was happy all the time, and a fine example of how to get along with people," recalled his half sister. She also thought he had "more Hawaiian than Chinese" characteristics (Chang, 1988). Later on, Kealoha opened his own business, the Kuhio Grocerteria, but closed it for a life in public service (Cooper, 1988).

Kealoha married Muilan Young, a Chinese Hawaiian, and they had two daughters, Leihulu Emma (Mrs. George Cooper) and Leiohu Lillie (Mrs. Eldredge Sequiera). His stepmother, Edith, regularly drove the girls to the Lee family store for after-school care (Cooper, 1988; Chang, 1988).

Chinese Hawaiians were not as fully acceptable in Chinese social organizations in the 1930s as they later became. By virtue of their business success, the Chinese enjoyed higher economic status than the Hawaiians, but Chinese Hawaiians in Honolulu were more comfortable in Hawaiian civic organizations than in the more ethnocentric Chinese clubs. Some economically advantaged Chinese Hawaiians joined Caucasian groups (Chow, 1935: 11–13). Of the numerous clubs Kealoha joined, one was Chinese, the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association, and two were Hawaiian, the Order of Kamehameha and Hale O Na Alii (Thumbnail Sketch, 1962).

Kealoha never took his father's surname, using instead the Hawaiian word "aloha" and adding a middle name, "Kimo" (James). However, he carried two passports, one under the name of James Kealoha Lee. Not until he was elected lieutenant governor was he recognized as a Lee. He especially treasured a gift of a painting from the Lee family association in Taiwan. He often used the informal "Jimmy Kealoha," as in campaign literature (Thumbnail Sketch, 1962). To daughter Leihulu, he was a blend of both ancestries. He cooked various ethnic foods, including the Japanese *fugu*, a potentially fatal balloon fish soup. A masterful old-style campaigner, he easily swung into the hula to favorite tunes like "Manuela Boy." Besides Hawaiian, he delivered speeches in Chinese and Japanese, which he wrote phonetically. He was rarely without his panama hat, trimmed with a Hawaiian feather lei (Cooper, 1988).

As chairman of the Hawai'i County Board of Supervisors, he won civil defense awards and cemented political power. He was a special guest at the first Japanese Mayors' Conference in Tokyo (after which he visited island troops in Korea), presided at the U.S. Conference of Mayors in New York in 1952, and was one of five delegates to the World Conference of Mayors in Rome in 1955, where he was granted an audience with Pope Pius XII and delivered the concluding conference address (Thumbnail Sketch, 1962). These were heady experiences for a Chinese Hawaiian who had only a high school education.

With statehood imminent, the Republican Party sought a balanced slate reflecting political experience, administrative

ability, and the all-important ethnic factor. William Quinn, a forty-year-old Irish American from the mainland, was the appointed governor. Now, as a gubernatorial candidate, Quinn suggested Kealoha for the lieutenant governor slot (*Honolulu Advertiser*, hereafter cited as *HA*, April 5, 1959: A1). Running on a liberal platform of land and tax reform, the two were popular campaigners. At rallies, Quinn sang in a clear Irish tenor, while Kealoha performed his usual crowd-pleasers. They were irresistible. Three years later, the state would turn heavily Democratic, but in 1959, "individual Republicans, among them victorious Quinn, Kealoha, and Fong, showed amazing strength in Democratic districts" (Fuchs, 1961: 415–16). The GOP also recaptured control of the Senate.

Kealoha achieved an impressive margin of victory in 1959. While Quinn was elected governor with only 3,800 more votes than Democrat John A. Burns, Kealoha beat his Democratic opponent, Mitsuyuki Kido, an American Japanese, by 14,600 votes. As expected, Kealoha took East Hawai'i, 8,666 to 7,398, and West Hawai'i, 3,458 to 2,233, but lost Maui, 7,535 to 7,588, and Kauai, 4,511 to 5,216. The biggest surprise was Oahu, the most populous island and a Democratic stronghold. Kealoha began campaigning there as a virtual unknown but won with 65,586 votes to Kido's 52,721. The affable fifty-one-year-old Kealoha reportedly "smiled his way into another victory" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, later cited as *HSB*, July 29, 1959: A1, 1B).

Ethnicity was seen as a factor. "To thousands of voters of all races, it seemed only just that a Hawaiian should be elected to one of the top offices of the new state" (*HA*, July 29, 1959: A1). Kealoha was ready for the challenge. That same day he said, "Governor Quinn and I have worked out a program to help develop the Neighbor Islands to an even level with Oahu" by encouraging tourism (*HSB*, July 29, 1959: 1B). His strong showing at the polls apparently gave him a feeling of equality with Quinn, who had never won elective office before.

Ethnicity helped write a balanced slate in the Quinn-Kealoha statehood victory. Ethnicity also played a part in Kealoha's loss to Quinn in the Republican primary election of 1962. Almost as soon as Kealoha spoke his historic oath of office, it was reported that he was miffed with Quinn and might challenge Quinn for reelection (*HA*, October 4, 1959: A2). At year's end Kealoha noted he liked his job (*HA*, December 13, 1959: A28), but two years later it was reported that a "rich Chinese" would organize his 1962 campaign (*HSB*, December 17, 1961: 1). At a press conference Kealoha announced his intentions, citing a "definite and substantial desire and need for my candidacy" and stating, "I would be remiss in my larger responsibilities to our people if I ignored such a mandate for political reasons." He called for support from Democrats, Republicans, and independents. In no way was his early announcement intended to obstruct the governmental process, he said. Kealoha felt that Quinn had not

delegated enough duties to him; had not shared in a joint campaign office during the election; and most importantly, had not kept his promise of a “joint venture” in a “patronage split.” Quinn acknowledged that he expected the two to work together but had “not parceled out appointments” and denied there had been a 50:50 patronage agreement (*HSB*, January 24, 1962: 1). While they announced a mutually satisfactory arrangement, relations were already strained and they never became partners in governance.

By 1959 approximately 18 percent of the population was part Hawaiian. Part Hawaiians identified with their native heritage so greatly that they generally did not think of themselves as cosmopolitan, or “mixed,” but as Hawaiian. Hawaiians and part Hawaiians still found it difficult to compete with the dominant haoles and Asians. “Far more than any other group, they considered themselves as being treated unfairly” (Fuchs, 1961: 443). Kealoha very likely thought of himself as a role model for other part Hawaiians. Hence he felt that he could not miss an opportunity to advance himself. He explained, “This is the last chance for a local boy. Four years from now may be too late . . . the racial makeup of Hawai‘i is changing. The influx of the Mainland people is diluting the voting strength of the native sons.” It was “now or never for a fellow like me,” he said. As governor, he hoped to “cement good relations between the newcomers and local people” (*HA*, January 25, 1962).

As lieutenant governor, Kealoha saw his role as more international and Hawai‘i’s part as pivotal in the “people to people” program between nations that was established by President Dwight Eisenhower. In 1960, heading a delegation of four prominent citizens of Chinese ancestry, Kealoha went on a two-week tour of the Far East to lay the groundwork for a Chinese–American Brotherhood program and to seek ways and means to improve relations with peoples of the Far East (Thumbnail Sketch, 1962).

Kealoha’s decision to run for governor was not a sudden one. He had nursed it some twelve years. An action plan mapped out in Hilo five years before had included a cabinet post, preferably as territorial land commissioner under Governor Wilder King, then the office of mayor of Honolulu, and finally that of governor after statehood. The program had been stymied by King, who wanted Kealoha, as the only neighbor island chief, to retain GOP power there (*HA*, January 25, 1962: 1).

The Republican Party decided to stay out of the fray until after the primaries. As the titular head of the GOP, however, Quinn retained many supporters. For Fong, the GOP’s only elected legislator in Congress and a powerful, wealthy politician, the issue was not ethnicity but party loyalty. He advised Kealoha not to oppose Quinn, but the Big Islander would not be deterred (Fong, June 23, 1988).

Kealoha’s supporters were mainly Democrats or independents with Democratic leanings. Whether the Democrats preyed upon Kealoha’s ambitions in hopes of dividing

the GOP can only be speculated upon. Between 1959 and 1962 the Democrats under Burns forged bonds of party loyalty that took on the aspects of a crusade, but Kealoha either ignored the signs or was not fully aware of them. In any event, Kealoha misread the number of his followers and the importance of the “local boy” issue. He lost the primary battle to Quinn by a vote of 33,272 to 44,205 and beat Quinn only on the Big Island. On the Democratic side, John A. Burns won with 71,540 votes (*Results of Votes Cast, Primary Election, 1962*). In the general election shortly thereafter, Burns defeated Quinn handily, 114,308 to 81,707 (*Results of Votes Cast, General Election, 1962*).

An ironic twist of fate saw William S. Richardson (1919–2010) elected lieutenant governor. Richardson, a war veteran and lawyer, was of Chinese, Hawaiian, and English ancestry.

It was felt that the acrimonious fight between Kealoha and Quinn “materially contributed to the latter’s defeat” (Meller and Tuttle, 1964: 84). The Democrats were undoubtedly helped by the Kealoha/Quinn split. But probably Burns’s win was more a case of the superior strength of the Democratic Party and the leadership role Burns had played in its revitalization (Coffman, 1973: 23).

It would appear that leaders in any group are less ethnically self-conscious than nonleaders, which is a result of the social centrality of leadership itself. The selection process of political parties and the elements of their strategies need more systematic evaluation. While members of different ethnic groups might use the same offices differently as springboards to higher office, no great difference in political opportunities has been detected. It is difficult to equate ethnic support with success at the polls (Day, 1974: 370–71, 375).

Ethnicity becomes, then, a matter of self-perception, a personal view of the world that is influenced by heredity combined with the effects of the total environment. To be of Chinese ancestry in Hawai‘i is one thing. To be Hawaiian is another. To be Chinese Hawaiian is yet another. For James “Kimo” Kealoha, ethnicity was a significant aspect of his historic political career.

Kealoha can be viewed as one who enjoyed political power at the local level and limited power at the state level. When he overestimated his power base, gave too much credence to his attraction as a “local boy,” and overstepped a cardinal political party rule, his loss became permanent. After a failed attempt to run for Congress in 1966, his public-service career was over. But Kealoha’s historic election as Hawai‘i’s statehood lieutenant governor, the first state official of Chinese Hawaiian ancestry, placed him in the annals of Hawaiian history. When he died in 1983, Quinn called him a “major political figure” (*HA*, August 26, 1983: AL4).

In the final analysis, Kealoha’s loss authenticates research on ethnic voting. It is indeed difficult to depend upon ethnic appeal to win at the polls, particularly if the political battles are not close. No implication is made here that ethnicity alone cost Kealoha the election. The people of Hawai‘i were

ready for a political change, and they would not be deterred. As for the ethnic factor, Kealoha's loss "is in itself indicative of the ethnic integration which Hawai'i has achieved" (Day, 1974: 375).

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Food and Culture

Chinese Restaurants in Hawai'i

Franklin Ng

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Food, they say, is the essence of life. Or, as Joseph R. Conlin puts it, "food is third only to air and water as a basis of life and, much more than the others, is an important element of culture and social relationships."¹ Many people delude themselves that they "eat to live," comments Deh-Ta Hsiung, but he believes that the Chinese are honest enough to admit that they "live to eat."²

Despite these observations about the significance of food, surprisingly little has been written about food and human relationships. Anthropologists have only begun to study this subject; Marvin Harris, Peter Farb, George Armelagos, Mary Douglas, and Jack Goody are some of the pioneers in this field.³ Of the subject of food and Chinese culture there has been even less treatment. Kwang-chih Chang, Eugene Anderson, and Lionel Tiger are among the few who have examined the topic.⁴ Historians have been comparatively slow to analyze people and foodways; Thomas J. Schlereth comments that they have paid "scant attention" to eating and food habits.⁵ However, John E. Schrecker and Arthur J. Marder have edited or written forewords to cookbooks, while Daniel W. Y. Kwok has lectured on Chinese cuisine.⁶

Foodways are an emblem of ethnicity and identity, and restaurants are an expression of foodways. In Hawai'i's historical setting, Chinese restaurants have reflected the experience of the Chinese as they evolved from sojourners to settlers and permanent residents. Restaurants have been indicators of change: change in diet and food preparation and presentation; change in the status of the Chinese in Hawai'i; change in Hawai'i due to the Chinese; and change resulting from national and international influences. Chinese restaurants demonstrate that culture is not static and that people adapt to changing circumstances.

EARLY YEARS: THE PLANTATION AND RURAL PHASE

Chinese were recruited in 1852 to come to Hawai'i and work on the plantations. Even as they voyaged to Honolulu, the

first shipload of Chinese laborers aboard the *Thetis* were provided certain foods. Rice, salted fish, sweet potatoes, yams, sugar, cooking oil, lime juice, vinegar, water, coffee, and tea were among the provisions to be supplied on the ship.⁷ In the years that followed, a continuous stream of migrants arrived from Guangdong Province to sustain the growing Hawaiian economy in rice and sugar production. While living on the plantations, the Chinese obtained most of their food from the plantation stores or grocery stores set up to cater to their needs.

On the plantations the Chinese had a varied diet. They were fortunate that the Hawaiian Islands had pigs, chickens, ducks, fish, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, yams, and coconuts in abundance.⁸ To these items, the Chinese added their own, bringing dried, salted, smoked, or preserved shrimp, bean curd, cuttlefish, squid, duck, sausages, *bêche-de-mer*, seaweed, and eggs. To enhance their diet, those who came as free labor not bound by term contracts went into fishing and farming. Fishing brought fresh products from the sea, while farming meant that fruits, vegetables, staples, and animals native to South China were raised for consumption. Chinese taro, coriander, mustard cabbage, bok choy, star fruit, lichee, longan, pomelo, apple, banana, bamboo, loquat, kumquat, persimmon, and lotus were reportedly introduced by the Chinese to Hawai'i.⁹

Those who were given garden plots on the plantations or chose not to renew their labor contracts also raised their own animals, poultry, fruits, and vegetables. Moreover, since rice was not readily available initially except as an imported staple, many Chinese entered into rice production to meet the needs of their fellow countrymen. The foods eaten by the Chinese in Hawai'i were similar to those of their counterparts in California. The latter also ate pomelos, oysters, shrimp, bean curd, bamboo shoots, duck eggs, and mushrooms.¹⁰ But Hawai'i had a subtropical climate much like that of Guangdong, and the migrants there were able to grow Chinese vegetables and fruits like longan, lichee, and mangoes that could not be planted in California.

During this period, many of the Chinese who worked on the plantations were organized into groups and camps with cooks who prepared the meals for them. The Chinese, mostly bachelors or men who had left their wives in China, found this a convenient arrangement. At the same time, those who married Hawaiian women became increasingly

acquainted with the native diet. Romanzo Adams estimated that as many as 1,200 to 1,500 Chinese men entered into marital relations with Hawaiian women before 1900.¹¹ Offspring of these interracial marriages ate meals consisting of Hawaiian and Chinese foods. When Chinese food was prepared, chopsticks and bowls were the utensils. When Hawaiian food was eaten, poi and *lau lau* were consumed with fingers or spoons. The father dressed in Chinese clothes and spoke Chinese to the children, while the mother wore a *holoku* and spoke Hawaiian.¹²

Plantation work was demanding, and the opportunities for higher wages or upward mobility were limited. Once their contracts expired, many Chinese migrated off the plantations and entered into other forms of employment. Some preferred to become traders and peddlers, domestic servants or cooks, or fishermen or farmers. Others with more funds started stores or restaurants. These enterprises might receive operating money from the Chinese hui or rotating credit associations. While some were partnership arrangements, many were family businesses.¹³

Between 1850 and the turn of the century the Chinese operated most of the restaurants in Hawai'i. Caucasians and Hawaiians were not as interested in opening public eating places. The Chinese had 58 percent of the "victualling" licenses in 1886 and 85 percent in 1889. They ran all of the nineteen "coffee saloons," forty-two of the restaurants, and ten of the eighteen bakeries in Honolulu mentioned in the 1896 directory of the Islands. On the other islands, they ran thirty-two of the thirty-nine coffee shops, nineteen of the twenty-three restaurants, and seven of the eight bakeries.¹⁴ The large numbers of Chinese employed in restaurants eventually led to the formation of the Cooks and Waiters Guild in 1901.¹⁵

Many of the first restaurants operated by the Chinese were combination bakeries and coffee shops or coffee saloons. Others were dining areas attached to grocery stores or general merchandise stores. The menu items were often selected to appeal to both the Chinese and the non-Chinese clientele. Some of the cooks for these restaurants had learned about non-Chinese recipes and foods while working earlier as domestic servants or hired cooks. Helped by these experiences and insights, they later used their knowledge and skills to become independent businessmen. Others took the path suggested by Diane Mark: they "made friends with the Hawaiian people, learned *luau* food was *ono* and introduced their neighbors to rice char siu."¹⁶ Exchanging recipes and information, they then incorporated dishes enjoyed by their acquaintances into their restaurant offerings. Western and Hawaiian foods were sold with Chinese dishes and *dian xin*, the cakes and pastries of Cantonese teahouses.

The C. Akeoni Store of Hanalei, Kauai, owned by Chock Chin, was an example. An aggressive and imaginative merchant who emigrated from Zhongshan county in Kwangtung Province in 1883, he had opened a combination bakery-restaurant and general merchandise store by 1898.

During his career as an entrepreneur, he also operated a rice plantation and mill, a hotel, a saloon, a dairy, and a blacksmith shop. A creative cook, Chock Chin experimented with roast beef sandwiches and potato salad, baked papaya custard, coconut, and apple pies, and cranked his own ice cream. He also steamed and baked *dian xin* pastries such as *shuai pi su bing* (flaky tarts), *guang su bing* (crescent-shaped tarts), *tang bao* (sweet bun), *xian bao* (salty bun), *song gao* (rice cake), and *ji dan gao* (sponge cake). *Paniolo* cowboys enjoyed eating chop suey, pickled pork, chicken, fish, beef curry, ham and eggs, rice, and bread, and drinking home-roasted, home-ground coffee. For special dinners ordered in advance, Chock Chin elaborately garnished the dishes of chop suey, pickled pork, boned duck, stuffed mushrooms, and chicken. Sometimes the customers brought fish as payment for their bills.¹⁷

In Hilo, on Hawai'i, the Hilo Coffee Saloon was owned by Wong Kwon, who had been given the Hawaiian name "Akana" by his neighbors and later married a Chinese Hawaiian widow. Akana's business was a combination coffee shop and bakery. He advertised in the *Hilo Tribune* that the "best coffee, tea & chocolate" were available, along with cakes and bread. The restaurant was open every day from 4:30 in the morning until 9:00 at night. Old-timers used to gather there at 5:00 in the morning to gossip and discuss politics amidst the aroma of wonderful bakery smells and hot coffee. Just when the Hilo Coffee Saloon was opened is not certain, but it was listed, with Akana as the owner, as early as 1888 in *Husted's Directory of the Hawaiian Kingdom*.¹⁸

Another example was the business operated by Po Hee Hong. Born in 1882 at Anahola, Kauai, he moved to Hanapepe and started a small restaurant and bakery shop. He baked breads, pies, and Chinese *dian xin* pastries such as *jian dui* and rice cakes. He even made his own noodles, flattening the dough into thin sheets and cutting them into strips with a sharp knife. He imported the Chinese merchandise he needed from Honolulu stores such as Wing Sing Wo and Wing Hong Yuen, and purchased other supplies from wholesalers such as H. Hackfeld Company, Theo. H. Davies and Company, McBryde Sugar Company, and Hofgaard. His patrons included travelers, Filipino laborers, and members of the Hanapepe community. In 1918 Hee Hong expanded his business to sell groceries and general merchandise as well.¹⁹ The Hew Store and Restaurant in Paia, Maui, opened by Hew Fat in 1906, operated in a similar fashion. It sold coffee, pastries, homemade noodles, groceries, clothing, and general merchandise.²⁰

MIDDLE YEARS: THE URBAN PHASE AND HONOLULU'S CHINATOWN

Honolulu's Chinatown initially had few restaurants that catered exclusively to the Chinese.²¹ Several reasons appear to account for this. First of all, the Chinese were frugal. Those

who saw themselves as sojourners wanted to save money to return home or to send remittances back to their relatives in China. Even those without families and wives in Hawai'i preferred to cook their own food. Second, if they chose to buy cooked foods, it was easy to do so at the Sunday markets. The Sunday markets in Honolulu and the outlying areas were a local adaptation of the periodic market towns that characterized China.²² Here, amidst the hustle and bustle of meeting familiar faces, individuals ordered noodles, pastries, or other delicacies from peddlers. They could also purchase fresh produce, poultry, fish, and meat. Finally, clubhouses and stores met many of the social needs of the Chinese in Hawai'i. Meetings, celebrations, and festive banquets were held in the lodges and *huiguan* of the district, village, and surname associations. At the same time, food and fellowship were often available at the grocery stores. Here one could also buy necessities, get a letter written or read, or pick up the latest gossip about Guangdong or the Chinese community.

After the 1890s, however, the Chinese population became increasingly urban. Its members resided either in Honolulu on Oahu or in the larger towns on Hawai'i or Maui, such as Hilo, Lahaina, Wailuku, and Kahului. The occupational differentiation of the Chinese community into varied professions and services, an increase in family life, and the acculturation of the second generation permitted a greater receptivity to Chinese restaurants. Many bakeries and *dian xin* shops and restaurants catered to these new constituencies. Chinese farmers, fishermen, grocers, importers, bakers, soft drink bottlers, slaughterhouse operators, noodle factory owners, and ice cream manufacturers became part of an integrated Chinese food production and distribution system that linked up with restaurant owners and workers. The restaurants in Honolulu's Chinatown were the center of this network, helping to sustain these other enterprises.

These Chinese restaurants specialized in the foods of Zhongshan, a county in Guangdong Province close to the Portuguese colony of Macau. Although the first group of Chinese plantation laborers imported to Hawai'i aboard the *Thetis* had come from Fujian, there were no restaurants that offered its cuisine. Instead, the Chinese restaurants mirrored the food tastes of the Zhongshan Chinese, who were in the majority. (Similarly, the Chinese schools in Hawai'i used Zhongshan's Shiqi dialect of Cantonese as the language of instruction.) In this respect, Chinese restaurants differed from their counterparts on the mainland, whose cuisine came primarily from the Taishan or Siyi districts.

Chinese restaurants also differed from their mainland counterparts in another fashion. They were not examples of pariah capitalism in which segregation and discrimination dictated ethnic occupational specialization in laundries and restaurants.²³ While there was an anti-Chinese movement in Hawai'i and attempts were made to restrict Chinese immigration, these sentiments were less overt and virulent than they were on the West Coast.²⁴ Exclusion only became a fact after the United States annexed Hawai'i in 1898 and extended

national immigration laws to this Pacific territory. Even then, in spite of this change, social and economic opportunities were much more open than on the mainland, and the Chinese who moved off the plantations achieved rapid representation in many of the professions and service trades.

In the 1920s and 1930s, combination bakeries and *dian xin* restaurants became popular in Honolulu's Chinatown.²⁵ Many were simple in appearance. The architecture was plain and the interior design was not ornate. The seating capacity was modest. These restaurants served breakfast, lunch, and dinner, but the *yin cha* business was a noteworthy feature. *Yin cha* is the Cantonese pastime of eating *dian xin* pastries with accompanying dishes, noodles, or rice soup. Each restaurant had wooden tables with chairs and stools. Wooden booths and booth seats appeared later. Patrons were supplied with wooden or bamboo chopsticks and porcelain spoons. Diners had to pour hot water into bowls containing tea leaves to drink tea.²⁶ Later, teapots, teacups, and teapot holders were introduced. Because these restaurants catered primarily to the Chinese, they included few of the Western items found in the earlier coffee shops. Their menus offered more varied and comprehensive Cantonese selections, and their culinary offerings and nine-course banquets set the standards for those in the rural areas to imitate.

The three most notable restaurants in Honolulu before World War II were Sun Yun Wo and Wo Fat in Chinatown and Lau Yee Chai in Waikiki. Sun Yun Wo was reportedly started in 1892 by Hee Cho. A two-story restaurant, it was one of the most popular places to *yin cha*. Customers ordered plates of *dian xin* or other dishes as they talked and conducted business.²⁷ According to one account, on January 31, 1922, fifteen Chinese merchants met there and signed an application for a banking charter that resulted in the opening of the Liberty Bank.²⁸

The second restaurant, Wo Fat, prided itself on being the oldest Chinese restaurant in Hawai'i. It opened in 1882 and was rebuilt twice after fires burned down Chinatown in 1886 and 1900. A Chinatown fixture by the 1920s, it was famous for its noodles and Chinese dishes. In 1937 the wooden structure was torn down and a three-story building that still stands today took its place. In this new incarnation the restaurant was much more lavishly decorated, with a green tiled floor, upturned eaves, and a pagoda-like tower. It contained a bar on its first floor; a second-floor dining room painted in Mandarin red, soft green, and gold; and a dance floor on the top level. Wo Fat became a favorite place to have banquets and wedding receptions.²⁹

Lau Yee Chai, opened in 1929, was of much later vintage than the other two restaurants but was easily the most ornate. Located in Waikiki, it was owned by Chong Pang Yat, a colorful personality who mixed easily with people and billed himself in pidgin English as "Me P. Y. Chong." Lau Yee Chai was the first Chinese restaurant in Honolulu to use elaborate Chinese architecture and decorations to attract customers.³⁰ It featured expensive paintings and scrolls, fancy lacquered screens,

waterfalls and ponds with carp, and attractive plants. Its advertisements claimed that Lau Yee Chai was “the most beautiful Chinese restaurant in the world.” Tourists viewed it as a scenic landmark, while local Chinese found its spacious and luxuriant interior suitable for large parties and celebrations.

Whatever tourists may have thought, the Chinese in Hawai‘i evaluated their restaurants according to different criteria. One was the quality of the *dian xin*. Many of these restaurants permitted patrons to *yin cha*, to dine, or to purchase foods to take out. Another concern was the quality of the chefs. While many restaurants were family owned and operated without professional chefs, the Chinese grapevine critically analyzed the cooks at the various places. The tight Chinatown community soon knew who the best chefs in Honolulu were and whether they had “jumped” restaurants or had been surpassed by a new one hired from China or Hong Kong. Finally, the important events in the Chinese family and community dictated that restaurant size was an important consideration. Restaurants alternated with clubhouses as sites for important gatherings, and the banquet facilities had to be able to accommodate large crowds.

Chinese restaurants increasingly became a vital part of the Chinese community. First of all, key social and life cycle events were held there, such as weddings, birthday parties, full-month baby celebrations, funeral dinners, spring banquets, and election parties. Second, restaurants provided the outside community with an opportunity to learn more about their Chinese neighbors through the medium of food. Chinese leaders often entertained members of the larger community to generate good will and promote interracial harmony. Third, restaurants provided employment to Chinese owners and workers of both the first and the second generations. Last, restaurant owners as merchants supported community activities with funds and donations for schools, charities, and other worthwhile causes. As businessmen, they also provided leadership for many organizations and associations. Not surprisingly, they often participated in local, national, and international politics. As an example, Wong Kwon, the owner of the Hilo Coffee Saloon, maintained a lively interest in the fate of modern China. At the turn of the century, he was the president of the Hawai‘i branch of the Baohuang Hui (Protect the Emperor Society), which advocated a constitutional monarchy. Later, however, Wong Kwon shifted allegiance and backed the Republican movement that sought an end to the monarchy. In 1904, when the leader of the Republican cause, Sun Yat-sen, visited the Hawaiian Islands, he stayed as a guest at Wong Kwon’s house in Hilo.³¹

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Chinese restaurants shared the fate of other such businesses in the Hawaiian economy. Prohibition officially curtailed the sale of alcoholic beverages and affected receipts until 1933. In Hawai‘i, the U.S. Congress imposed the ban as a World War I measure about a year and a half before the Eighteenth Amendment came into force.³² At least one restaurant owner, however, circum-

vented Prohibition; he drank *okolehao* and cooked with it. As his daughter Ardith Yook Larn put it: “Whoever heard of Chinese cooking without liquor?”³³ The Great Depression, which began in 1929, also affected business, and the Chinese American Bank was closed in 1932.³⁴

When the war came in 1941, Chinese restaurants had to weather the restrictions of blackouts and curfews, martial law, rationing shortages, and a brief liquor ban.³⁵ Some foodstuffs from China had been restricted since the 1930s, and Chinese sausage and other items were imported from San Francisco and Vancouver, Canada.³⁶ Even grocery stores experienced occasional rice shortages and had to contend with irate or concerned customers.³⁷ Enterprising restaurant owners were nonetheless able to acquire merchandise and goods through the black market. Despite the curfews and the loss of the tourist trade, many restaurants actually enjoyed increased business because of the defense jobs, the higher salaries, and the influx of servicemen.³⁸

The end of the war in 1945 brought mixed results. Some restaurants that had prospered under the war economy were now hurt by demobilization.³⁹ On the other hand, many benefited from postwar spending. Consumers who had accumulated savings because of rationing bought the commodities denied them during the war. As part of the growing middle class in America, they purchased new automobiles and suburban homes. Indeed, the promise of affluence for everyone seemed to be just around the corner.

Important immigration reforms also took place. The immigration laws enacted in 1943, 1952, and 1965 ended the former policy of exclusion and permitted Chinese immigration once again. In 1959 Hawai‘i followed the example of Alaska by shedding its territorial status and becoming the fiftieth state. Government and business leaders realized the potential for expanded tourism and successfully promoted Hawai‘i as an island paradise, the “Aloha State.” The improved efficiency of air travel with the enticement of warm weather and beautiful beaches drew an increased flow of domestic and international visitors to Hawai‘i.

LATER YEARS: THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

In the 1950s, island residents in downtown Honolulu could see movies at the Princess, Hawaii, Liberty, King, Golden Wall, or American theaters. After the showings, they could dine at any of the many Chinese restaurants in Chinatown. But statehood and the opening of the Ala Moana Shopping Center in 1959 signaled profound changes for the downtown and Chinatown areas. Like other American cities, Honolulu experienced urban deterioration and the flight of businesses from the central city in the 1960s. Inner-city blight and urban renewal closed many familiar landmarks. When Tai Sam Yuen shut its doors in 1977, prominent Chi-

nese reminisced about the fond memories and experiences they had shared at this unpretentious eating place. They also lamented the loss of restaurants that served informal, home-style village cooking.⁴⁰ Eight years later, the closing of Tin Tin Chop Suey elicited similar nostalgic feelings of sorrow and loss. It had been one of the standbys for noodles, *chao fen*, and *zhou* (rice soup).⁴¹ Its demise led some to comment that there was no place to go in Chinatown anymore for *xiao ye* (evening snacks).

The rising value of land and the appeal of tourism fostered business's desire for greater returns on landholdings. The scenic Lau Yee Chai restaurant was razed to make way for a new high-rise building. It reopened in 1978 in a Waikiki shopping plaza, but its décor was no longer as impressive and it lost its dominating presence on the Chinese culinary scene.⁴² Investors also planned a Chinese cultural plaza to revitalize Chinatown and to provide a headquarters for Chinese organizations and language schools. Jewelry stores, curio shops, and fifteen Chinese restaurants were to be housed there.⁴³ The final chapter on this experiment has not yet been written, but the Chinese Cultural Plaza was generally considered a financial disaster and a serious error in redevelopment planning.

New immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China in the past two decades has also affected the restaurant trade. Hong Kong-style *dian xin* and noodle shops have reflected this change, which was heralded in the early 1960s by the Moon Palace on the former site of the Sun Yun Wo restaurant. Hong Kong-style *dian xin*, *yun dun*, and noodles are much smaller and more delicate. The portions contrast with the larger ones in the older-style restaurants such as Char Hung Sut. Another effect was the appearance of Mandarin-style restaurants, an umbrella label to denote regional cuisines that are non-Cantonese. Mandarin restaurants presented dishes from Szechuan, Shanghai, Fukien, Hunan, and Taiwan. Mandarin chefs tended to cook with smaller woks than their Cantonese counterparts and used a one-handed flip-frying technique as opposed to the two-handed, two-utensil approach.⁴⁴ One of the first Mandarin restaurants to appear was Paradise Garden on Kalakaua Avenue. This was rapidly followed by the Mandarin and King Tsin restaurants, both of which were operated by Korean-Chinese immigrants of Shandong origin. In the neighborhood of the University of Hawai'i, the Maple Garden and Woodlawn restaurants soon became favorites with faculty and students.

The consumer revolution in the United States brought new marketing and business practices to Hawai'i as well. Local residents and tourists had dollars to spend, but restaurants had to capture their attention. One strategy was to emphasize differences from traditional restaurant offerings. Restaurateurs promoted regional cuisines as a contrast with conventional Cantonese fare. Mongolian barbecue dishes, Mongolian firepot meals, Hakka and Chaozhou cooking, and sizzling *tie ban* entrees represented new choices. Another

tactic was to portray Chinese food as haute cuisine for an affluent, more sophisticated set. A premium was placed on service. Instead of casual waiters or waitresses who shoved menus before customers and demanded their orders, there were waiters and waitresses attired in suits or uniforms, and a *maitre d'* presided over the floor to ensure good hospitality. Cocktails and wines, hors d'oeuvres, and desserts, accompanying the main courses, were the elements of an exquisite meal.⁴⁵ Still another method was the introduction of theme restaurants. Some eating places stressed that fresh seafood was their forte and even stocked fresh carp, prawns, and lobsters to prove it. Wo Fat Restaurant was remodeled and decorated its walls with historical pictures and photographs to underscore its tie with the past.⁴⁶ Not all theme restaurants were successful, however. The Oceania Floating Restaurant, moored in Honolulu Harbor, which borrowed an idea from Hong Kong's Aberdeen area, was a resounding failure.⁴⁷

The competition among Chinese restaurants is keen, and advertisements show how they have attempted to appeal to different segments of the public. The Chinese Menu Seafood Restaurant listed "Live Prawns, Live Lobsters, Live Crabs, Live Clams, Fresh Fishes; Excellent Cantonese Cuisine—Hong Kong Style." The Great Wok of China boasted, "Gather around the Great Wok and savor the delicious secrets of wok cooking; An exciting new dining experience in Waikiki." On the chance that some people liked French cuisine, the Golden Dragon billed its food as "nouvelle Chinese." The Five Spices Restaurant offered "Taiwan, Cantonese, Shanghai and vegetarian specialties." The House of Hong opined that it was "One of the Most Beautiful Chinese Restaurants in the World; The Finest in Cantonese Dishes; Intimate Dining for the Connoisseur of Fine Chinese Cuisine."

Local residents were welcomed, too. Wo Fat mentioned that it was "In the Heart of Honolulu Chinatown; A Downtown Landmark Since 1882 Where Local People Dine for Authentic Cantonese Food." Lau Yee Chai presented itself as a "World Renowned Chinese Restaurant," open since 1929, where people could "See Historical Oriental Oil Paintings & Priceless Artifacts" that were "A Must for Every Visitor and Kamaaina." Ming Palace extolled itself as "One of Hawaii's Most Popular Chinese Restaurants Where Locals or Tourists Dine Like Royalty." For those that mourned the passing of Tai Sam Yuen, the Silver Dragon reminded readers that it was "Specializing in Home Style Cooking."

Probably the most imaginative pitch was made by Tasty Chop Suey. It playfully recommended that those "Hungry for God's Word—go to Church; Hungry for Chinese Food, Come to Tasty Chop Suey."⁴⁸ Some advertisements were exaggerations, but that was nothing new. As one mortuary advertised in Hawai'i's *Mid-Pacific Magazine* in 1925: "Honolulu is so healthy that people usually don't die there, but when they do they phone in advance to Henry H. Williams."⁴⁹

Other momentous changes lie ahead for the Chinese restaurants in Hawai'i. Outside capital, franchise operations,

and consumer preferences for economy and convenience have brought other new developments. For example, new investors from the U.S. mainland and Asia have entered the restaurant trade. Many outside investors are interested in Hawai'i's potential, and the Chinese Cultural Plaza itself was purchased by Taiwan investors. Small chains have appeared of two or three Chinese restaurants with the same name, but more extensive franchise operations may soon be found. On the U.S. mainland, Chinese food franchises with non-Chinese ownership include companies such as the Quick Wok, the China Roll, the Eggroll Express, and the Nankin Express.⁵⁰ Chinese buffet restaurants have also increased in popularity, as have combination Chinese-Vietnamese restaurants with iced milk coffee on their menus. Finally, Chinese karaoke-style restaurants where patrons can sing are beginning to appear in an imitation of trends in Japan and Taiwan.⁵¹

The proliferating array of Chinese restaurants has made it difficult to evaluate their quality. Those from Taiwan and China prefer the "spicier Mandarin cuisine," while the old-timers like the "unadulterated Cantonese style." In the quest for the novel, some of the younger generation casually dismiss Cantonese food as chop suey, unaware of the famous Chinese proverb that it best "to be born in Suzhou [a city noted for its refined manner and beautiful women], to live in Hangzhou [where the scenery is majestic], to eat in Guangzhou [Canton, where there is unparalleled cuisine], and to die in Liuzhou [where fine teakwood coffins are made]."⁵² Others who are more status-conscious patronize restaurants that have won *Honolulu* magazine's Hale 'Aina awards, Hawaiian equivalents of *Holiday* or *Gourmet* awards for culinary distinction.⁵³ In truth, the diversity of the Chinese population itself in terms of region, dialect, generation, class, and acculturation has resulted in culinary pluralism with multiple standards of evaluation. Different Chinese restaurants are preferred for dian xin, regional-style cuisines, xiao ye offerings, ambiance and service, space for banquets, convenience, and cost.

The sheer range of Chinese food choices and traditions has occasionally led to odd and comical moments. The author has witnessed a young self-styled gourmet at a nine-course banquet in Honolulu refuse to eat rice because "it was for peasants." Educated and refined Chinese, he declared, "only ate the *sung*, not the *fan*." In another example, a Hawai'i-born Chinese received a startling revelation from his Hong Kong wife when he took her to a local open market. Showing her the fish displayed on the crushed ice, he exclaimed, "Look at the fresh fish!" She replied, "They are dead."⁵⁴ For many Hong Kong residents, "fresh fish" means live fish swimming in a tank for customers to select.

CHINESE RESTAURANTS AS AN INDEX TO CHINESE AMERICAN CULTURE

Although the Chinese who came to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century brought their foodways with them, their diet

and methods of food preparation and presentation underwent change. Some items could not be planted, grown, or imported and simply were not available, but different fishes, meats, fruits, and vegetables were substituted. When the Chinese moved off the plantations into rural areas and opened restaurants, accommodating the tastes of the non-Chinese clientele became a necessity. In their coffee saloons and bakery-restaurants, the Chinese met their customers halfway. Besides offering Chinese dishes and dian xin pastries, they added foods and beverages such as coffee, Eagle brand condensed milk, guava jam, butter, breads, cookies, pies, and stews to their menus. Although they continued to enjoy eating birds, dogmeat, and other familiar favorites, they omitted these items from their restaurant menus.⁵⁵ Their kitchen utensils, woks, and cooking methods reflected their Zhongshan or Guangdong heritage, although experimentation and innovation inevitably occurred. Pork lard and fat, for example, continued to be major ingredients in cooking, as in traditional practice. As Ardith Yook Larn recalled, "cholesterol was of no concern in those days."⁵⁶

Restaurants reflected the new dietary patterns of the Chinese in Hawai'i. The Chinese consumed more beef, pork, chicken, duck, and fish, but their food choices were less diverse. Dogmeat, eels, frog legs, rabbits, snails, and snakes were eaten less due to cost, unavailability, or social attitudes.⁵⁷ One consequence has been that while Chinese Americans have a lower atherosclerotic heart disease mortality rate than non-Chinese Americans, they have a higher prevalence of coronary heart disease than their Asian counterparts.⁵⁸

Chinese restaurants have also reflected the changing status of the Chinese in Hawai'i. From the plantation and rural era through the urban and Chinatown era to the contemporary period, the restaurants have reflected the patterns of occupational diversity, urbanization, upward mobility, residential dispersion, and new immigration. The different types of Chinese restaurants in Hawai'i today were influenced by these trends, and their characteristics reflect these three historical periods. People can select the Hong Kong-style dian xin and marvel at the pushcarts displaying plates of webbed duck feet, custard tarts, beef balls, and *nuo mi ji* (chicken and sticky rice wrapped in bamboo leaves). Others prefer the older style and line up at Char Hung Sut in Honolulu's Chinatown to buy pastries and foods to eat or to take back to the other islands. They order local Zhongshan favorites such as *ye zi*, *ma ti su*, *ya tui mian*, and *hong shao jiao zi mian*. And in certain Chinese restaurants, people can ask for either American or Chinese foods. In essence, Chinese restaurants have historically accommodated their various eating publics, and this accounts for the coexistence of these divergent types of restaurants.

But it is not only the Chinese and their restaurants that have adapted to Hawai'i. Change has not been one-sided, and Hawai'i has also adapted to the Chinese. As Hawaiians met the new immigrants, they coined new words such as Pake, Kina, Aina Pake, Aina Pua, and Kinikiu. As social encoun-

ters increased, interracial marriages also occurred. Chinese restaurants undoubtedly helped to promote intercultural understanding and cooperation. By introducing new foods to the Hawaiian diet, they added terms to the Hawaiian vocabulary, such as *mea 'ono pua'a*, *pepeiao*, and *mea 'ono kihi kihi*.⁵⁹ They must also be credited with fostering the entry of Chinese foods into the local lunch plates, pupu platters, luaus, buffets, restaurants (Polynesian, Continental, and local), and other eating contexts.

Besides popularizing foods, Chinese restaurants have integrated themselves into the pivotal episodes in island life. For the Chinese, restaurants are places to commemorate key life cycle events and important happenings. Full-month baby observances, wedding receptions, birthday celebrations, funeral dinners, spring banquets, and official inauguration parties are held there. As the people of modern Hawai'i have become more accustomed to Chinese food, they have selected Chinese restaurants for graduation parties, baptism and confirmation observances, business meetings, engagement receptions, bridal and baby showers, and charity fundraisers. For many Japanese in Hawai'i, it is extremely fashionable to have nine-course wedding dinners at Chinese restaurants, gaily decorated with a thousand and one paper cranes. On festive occasions and holidays, people celebrate Thanksgiving, Christmas, or New Year's at Chinese restaurants. Or they ask Chinese restaurants to cater or to provide the food for home dining or office parties.

In recent years, national and international influences have changed both Hawai'i and its Chinese populations. Improvements in communication and transportation have tied Hawai'i closer to the mainland and Asia. The period after World War II and statehood hastened marketing and distribution changes and eroded the control of the "Big Five" firms in Hawai'i.⁶⁰ Large corporations, fast-food franchises, and outside capital have moved into the state, increasing competition. Wholesalers now supply Chinese restaurants with frozen pork butts, lard, and poultry from the mainland, instead of the more costly fresh island produce, for *dian xin*, *yun tun*, and other dishes. At the same time, America has discovered that it likes Chinese food and chop suey. Fast-food chains advertise Oriental salads, chicken nuggets with sweet-and-sour sauce, and egg rolls. National and international food corporations now offer canned bean sprouts, chop suey, fried rice, canned won ton soups, packaged fortune cookies, and frozen Chinese entrees.⁶¹ The marketing of egg rolls on a stick, chopstick holders at place settings, and pizza with Chinese sausage and Peking duck may not be far behind. Keen competition from outside corporations with advantages of economies of scale and low operating costs may make it difficult for some local businesses and Chinese restaurants to survive.

Closer ties to the U.S. mainland and the international economy have brought both advantages and disadvantages. The tourist industry touts Chinese restaurants and Chinese food as prime examples of Hawai'i's being a multiracial island

paradise. But while the tourist dollars assist the local economy, they also have raised the costs of living and the prices of real estate. Faced with bewildering and rapid social change to their lifeways, some residents of Hawai'i seek refuge in the past and in their local identity. They value nostalgia and local experiences to validate and give meaning to their lives against the puzzling changes they see. It is an example of local revitalization, resurgent ethnicity, and "*palaka* power."⁶² Symbols of an island lifestyle such as speaking pidgin; wearing Cane Haul Road T-shirts; eating *saimin*, shaved ice, cracked seed, and lunch plates; "talking story"; and listening to Hawaiian slack-key guitar music are valued. These symbolic acts rekindle memories of an idyllic, innocent past, not so distantly lost.

In this opposition of local culture against the outside, food has become an important metaphor. Perhaps as a legacy of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, many local Chinese are interested in the home-style village cooking of their parents or grandparents from Zhongshan. Unfortunately, most Chinese cookbooks present only the banquet foods or metropolitan versions of regional cooking in China and do not focus on Zhongshan-style cooking.⁶³ Those who can't cook enjoy eating at the new restaurants opened by Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong that have a more informal, home-style cooking format; but these, too, are not representative of Zhongshan-style cooking. The younger generation of Hawai'i-born Chinese also write about food and local identity. Diane Mark, for example, writes in her poem "Dawn Is in the Rain Forest" that

it's the age of Hawai'i 5-0 television,
volkswagon rabbits, take-out manapua,
polyester pant suits and Chung King chop suey

* * * * *

my culture is both Chinese
and "local"
these islands are my home
and I listen to the grandparents' stories
of what they were once like. . . .⁶⁴

Wing Tek Lum in his poem "Chinese Hot Pot" writes:

My dream of America
is like *da bin louh*
with people of all persuasions and tastes
sitting down around a common pot
chopsticks and basket scoops here and there
some cooking squid and others beef
all in one broth
like a stew that really isn't
as each one chooses what he wishes to eat
only that the pot and fire are shared
along with the good company
and the sweet soup
spooned out at the end of the meal.⁶⁵

Both Diane Mark and Wing Tek Lum seek to understand and to reclaim their Hawaiian Chinese heritage.

In their historical development, Chinese restaurants in Hawai'i have reflected the changes of the local Chinese population. The trends of the future are difficult to predict; even

teahouses and restaurants in Guangdong, Hong Kong, and Taiwan are undergoing change; culture is not static.⁶⁶ But in the past, Chinese restaurants have acted as cultural brokers mediating the social relationships between the Chinese and the general community. Although the Chinese now make up only a small percentage of the population, Chinese restaurants have become a dominant fixture in Hawai'i's culinary landscape. Chinese food has won widespread acceptance. If food is a language, then Chinese restaurants have been extremely eloquent and persuasive in their expression. By intersecting with the foodways of Hawai'i, Chinese restaurants have contributed to interethnic communication and an ongoing multicultural exchange.

NOTES

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30. Glick, *Sojourners*, 80–81; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 24 March 1986.
 31. Kai.
 32. Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History from Polynesian Kingdom to American Statehood* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 218.
 33. Wong, 202.
 34. Glick, *Sojourners*, 92.
 35. The ban lasted until February 1942. Kuykendall and Day, 257.
 36. Bung Chong Lee, “The Chinese Store as a Social Institution,” in *Community Forces in Hawaii: A Book of Readings*, ed. Bernhard L. Hormann (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 1968), 33; Winifred Tom, “The Impact of War on Chinese Culture,” in Hormann, 199; Zane, 141.
 37. Hester Kong, “Through the Peepsight of a Grocery Store,” in Hormann, 209–10.
 38. Yukiko Kimura, “Social Effects of Increased Income of Defense Workers of Oriental Ancestry in Hawaii,” in Hormann, 184–87; Cory Wilson, “Some Aspects of Mainland Defense Workers in Honolulu,” in Hormann, 205.
 39. Zane, 145.
 40. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 3, 1977. Before World War II, such restaurants maintained a *kai fan* system. After paying five or ten cents, a person could feast on the dish of the day, soup, and all the rice that he could eat. Bachelors especially welcomed this practice.
 41. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2 March 1985.
 42. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 June 1965; 6, 10 April 1987. See also *Honolulu Advertiser*, 4 October 1965, 28 July 1966.
 43. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 December 1977.
 44. Tonia Chao, “Communicating through Architecture: San Francisco Chinese Restaurants as Cultural Intersections, 1849–1984” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley), 179. I am indebted to Judy Yung for bringing this work to my attention.
 45. For a San Francisco parallel, see Victor G. Nee and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ’: A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986), 115–16.
 46. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 16 January 1986; Heckathorn, “Oldest Restaurant,” 352.
 47. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 22 January 1980; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 11 July 1980.
 48. The advertisements are drawn from the restaurant and chop suey sections in *Oahu Telephone Directory: Yellow Pages* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Telephone, 1982). Despite the sizable Hakka Chinese population in Hawai‘i, Hakka-style specialty restaurants did not appear until recently. Interesting, too, is the trend for some restaurateurs to contract with travel tour operators for the tourist trade. Finally, Western names or translations of Chinese names are increasingly preferred by restaurant owners, perhaps to attract a larger clientele. Even Hawaiian words such as *wahine* and *kane*, which mean “females” and “males,” no longer appear on bathroom doors.
 49. *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 29 (January 1925): 12.
 50. Irena Chalmers, *The Great American Food Almanac* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 89.
 51. The singing is done with electronic music machines playing recorded tunes in the background. *Asian Week*, 27 May 1988.
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 53. John Heckathorn, “The Third Annual Hale ‘Aina Awards,” *Honolulu* 21 (January 1987): 38–40, 88–89.
 54. Wing Tek Lum, *Expounding the Doubtful Points* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1987), 80–81.
 55. Nelson Ah Hoy Chun, “Nature’s Work,” in Kodama-Nishimoto, 19; Diane Mei Lin Mark, *The Chinese in Kula: Recollections of a Farming Community in Old Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i Chinese History Center, 1977), 27.
- In the 1960s, food inspectors attempted to ban the sale of certain pork organs and parts as being unhygienic. They also forced local merchants to use refrigerated display cases instead of placing pork and meat on the tables in the stalls on King Street. Lastly, they pushed for the use of gas ovens instead of charcoal for cooking roast pork and *cha shao*.
- These subtle contests over food values and food tastes are generally unnoticed by the public but are advocated by government officials as promoting hygiene. A mainland parallel would be the famous San Francisco roast duck controversy in the 1980s. Inspectors had argued that roast ducks hanging in Chinese restaurant kitchens and butcher stalls bred bacteria and were unsanitary and that the ducks should be refrigerated. Public uproar finally caused the inspectors to retreat and permit a continuance of traditional practices.
56. Wong, 195.
 57. Louis Evan Grivetti and Marie B. Paquette, “Nontraditional Ethnic Food Choices among First Generation Chinese in California,” *Journal of Nutrition Education* 10 (July–September 1978): 102–12.
 58. Judy Perkin and Stephanie F. McCann, “Food for Ethnic Americans: Is the Government Trying to Turn the Melting Pot into a One-Dish Dinner?” in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, ed. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Missell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 249–51. The Hawai‘i diet may include more seafood, however, than the California diet.
 59. Pake, Kina, Aina Pake, and Aina Pua are words for China; Pake and Kina also mean Chinese, but Kinikiu is uncomplimentary and possibly derived from the English word “Chink.” Mea ‘ono pua’a, more popularly rendered *manapua*, is *cha shao bao*, or pork bun. Pepeiao is Chinese pastry stuffed with meat and vegetables and is named for its resemblance to an ear. Mea ‘ono kihikihi is a square or rectangular pastry made by the Chinese.
- Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 11, 153, 244, 325, 414; idem, *Hawaiian Grammar* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai‘i, 1979), 33.
60. The “Big Five” were Castle and Cooke, American Factors, Alexander and Baldwin, Theo. H. Davies and Company, and C. Brewer. Shelley M. Mark, *Opportunities for Small Business in Hawaii’s Visitor Industry*. (Honolulu: Economic Research Center, University of Hawai‘i, 1963), 62–64.
- As food costs have risen, many consumers have opted for seven-course banquets instead of the traditionally popular nine-course dinners.
61. Bryan R. Johnson, “Let’s Eat Chinese Tonight,” *American Heritage* 38 (December 1987): 98–107; “Chinese-Style Foods,” *Consumer Reports* 46 (January 1981): 16; and “Campbell’s ‘Oriental’ Soups,” *ibid.* (April 1981): 186–87.
 62. Palaka is a plaid broadcloth worn by plantation workers. David Hagino authored a pamphlet, *Palaka Power*, in 1977, which was a rallying cry for local power and empowerment. *Hawaii Herald*, 15 April 1983. A document with this palaka perspective is Friends of Waipahu Cultural Garden Park, comp., *Plantation Village Cookbook* (Mililani: Wonder View

Press, 1985), v, ix, x. A more irreverent version is Pat Sasaki, Douglas Simonson, and Ken Sakata, *Pupus to Da Max* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986).

63. Some exceptions are Mary Li Sia, cited earlier, and Clara T. Y. Tom, *Clara Tom's Old Fashioned Method of Cantonese Chinese Cooking* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Service, 1979).

Another method of learning "old-style" cooking is to attend cooking classes or demonstrations by the local utility company. The commemorative souvenir annuals and the festive events scheduled during the Lunar New Year and Narcissus Festival celebrations by the Chinese community also teach the younger generation.

64. Mark, "Dawn," 41.
 65. Wing Tek Lum, 105
 66. That the teahouse in Guangdong may have evolved over time is suggested in Wang Shizhen, *Chi zai Zhongguo: Jiangnan pian* [Eating in China: South of the Yangtze] (Taipei: Xingguang chubanshe, 1981), 100.

GLOSSARY

cha shao (char siu)
 chao fen (chow fun)
 da bian lu (da bin louh)
 dian xin (dim sum)
 guang su bing (gong su bang)
 holoku (a loose dress with a yoke and usually a train, patterned after the Mother Hubbard clothing of the missionaries)
 hong shao jiao ji mian (hong siu gau gee mein)
 hui (wui)

hui guan (wui goon)
 ji dan gao (gai dan gow)
 jian dui (chin dui)
 kaifan (hoifan)
 kamaaina (native-born, or born in Hawai'i and a longtime resident)
 laulau (meat, chicken, pork, or fish wrapped in banana leaves and baked, steamed, or broiled; in the past, cooked in ground ovens)
 li zhi (lichee)
 long yan (longan)
 luau (a Hawaiian feast)
 ma ti su (ma tai su)
 nuo mi ji (no mai gai)
 okolehao (Hawaiian alcoholic beverage made from ti leaves)
 ono (delicious)
 paniolo (Hawaiian cowboy)
 pupus (party food or appetizers in modern-day Hawai'i)
 Shi qi (Shekki)
 shuai pi su bing (lut pee su bang)
 Siyi (See Yup)
 song (sung)
 song gao (sung gaw)
 Taishan (Toisan)
 tang bao (tong bau)
 tie ban (tit ban)
 xian bao (harm bau)
 xiao ye (siu yeh)
 ya tui mian (op tui mien)
 ye zi (yip jai)
 yin cha (yum cha)
 yun dun (won ton)
 Zhongshan (Chungshan)
 zhou (jook)

Eating History

Chinese American Gastronomy in Hawai‘i

Judith M. Kirkendall

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Traditional gastronomic behavior within a particular culture is subject to changes that can be internally or externally generated. Some cultural groups lose major portions of their food customs through such changes, while other cultures exhibit behaviors that resist change. Chinese ethnogastronomy seems to prevail as a tradition wherever Chinese people live. Such has been the case in Hawai‘i.

Evidence of archeological finds from recently excavated Han tombs reveals valuable details of ancient Chinese food customs. Murals of kitchen activities depict workers—men in the majority—preparing meats, pounding and mashing, drawing water. Paintings of banquets provide clues as to early etiquette and information about food preparation, order of service, table arrangement, and the service of wine and tea, among many other behaviors associated with the preparation and consumption of foods. This visual information combined with early Chinese literary references lends emphasis to the persistence of Chinese gastronomic traditions.

Preeminent among such traditions is the Chinese attitude toward food as the basis of promoting bodily health. Harmony in the physical body relates to harmony in society and the universe and is based upon goals of stability and balance. Just as principles of yin and yang must be balanced in every other aspect of human life, so must they be balanced in the food one consumes. In folklore and in classical Chinese medicine, “hot” (yang) and “cold” (yin) foods are important in the maintenance of good health as well as in the treatment of ill health. Intersecting the hot/cold dichotomy is “dry” and “wet.” In the humoral concept of medicine, hot/wet diseases would be treated with the appropriate “balancing” foods. According to Lin Yutang, “The whole culinary art of China depends upon the art of mixture.”

Chia Ming, a fourteenth-century scholar, provided a literary explanation of the interrelationships of the elements considered vital for the maintenance of good health. With the Chinese cultural predilection for the number five, he classi-

fied hundreds of food items within a system that includes the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water), the five organs (gallbladder, small intestines, stomach, large intestines, bladder), the five viscera (liver, heart, spleen, lungs, kidneys), the five emotions (anger, happiness, contemplation, worry, fear), the five seasons (spring, summer, long summer, autumn, winter), and the five flavors (sour, bitter, sweet, spicy hot, salty).¹ Concepts of traditional Chinese medicine still permeate the food behavior of modern Chinese, whether with regard to seeking medical treatment or to composing an appropriate menu for a feast.

In addition to balancing foods with complementary and contrasting tastes, textures, and health-giving (or maintaining) properties, concern is shown for including seasonal or regional specialties, exotic or expensive ingredients, and an appropriate number of courses.

Perhaps no other cuisine in world history has encompassed the variety of ingredients; attained the degree of inventiveness; exhibited the breadth of interrelationship with other cultural practices, such as social organization, medical theory, and religious observance; or been as integrally a part of the ethos of the culture as has the Chinese. Preoccupation with food and eating is central to Chinese culture.

In a country as large as China, the staple foods of the numerous subcultures vary, yet the preferred food combination, as evidenced by remains of foodstuffs in sites identified as dating from the fourth or fifth millennium BCE, as well as by contemporary food behavior, is a combination of carbohydrate plus a relish dish of meat and/or vegetables. This typical *fan/ts’ai* combination is consistently evident in the broad range of regional Chinese food, with distinctiveness expressed through an emphasis on a particular ingredient or the use of special flavoring agents.

Due to differing geographic and climatic conditions and to the particular crops that will thrive in a given location, Chinese cuisine is generally divided into two broad areas, northern and southern. The northern dishes are heavier and oilier and are based upon wheat or other grains, while the southern rice-based meals include a large variety of meat, fish, and vegetable dishes available due to the gentle climate. A recent publication listing the famous culinary creations (*ts’ai*) of modern China includes 614 entries, with the great

majority of these from southern China and only 15 percent identified with the north.²

Clearly, much of the variety evident in every aspect of the Chinese food tradition is linked with the adaptability inherent in the culture itself. Viewed from a historical perspective, Chinese culture embodies traditions of many subgroups within a large population dispersed over a broad geographic area.

The ability to adjust and adapt to the exigencies of climate, population size, social upheaval, invasion, and poverty as the circumstances of history have demanded has left its indelible mark on Chinese cuisine. That food adaptability still plays a very special role in contemporary Chinese life is illustrated in a 1981 epidemiological study conducted in Nanjing. Among all mental health problems observed in children, the "partiality for a particular food" was the most commonly noted. Clearly, adaptability and acceptance with regard to food are considered to be healthy attributes in a modern Chinese child's mental attitude.³

In modern times there has been a general tendency to classify the regional foods of China into distinctive "cuisines." While these groupings are distinguishable by reliance on certain staples or by the use of particular flavoring agents, the characteristic local dishes are more alike than different, combining the bland fan with mixed-ingredient ts'ai.

Szechwan-Hunan food utilizes the pungent flavors of peppers, chilies, and garlic, while Cantonese food, which until recently was the product of most American Chinese restaurants, is characterized by sweet/sour flavor combinations, fermented and salted black bean sauces, red-roasted pork, varieties of snack foods, and dishes utilizing seafood, fresh, salted, or dried. The Fukien regional style features a large number of soups, congees, and stews, with a Fukienese specialty being the use of coagulated blood from pigs and chickens stir-fried with onions and other ingredients. Mandarin, Shantung, and Yunnan are among a host of other local cuisines of China, each with distinguishing culinary treatments.

Cooking methods, like flavor preferences, may vary in different geographical areas. For example, grilling over open flames is common in western China. However, a number of traditional cooking techniques are generally employed among all Chinese groups. Cooking with water and cooking with oil are basic treatments, with quick simmering, poaching, and stir-frying, all conserving of limited fuel, common throughout Chinese subcultures. The steaming of meats, breads, and vegetables over a rapidly boiling soup is a single operation that can produce two or more dishes. Chinese culinary technique is further characterized by the use of serial cooking, an extended process involving several subsidiary processes. Other flavoring and texturing treatments call for drying, salting, or curing in a special medium prior to exposure to heat.

Chinese food is formally served in courses with a single dish occupying its own service plate. Great attention is given to the presentation of foods, with sliced, chopped, or appar-

tioned ingredients being matched to the size and shape of the serving container and to the use of chopsticks. Squid, for example, is not merely cut into pieces for cooking but is decoratively scored so that the process of blanching produces a "flowering" into delicate designs that please the eye.

Color and texture are created by the cook, while flavor enhancement may frequently be left to the diner. Generally, composed dishes are preseasoned; however, for certain foods, such as snacks or dry-cooked meats or seafoods, the diner will mix an individual seasoning dip to his or her own taste.

Food color, texture, and temperature are important. Hot foods are expected to be served very hot. Frequently they are still steaming or sizzling when served, characteristics thought to add to their gustatory appeal.

In Chinese culture, there is much dining outside the home. Even the humblest person, not able to pay for a restaurant meal, can buy inexpensive snacks, dumplings, noodles, and soups from street vendors, who supply bowl, chopsticks, even a portable table and bench for the customer. Wherever Chinese have immigrated, the street hawker, often with a characteristic call, bell, or wooden block advertising his specialty, has become a familiar sight.

Chinese restaurant dining is modeled on the customs of the imperial court, with the multicourse dinner the ultimate expression of festivity and hospitality. The drinking of spirits has always been a part of celebratory feasting, although drinking to the point of drunkenness, except on clearly defined occasions, is not socially acceptable in Chinese culture. Tea is commonly drunk while contracting business, socializing, or settling disputes, and tea is automatically served in Chinese restaurants. Customary etiquette dictates the placement and usage of tableware, with chopsticks and the flat-bowled spoon accommodating all varieties of precut foods and soups.

Young children are taught proper behavior at the dining table and learn to discriminate among different flavors and foods. It is unusual in a restaurant to see a small infant seated on a parent's lap being tempted with small bites from every dish. As a result of early and continuing inculcation in appropriate gastronomic behavior and appreciation, the Chinese adult is generally highly perceptive with regard to food quality. Both men and women pride themselves on their knowledge about food and foodlore.

Among the Chinese, eating is a social occasion. The sharing of rice, even though it may be eaten at different times by family members with varying schedules, is a communal act. Food is enjoyed not only for its taste, appearance, rarity, cost, and complexity, but for the fact that its consumption can be discussed, evaluated, criticized, and enjoyed for its social meanings.

As the formality of the meal increases, ritual behaviors increasingly come into prominence. The description of an actual imperial banquet, related in historical analects, reflected in culinary terms the formal structure of govern-

ment through an elaborate cataloguing of what foods were served to what ranks. Similarly, the eight- or nine-course meal served in a modern Chinese restaurant carries cultural coding, equivalent messages relating to the host's social standing, the lavishness of his hospitality, his acknowledgment of the gastronomic acumen of his guests, and the elegance of his taste.

THE CHINESE IN HAWAI'I

In 1789 an American vessel with forty-five Chinese crewmen stopped in Hawai'i, and it is likely that some of these sailors stayed on after the ship's departure. Subsequently, with the increased fur trade between China and Hawai'i, numerous Chinese lived and worked in the harbor areas, with several specializing in the service of food to the ships' officers.⁴

An 1841 traveler to Honolulu noted that "a bakery has been established here by men from Canton, where bread, cakes and pies are manufactured in every variety and of excellent quality." A sign hung over the door of this establishment:

Good people all come and buy
Of Sam and Mow good cake and pie
Bread hard and soft, for land or sea
Celestial made; come buy of we.⁵

With the development of the commercial production of sugar, many Chinese in Hawai'i took up jobs milling the cane, and as sugar production burgeoned, the decision was made to import contract workers. A work force of 293 laborers recruited from Amoy in southern China arrived in 1852, the first of many such groups to arrive until 1898, when U.S. exclusion laws drastically restricted further Chinese immigration.

The laborers' contracts brought them in steerage to Hawai'i, and conditions on board were difficult. A young immigrant girl recalls in her memoirs that two meals a day were provided, with "cheap meat and cabbage for every meal."⁶

The president of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society noted in his annual address of 1852 that "the cost of importing coolies is \$50 per man, and it has been estimated by those who employ them, that their wages and support amount to a trifle under \$7 per month. They are great eaters but their food, chiefly composed of rice and a little meat is of the cheapest kind, and to make them profitable, they should never be stinted in their allowance."⁷

Soon after the first group of Chinese immigrants arrived in the plantation camps, they expressed major problems with the food being provided for them. While Hawaiian laborers had been content with a familiar diet of taro, sweet potatoes, pork, and fish, this food was not accepted by the Chinese, who demanded their own staple of rice.

Plantation managers realized that if they expected the Chinese laborers to work without complaint, their food preferences must be accommodated. Thus, rice was issued as an additional ration. In each camp the Chinese elected one of

their own number to be the cook. He would prepare breakfast, then bring a hot dinner and tea to the fields, and was compensated in equal share by the other workers in the group.

Many of the workers immediately began the cultivation of small gardens where they could grow familiar vegetables; they also raised chickens, ducks, and pigs. Captain John Cass, who had brought the first group of Chinese laborers to Hawai'i in 1852, also carried to the Islands plants from southern China and so introduced the mandarin orange, kumquat, lichee, longan, pomelo, and other types of citrus fruits, which soon grew on every island.⁸

As succeeding groups of laborers arrived on the plantations, some men opened small shops that sold incense, spices, and other imported Chinese items as well as fresh foodstuffs. The retail variety store very soon became identified with the Chinese, and such an establishment was to be found in the smallest plantation camp or town. These family businesses served many needs, as a storekeeper's newspaper advertisement of 1897 indicates:

Awana
Dry Goods, Groceries, Hats, Shoes
General Merchandise
Beef
Pork Meats Mutton
Poultry

Island Produce
Blacksmith Shop
Best Horse Shoeing in Maui
Restaurants—Excellent Meals
Served on Short Notice⁹

With baskets of fresh fish and garden produce slung from poles carried on their shoulders, many Chinese began independent businesses. The peddler dispensing rice cakes and dumplings from his peripatetic shop became a familiar sight. Members of the Chun Hoon family, now owners of a major corporate organization in Hawai'i, recall that their fortune was founded by such a small businessman. Chun Hoon left the plantation in 1890 after fulfilling his three-year contract and began calling from door to door in the neighborhood, selling the wares he carried in baskets he swung from the ends of a bamboo pole.

By 1845 three Chinese-run stores had been established in Honolulu. In an 1847 register of 315 foreigners in Honolulu, five of the eight Chinese listed were proprietors of stores. Seven years later, Chinese held seventy-three commercial licenses. By 1896 Chinese operated 118 general merchandise stores and 35 retail groceries in Honolulu.¹⁰ Seventy-two of these businesses were located in the Chinatown area.

These stores carried foods necessary to the everyday diet of the Chinese community, including fresh produce such as cabbage, yams, bean curd, bamboo shoots, pork, duck, chickens, and eggs. There were items imported from China: canned and salted fish, dried pork, noodles, dried oysters, and shrimp sauce. In addition, the Chinese merchants

stocked items for banquets and feasts that were too expensive for everyday consumption. Among these special foods were dried duck, rice sparrows, sharks' fin, birds' nests, *bêche-de-mer*, sea moss, cuttlefish, abalone, fish bladder, and mushrooms. Incense and candles were always available for religious practices, as were rice bowls, Chinese spoons, chopsticks, teacups, and teapots.¹¹

The production of rice came to be almost exclusively managed by Chinese. There was a large and growing demand for rice from Chinese populations both in Hawai'i and on the West Coast of the United States, and the migrants from China's southern river deltas found their skills readily adaptable to Hawai'i's climate and marshlands. Many different varieties of rice seeds were brought from China and planted in Hawai'i, and the practicability of using artesian well water for rice field irrigation resulted in additional land being devoted to rice cultivation.

The rice industry was the most lucrative one for Chinese entrepreneurs, and by 1900 nearly six thousand workers were engaged in the production of the grain, thus ensuring that this staple food would be available in abundance for all Asian workers.¹² Many rice farmers were successful in other endeavors as well and expanded their operations to include the milling, transportation, and wholesaling of rice, or engaged in trade.

After European contact there was significant gender imbalance in the population, with a growing number of European and later Chinese males and a relatively decreasing number of ethnically pure Hawaiian females. Between 1895 and 1897, nine-tenths of the Chinese laborers were under thirty-five years of age, and there were frequent opportunities for the Chinese and the Hawaiian female workers in the camps to associate. The result was a growing community of half-Hawaiian/half-Chinese individuals who shared aspects of both heritages.

The importance of Hawaiian women in affecting social change in Hawai'i has been noted by historians, and their role has been particularly relevant to developments in food behavior. As families composed of a Hawaiian mother, a non-Hawaiian father, and children of mixed heritage began to be established in greater numbers, it was the influence of the mother that shaped the earliest food habits of the children. The existence of numerous family groups whose Hawaiian mothers trained their children in customary Hawaiian foodways would seem to account, in part, for the persistence of aspects of Hawaiian gastronomic behavior in modern Hawai'i in the face of the accelerated weakening of virtually all other aspects of the native culture.

As the carriers of the great body of ethnogastronomic culture, women have borne the burden of change. From her first day in Hawai'i, each immigrant woman, whether from Connecticut, Canton, or Saigon, had to make the gastronomic adjustment between her own cultural habits regarding food and the exigencies of the new situation in which she found

herself. She made this adjustment by changing what she had to change and retaining what she could not or would not change. The process was very much like that of learning another language. To live in an unfamiliar environment, she needed to adjust certain cognitive processes. She learned to substitute "wahine" for "woman," taro for white potatoes or rice, and knives and forks or chopsticks for fingers, as the occasion required. Only when there was a large enough community of women in any one ethnic group in a location where they could communicate with one another, thus reinforcing their traditional food behavior, was there a discernible effort to revive and observe the full tradition of the particular cuisine.

Ethnogastronomic behavior constitutes complex cultural habits that are adhered to for as long as possible because they are within the absolute control of the individual, who chooses what he puts into his or her mouth. Food consumption is a required daily activity, and as anthropologists have noted, "the more generalized values are, the more persistent they seem to be."¹³

Still, absolute dietary uniformity among individuals of the same cultural group is an impossibility. Individual variation and intragroup differences occur even within a single family, and so ethnogastronomical change in Hawai'i proceeded on the basis of food choices made by individuals with regard to ecological, psychological, and metaphysical considerations.

To the degree possible, all those brought together in intercultural contact will attempt to continue the particular food behavior most familiar to them, yet the nutritional needs of the body must be met with what the circumstances dictate. It is at this initial contact stage that organoleptic and psychological factors are strongest, with even satiety being relative to the nature of the food consumed.

Immigrants do not adopt new dietary habits wholeheartedly in the early stage of their contact with the host culture. Like the initial Chinese in Hawai'i who demanded rice, they will try to obtain the staple foods that hold the deepest psychological and sensory meanings for them.

Subsequent to the effort to maintain familiar habits, the second stage of ethnogastronomic acculturation develops as the individual is able to substitute new behaviors for traditional ones. The arrival of the initial group of Chinese laborers in Hawai'i immediately created the dynamic of three staple cuisines in the Islands—those based on taro (Hawaiian), wheat (Euro-American), and rice (Chinese)—a unique mix that was to continue through the years to the present day. It was after the arrival of Chinese laborers that testings, exchanges, and adoptions began to be characteristic of the behavior of the general population in Hawai'i. As the complexity of the society increased with the arrival of additional ethnic groups, the possibilities for the individual to expand his or her own experience were increased.

The work camps clustered around the plantation mills had been originally established on ethnic grounds and to a

degree encouraged exclusivity and separation. Yet it is clear from participants' recollections that there was interaction among the camps' residents, sparked by such activities as trading at the camp stores, bartering for fresh produce, seeking home remedies at times of illness or accident, and, most significantly from the point of view of ethnogastronomy, participating in the various ethnic festivities and celebrations.

This kind of sharing among workers of different ethnic heritages was one aspect of exposure to new foods. A second major avenue for learning about unfamiliar foods was shopping at plantation stores. Through experimentation, workers and their families expanded their everyday diets to include canned goods of various sorts. Fish and fruits were quickly adopted because they were tasty and convenient as well as affordable. Chocolate was another food innovation that was accepted, as were bread, butter, cheese, and crackers.

A third factor that served to introduce new foods and food behavior to the people of Hawai'i was the very strong influence of American cuisine. A steadily increasing number of persons from the mainland United States making their homes in the Islands meant that Hawai'i residents of all social classes had increased exposure to Western foodways.

This exposure followed many avenues, with the first being the public school system, established in 1840, which made attendance compulsory until the age of fourteen. Native Hawaiians and part Hawaiians made up 92 percent of the student body of the public schools by 1880, and soon after, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese students began to attend public and private schools. There were few schools serving the plantation work camps, but those camp children who did attend the public schools encountered foods they had never seen before.

A review of cookbooks produced in Hawai'i reveals the gradual generalized acceptance of foods prepared in the manner of different ethnic groups. As might be expected, the earliest cookbooks in Hawai'i were those written by Westerners. Among these was the *Hawaiian Cook Book*, compiled by the Ladies Society of Central Union Church in 1882, which consisted almost entirely of recipes from Euro-American backgrounds. The tendency to focus upon Euro-American recipes is evident in Hawai'i-produced cookbooks until after World War II, and although some "Hawaiian" recipes appeared, they were adapted to Western cooking styles. Chinese and later Japanese preparations were the first Asian ones to be included in cookbooks in Hawai'i and seem to have been introduced through individuals on the domestic staffs in Euro-American homes.

The advent of the Second World War brought additional exposure to mainland American foodways. The presence of hundreds of servicemen living in and passing through the Islands was the catalyst for markets to stock foods that would be attractive and familiar to them, and thus many residents learned to try different foods. Conversely, the American military was exposed to Asian and Hawaiian foods in local shops

and eating places and through friends who had grown up in Hawai'i. Residents of Hawai'i enlisted in the ranks and performed military service all over the world, and many of them were assigned to food service duties. Several favorite foods popular today among the local population, such as Spam, canned Vienna sausage, and macaroni salad, had their origin in the military mess hall. Finally, advertising was a significant factor in strengthening and broadening Hawai'i's exposure to Western foodways after World War II.

In 1985, in an effort to describe the contemporary food habits of residents of Hawai'i, I conducted a study that surveyed the food behavior of 168 individuals.¹⁴ The respondent group has since been expanded to 589, with similar results.

Adapted from a research tool developed by the Society for the North American Cultural Survey, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, the "Foodways Questionnaire" that I used is a self-administered instrument containing 168 items dealing with food, as well as attitudes and practices relevant to total food behavior. The questions were presented in simple language, with nearly half requiring either a yes/no response or the selection of an item or items from a provided list.

The sample population can be characterized as a diverse group of adult individuals of essentially middle-class background, representative of the major ethnic groups that constitute the general population of Hawai'i. All respondents either had been born in Hawai'i or had been resident in the Islands for some time. To encourage frank responses, no name or other individual identifying information was requested. However, information was sought on several characteristics relevant to food behavior: ethnic classification, gender, and age.

Nearly ninety-two completed questionnaires were received from respondents who designated themselves as Chinese, with nearly equivalent numbers received from each of the six other ethnic groups studied: Hawaiian, Caucasian, Japanese, Filipino, Indochinese, and Samoan. Many people in Hawai'i pride themselves on multiple ethnic heritages. However, in this survey, individuals tended to identify with a single ethnic background, although space was provided for additional or secondary self-designation. Only 27 of 589 persons gave a multiple designation, i.e., "Chinese Hawaiian," an observation that may well relate to the deep psychological identification that individuals have regarding their own food habits. These twenty-seven questionnaires were not utilized for the purposes of this study.

Sex designation is a significant factor in this study because so much food behavior as it relates to tradition is the responsibility of women in the cultures surveyed. They are the major sources of information on preparation of food, etiquette, and ceremonial usage, and they occupy the pre-eminent place in the training of infants. Indeed, many male respondents were generally unobservant of details of food behavior in their own homes and were therefore not particularly informative for the purposes of this study. Chinese men,

however, were notably more responsive to the questionnaire, both in the type of information given and in the amount of detail provided. This observation is significant and relates to general attitudes toward food in Chinese culture.

Respondents were asked to indicate their age within the ranges of 15–25, 26–40, 41–60, and over 60. Age can be relevant to food behavior with regard to resistance to change and to the role of the older person in the family as the communicator of traditional ways.

Length of residence in Hawai'i was subcategorized as "since birth," "over twenty-five years," and "less than ten years." This information is relevant to determining length of exposure to the variety of food behaviors of the many cultures represented in Hawai'i. However, individuals will have differing patterns of acceptance/rejection of the environment. Some newcomers will be open to trying new foods; others will avoid the unfamiliar. Length of residence therefore is a difficult measure to evaluate in a study of acculturation, although it is central to the findings. The results of this study suggest that there is a direct relationship between length of residence in Hawai'i and evidenced change in food habits.

In addition to individual preferences, the food-obtaining mechanisms of individuals are important to consider. Therefore, an effort was made to include respondents who were living in dormitory or student housing situations. With a high incidence of eating in school cafeterias and at low-cost food service establishments, this population would have a different food intake pattern than respondents living at home, who would have greater control over food selection.

The researcher is aware of the problems posed by eliciting information by means of a questionnaire. Individuals obviously vary greatly in their ability to convey information through this means. Even in direct conversation with an investigator, an informant may, for many reasons, not be totally reliable as a source of behavioral data about himself or herself.

Effort was made in carrying out this study to balance the data obtained from the questionnaire with materials from archival records, from evidence of material culture, and from the investigator's personal investigation and experience. This multiplicity of data-gathering methods serves to strengthen the conclusions derived.

In Chinese culture, food and its celebratory and ritual use are closely related. Particular foods and dishes have age-old associations with specific observances. Festivals and rituals having food components have been and are still observed in Hawai'i.

In plantation days, on the Chinese lunar New Year, Chinese laborers were given two or three days' holiday with pay. As late as 1910 Chinese children were excused from their public-school classes for the New Year, although Char reports that several parents sent their children to school on the holiday with the admonition, "You are now Americans."

Although customs associated with the observance of the lunar New Year in present-day Hawai'i vary from family to

family, many Chinese and members of other ethnic groups in Hawai'i celebrate the New Year of the Gregorian calendar and the Chinese New Year as well.

On New Year's morning, in a typical Chinese home an offering of cooked rice is made along with five or ten bowls of different vegetable dishes, ten cups of tea, ten cups of wine, two large red candles, and incense. A bowl filled with loose-skinned oranges or other citrus fruits is placed with the offerings. After the family gives thanks for past blessings and prays for future protection, firecrackers are exploded and/or sham paper money is burnt.¹⁵

Youngsters honor grandparents and aunts, and adult males make social calls on friends and relatives, who receive visitors with snacks of salted watermelon seeds, tea, and candied fruits. Many families do not eat meat on New Year's Day but prepare *chai*, a special "monks' food" of vegetables and tofu, which is eaten at home. Some families still spend hours preparing the sweet rice cake *gao*, made from glutinous rice steamed on banana-leaf mats, and Chinese shops feature this holiday delicacy along with candied lotus seeds, ginger, squash, carrot, papaya, pineapple, and special pastries.

Following Pearl Harbor, the Chinese went without their New Year's delicacies. Imports to Hawai'i had ceased, and even the "required" melon seeds were unavailable, so pine nuts brought in from the mainland were substituted.¹⁶

Present-day observation of the lunar New Year has expanded to include the general public in the merrymaking. For an evening, the streets of Chinatown in Honolulu are closed off to permit vendors of foods and knickknacks to set up small stalls to merchandise their wares. Practitioners of martial arts and colorful "dragon" dancers perform outdoors before enthusiastic crowds. Chinese restaurants feature multicourse dinners that include expensive and exotic delicacies of the season, and the royal court of the Narcissus Queen and princesses, garbed in brilliant silk gowns, parades among the onlookers.

During the holiday season, food markets, including the major mainland chain outlets, feature displays of special Chinese ingredients, dispense free recipes to shoppers, and sell brightly colored pictures of Chinese deities, including the God of the Kitchen, who watches over the household during the year.¹⁷ Community programs present Chinese cooking instruction and daily newspapers include appropriate recipes in their food sections.

Ching Ming, an annual ceremony held in the third lunar month in early April, has been an occasion for Chinese in Hawai'i to honor departed ancestors. Families still take food to the cemetery for offering on grave altars, and paper money, folded by family members into required shapes, is burned. Whole cooked pigs, portions of roast pork, chicken, fish, salted eggs, tofu, and rice are offered. Whiskey and tea in tiny cups are placed on the altar after some liquid is poured over the stone. Participants, standing before the graves with clasped hands, bow three times to honor the deceased. Fire-

crackers, exploded to chase away evil spirits, are used by a number of celebrants, who must now apply for special use permits to use fireworks in religious observances.¹⁸

The Moon Festival occurs on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. Shops sell sweet “moon cakes” impressed with semblances of animals, trees, or gods. An offering of rice and other dishes is made to the moon along with seasonal fruits and taro, which is said to have been the first food found with the aid of the moon’s light.¹⁹

In the early days of immigration, Chinese holidays required the making of appropriate food offerings in the temples. Thirteen such occasions were noted by a reporter in 1937, including the twelfth day of the New Year, the fifth day of the fifth month, and birthdays and death days of fathers and ancestors.

One six years later, in 1943, another informant notes:

It is not unusual to find a woman being reprimanded by her husband or Americanized children for wasting her money on such [food] offerings. Even today, however, in the face of shortages of incense, Chinese candles and mock money, the devout continue to pray and make offerings, but with substitutes. In the past only the best perfumed incense was used. Today they use mosquito punk. In place of red painted candles are ordinary American candles. For “ghost money” they burn wrapping paper cut in squares.²⁰

While there are still many worshippers who visit the Chinese temples, they are for the most part older people. Like religious leaders everywhere, the Chinese lament the disinterest in traditional religious practices evident among young people. Many of Hawai’i’s Asian temples are revived by the constant flow of new immigrants to the Islands, however, and many still offer services in languages other than English.

Chinese stores in Hawai’i stock the mock money, incense, and candles requisite for ceremonial presentations, and virtually every Chinese restaurant has a small shrine in some inconspicuous place, glowing with an electric “candle” to comply with modern fire safety laws.

Although the 1840 Constitution declared Hawai’i a Christian nation, Buddhist, Taoist, and Shinto temples continued undisturbed in their religious and social activities. Many immigrants were Christians before leaving their homelands and many converted after their arrival in Hawai’i to join active congregations. The first lighted Christmas tree in Hawai’i was that in the Fort Street Chinese Christian Church in 1841.²¹

When the Chinese Christian congregation gathered to observe Christmas services in Kohala on the island of Hawai’i in the 1880s, they prepared festive foods as part of the celebration. Ruth Lyman Rath recalled in 1972 that:

All of the Chinese pastries using yeast were from recipes which the missionary wives had taught them. The Chinese did not know of yeast before the coming of the Europeans, and since the German ladies were accustomed to potato yeast in Europe, this was the yeast used in Kohala. . . . Also many recipes from Europe were adapted to utilize available Chinese ingredients. . . . These items became culturally quite acceptable quite readily despite

the millennia of habits and traditions which prevailed in Kwangtung. That they did might indicate the “credibility” which the population vested in these missionary men and women, and it perhaps also points out the importance of making something as local and indigenous as possible.²²

A Chinese observer in the 1930s noted: “The second and third generations are losing taste for Chinese food and use American productions more and more. They enjoy the toast, cereals and milk, chocolate or coffee in place of Chinese sausage.”²³

Still, Chinese customs associated with birth, marriage, and death have persisted to varying extents in contemporary society.

Many new Chinese mothers are still fed a special dish of pigs’ feet, ginger, and vinegar, a traditional broth that is shared with visiting friends and family. When the newborn child is one month old, a special offering is made in the temple. “Slices of roast pork garnished with pickled ginger, dyed eggs and stuffed buns” are given to friends who have earlier given gifts to the child—usually jewelry, clothing, and money.²⁴

A writer in 1943 noted that because of “embarrassment, especially when their foreign friends looked on,” couples took part in Chinese wedding ceremonies “none too willingly.” The writer believed that “only reverence and obedience to their parents made them conform.” Further changes were brought about during the war years, when wedding festivities, which had sometimes lasted several days in the past, were required to be over before curfew.²⁵

Char, in 1975, noted that “the custom of the bride’s retiring and changing into a new dress to serve tea and candied fruits to friends and relatives still holds,” although in the Kirkendall study, no respondent describes this custom. Various factors may account for this and other departures from traditional ways, including the fact that a large percentage of the Chinese population is Christian or at least does not observe the traditional Chinese customs. In addition, there is a high rate of intermarriage among the various ethnic, racial, and cultural groups in Hawai’i, which would have an effect on the nature of the wedding celebration.

The post-wedding feast is common to many cultures, and the multicourse banquet once associated with wedding observances and Chinese celebrations of all kinds is commonly replaced with a meal, frequently served buffet style in a hotel meeting room, that includes foods representative of many ethnic traditions. Roast suckling pig is often presented at such a meal.

Char reports that prior to the wedding ceremony, there is a celebratory meal during which the bride alone dines with friends and relatives. This custom was not reported by any informant in the Kirkendall study. However, all respondents reported that the Western wedding cake, decorated with miniature bride and groom, was a necessary part of the marriage celebration, and some 20 percent mentioned the distribution

to guests of a wrapped piece of dark “groom’s cake” as being customary in their own families.

Chinese funeral customs have undergone great change in Hawai‘i. Many of the elaborate ceremonies practiced before immigration were not transferred to the Islands at all, and many others have been reduced to nominal observances. For example, the traditional three-day, three-night vigil kept by the family and friends of the deceased has been telescoped into a single ceremonial observance at the funeral home. Cremation, a practice introduced during World War II,²⁶ was unthinkable to early sojourners, who planned to be buried in the clan cemetery in China, but it is now as common among Chinese as it is among other ethnic groups in Hawai‘i.

Age is still venerated in Chinese families in Hawai‘i, as is evident in the following description of a contemporary birthday celebration:

Fifty-one, sixty-one, seventy-one, and ninety-one [are important birthdays]. Ninety-one supposed to be the last, see. Of course, the old custom, people go to the temple and ask God whether I supposed to celebrate say, my seventy-first birthday. They say—good. Then you can celebrate. If they say don’t mention, then you just forget about it and then you wait till eighty-one. . . . I celebrated my eighty-first birthday. That day I had 470 people [attending my birthday party].

It’s up to me to prepare the decorations [for my party]. My cousin gave me the Chinese *gau* (pudding). This *gau* weighs almost thirty-five pounds. It takes all day and all night to cook it. When you display the *gau*, you have it in a red container. Then you put paper money and two oranges for good luck. The [ceramic] peach was given to me by the Yong Sing Restaurant. . . . There was Chinese noodles for long life. . . . I had Chinese candy which we call *tong-gwor*—couple of boxes and bouquets of flowers people gave to me; *jin diu* [Chinese doughnuts]—a friend gave that . . . there are also good luck buns [filled] with either black sugar or coconut. I had peaches—peaches means good luck. There are also a lot of peach leaves to decorate on the table. I must have about fifteen cases of peaches which I gave [to guests].

All the pomelos from my own yard. It means good luck.²⁷

In 1935 a sociology student at the University of Hawai‘i detailed the changes in traditional etiquette that had taken place amongst the Chinese. She notes that although the custom was fast disappearing, it was still usual for men and women to eat separately except within the family circle. She describes the tenets of proper behavior at a meal:

It is the duty of the host to escort all his guests to their seats and to pour wine for them. When they have toasted one another, he takes up his chopsticks and makes a sweeping motion to include everybody and asks his guests to begin. Whereupon the guests respond and dip into the food. When all have done so, the host may begin. Rice is not served until the main course is completed. . . . It is considered polite for one to eat everything offered to him by the host, and especially to clean his bowl of every grain of rice. As children we have been taught that as a penalty for failing to clear up the bowl, we would marry a pock-faced man or woman when we grew up.²⁸

The author notes that her generation was taught that the passing of food must be done with both hands and that “only the unmannerly or unversed” raise their rice bowls to mouth level while eating. Children were taught that both hands should be in view while eating and that to eat with only one hand visible would cause the death of one or both parents. Chopsticks had to be handled with care since it was believed a spirit resided in each which could be annoyed or harmed if the chopsticks were ill-treated.

This daughter of immigrants notes with some nostalgia, “Although the Chinese living in Hawaii still cling to their conceptions of the traditional etiquette of China, they have been forced to make many modifications in response to Hawaiian conditions of life. The subsequent generations have come to accept the western forms of etiquette more and more. Emily Post supplants Li Ki as the arbiter of the social proprieties for most of the Chinese born in Hawaii.”²⁹

Chang, in his introduction to *Food in Chinese Culture*, holds that food in Chinese society amounts to a “preoccupation” and cites Lin Yutang’s observation, “No food is really enjoyed unless it is keenly anticipated, discussed, eaten and then commented upon. . . . Long before we have any special food, we think about it, rotate it in our minds, anticipate it as a secret pleasure to be shared with some of our closest friends, and write notes about it in our invitation letters.”³⁰

This interest in and concern for food is evident in contemporary Hawai‘i. A former Honolulu woman, author of a recently published book on Chinese cooking, recalls her mother’s careful training to enable her to discern subtle variations of taste and combinations of flavoring agents:

At every meal, as soon as we tasted the food, my mother asked us to tell her if each dish was good and if so, why. Or if it wasn’t good, why not. She knew the answer, of course, but she wanted us to learn. She’d say, ‘Can’t you tell that the chicken isn’t fresh? Can’t you tell it is one-day-old or two-day-old chicken?’ She made us tell her what kinds of spices and seasoning we tasted in each dish. When we didn’t know them all, she’d say, ‘Didn’t you taste it out?’ That’s how she taught us. As a result, we could go to restaurants, taste and analyze everything and go home and duplicate the dishes.³¹

This ability to discern seasonings in food is one that many Chinese informants in my own study have described as having acquired as children. This ability and the concern with subtle variations in flavor are expressed in adult years by individuals who frequent a particular restaurant based upon their opinion of the chef. It is common for customers to follow a particularly skilled chef as he moves from restaurant to restaurant.

Eating outside the home is a frequent and important recreational activity for Chinese people wherever they may live. Hawai‘i is no exception, and Chinese I surveyed indicated that their families ate outside the home an average of eight times per month, more than any other group in the study.

Restaurant service in Chinese culture has acted as the reservoir of ancient food behaviors associated with the impe-

rial court, and the early establishment of restaurants by an immigrant community has been a characteristic of Chinese population groups all over the world. The preeminent cultural concern for maintenance of traditional foodways and the restaurant's function as a vehicle for transmission of those behaviors have provided mutual reinforcement.

It is notable, for example, that chopsticks are offered first to all customers in Hawai'i's Chinese restaurants; forks may be made available, but it is the assumption of the proprietors that Chinese food should properly be eaten with chopsticks. This assumption extends to drive-in restaurants and roadside stands where Chinese food is available. The "chopstick cultures" (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) have preserved the use of this utensil as an integral aspect of traditional food behavior.

Establishments in Hawai'i that serve Chinese food to the public have also maintained the option of the diner to season food to his or her own taste. Salt and pepper, soy sauce, mustard, vinegar, and chili sauce are available at even the simplest roadside food stands in Hawai'i. The great majority of Chinese respondents in the Kirkendall study indicated that soy sauce was always on the table at home—sometimes alongside salt and pepper shakers. An investigation made by the author in forty-one Chinese restaurants in Honolulu revealed that 100 percent of the establishments provided soy sauce as an optional condiment.

Chinese snack food has gained a secure place in Hawai'i among residents of all cultural backgrounds. A common sight at beaches is the lunch wagon (often Chinese or Japanese operated), which serves plate lunches (a combination of Asian and Western foods) and manapua (a steamed, meat-filled bun) and sells packages of crack seeds (preserved fruit) as well as Western fast and snack foods. A building on the University of Hawai'i campus in Honolulu has on one outside wall a large, full-color mural of glass jars containing a variety of Chinese crack seeds. The mural was created by students in an undergraduate art class in 1981.

Of the several major geographical cuisines of China, the southern style as represented by the "Cantonese" (Hakka and Punti) immigrant group was the first and is still the most evident restaurant cuisine in Hawai'i. However, since the late sixties, other Chinese subcuisines have become popular. Following on the wave of popularity of ethnic cooking in the mainland United States, restaurants featuring "northern"-style preparation techniques have been established and have found enthusiastic fans in Hawai'i. The first of these restaurants was a five-table establishment operated by the wife of a University of Hawai'i professor. During the seventies, this small shop served pungently spiced dishes to crowds of Honolulu diners, who happily stood in line waiting for an available table. Since then, the number of such specialty Chinese restaurants has dramatically grown.

Chinese respondents in my study showed a strong preference for their own cuisine above any other ethnic cuisine. Persons who identified themselves as Chinese generally pro-

vided longer answers to questions posed, both in writing on the questionnaire and during interviews. Interestingly, responses to "What would be the meal of your dreams?" did not include only names of dishes; most respondents qualified the dishes with descriptions of foodstuffs and directions for their preparation. Most "dream meals" were so specifically described that they almost constituted lists of recipes. While this finding was unanticipated, it is understandable in retrospect, given the interest that Chinese commonly display in the subject of food.

Cuisine preferences, in descending order, for the Chinese participants were as follows:

1. Chinese (including Cantonese [in the majority], Hunanese, Pekingese, Shanghainese, and Szechwanese)
2. Euro-American
3. Japanese
4. Hawaiian
5. Korean

All Chinese respondents without exception indicated that they consumed rice at least once during the day, and many had two rice meals. Potatoes were also popular, however, with the preference being mashed potatoes. Chinese also indicated a fondness for milk as a drink, in ice cream, and as sour cream on baked potatoes, a clear adaptation to Euro-American cuisine, since milk and milk products are not generally utilized in traditional Chinese cuisine. Favorite dishes among Chinese respondents included food from all cuisines, not only Chinese. These respondents reported very little drinking of alcoholic beverages; favorite drinks indicated were sweetened soft drinks and coffee.

Table settings in slightly over half of Chinese homes were reported to include both chopsticks and fork/knife/spoon, with under 50 percent putting chopsticks alone on the table.

Like most Asian respondents, Chinese indicated no special celebration of Halloween, the Fourth of July, or St. Valentine's Day with special foods. However, without exception, all indicated they celebrated Chinese New Year with Chinese foods and Thanksgiving with turkey, very often prepared Chinese style. More than half reported preparing special Christmas foods (Western sweets predominated), and many celebrated the solar New Year with both Chinese foods and Western foods such as champagne and caviar. More than half the Chinese respondents indicated celebrating first-year and sixtieth- or sixty-first-birthday celebrations with a feast.

As noted, a major strength of Chinese food tradition has been its degree of adaptability in substituting, adding, or adapting forms and habits from other cultures. This ability to adjust has been evident within subgroups in China, among people of border areas and distant areas where there is a significant ethnically Chinese population, and among Overseas Chinese. The Nonya style of cooking on the Malay Peninsula illustrates this ability to adapt to local behaviors, with the result being the development of a distinctive cuisine.

Chinese gastronomy has had an important and lasting influence on other national cuisines. In Hawai'i, the Japanese, the Korean, the Filipino, and the Indochinese cuisines, which have been dramatically affected by very early Chinese historical influences, have also been strengthened in their own particular traditions by the model of early Chinese immigrants to Hawai'i, who retained a great number of their traditional ethnogastronomic practices.

This study supports the thesis that in its many aspects, Chinese gastronomy is both adaptive and persistent. In Hawai'i some food-related traditions have been lost under the constant pressure of Euro-American models of behavior. However, in response to the same cultural influences, Chinese in Hawai'i have adopted and accepted new foods, varying styles of food preparation, and once-alien customs.

NOTES

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Contemporary Overseas Chinese Ethnicity in the Pacific Region

Edgar Wickberg

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INTRODUCTION

What does it mean to live outside China but “be Chinese” in the late twentieth century? In pursuit of answers to this question, I have examined both writings on the Overseas Chinese and the more general literature of ethnicity. My own work on Overseas Chinese has tended to focus on the Philippines and on mainland North America—that is, on Canada and the mainland United States (Wickberg, 1965; Wickberg et al., 1982; Wickberg, 1988). Work by other people on Overseas Chinese tends also to focus on individual countries, not unreasonably, since the living conditions of Overseas Chinese exhibit important variations from one country to another. More general studies of ethnicity, too, with few exceptions (e.g., Banton, 1983), usually examine several ethnic groups within a single country or a very few countries. The idea of taking one group and looking at it comparatively in several national and regional situations seems not very common.

In my most recent work I have been heading in the direction of broader cross-national and cross-regional comparisons of Overseas Chinese ethnicity. I attempted to compare Overseas Chinese ethnicity in North America with that in Southeast Asia (Wickberg, 1988). These two geographic regions are almost never compared in research on the Overseas Chinese. Yet in my recent study I found that, despite tremendous differences in cultural, social, and political contexts and in immigration history, there are some broadly important similarities between Chinese people in the two regions. I argued that organizational trends could give us some rough ideas about the state of ethnicity in Overseas Chinese communities. I did not argue that an Overseas Chinese community with many Chinese organizations was somehow “more Chinese” than a community with few. Rather, I said that an increase in the number of organizations since, say, World

War II (a watershed date in Overseas Chinese history) and the development of certain kinds of organizations would indicate that assimilation was not occurring. It would also, I believed, give us some ideas about what was taking place in terms of ethnicity.

My general findings were that since 1945, first, in almost every country in Southeast Asia and North America there has been an increase in the number of Overseas Chinese organizations. Second, in both regions there has been a decline in the relative importance of China-derived political organizations (the Guomindang, Chee Kung Tang, etc.). Third, there has been a general increase in the number of youth-related and professional-related organizations. And fourth, there has been an increase in religious organizations, whether of major Asian religions in Southeast Asia or non-mainstream Christianity in mainland North America. Based on these and other findings, my conclusion was that what is happening in both Southeast Asia and North America is not assimilation but various kinds of integration (Wickberg, 1988).

In the present paper I intend to shift the focus to five places in the Pacific region. Two of them are Asian, though very different from one another: the Philippines and Japan. Two others are mainland North American and quite similar to each other: Canada and the United States. The other is Hawai‘i, which appears to have at once characteristics found in Asian and in North American Overseas Chinese contexts, but also some others of its own.

In this paper, as in my 1988 paper, I wish to point out five kinds of Overseas Chinese organizational needs: (1) competitive interest articulation; (2) social welfare; (3) expression (as of religious sentiments or social status); (4) “resinification”—that is, a concern for reviving and transmitting aspects of Chinese culture, particularly to younger generations; and (5) negotiation, meaning negotiation with the larger society in the interests of the Overseas Chinese community.

Finally, in this paper I will give more than usual attention to the active role of China in contributing to Overseas Chinese ethnicity. Usually, changes in Overseas Chinese ethnicity are seen to be associated with changes in the local environment. I will argue that it is of equal importance to analyze changes in China itself and in its relationship to the individual host countries where Overseas Chinese are found.

As China changes and redefines itself culturally, the meanings of “China” and “Chinese” change for Overseas Chinese. And China’s changing economic and political relationships both with the Overseas Chinese directly and with their host countries also condition Overseas Chinese ethnicity.

ETHNIC REDEFINITION: STIMULI AND POSSIBILITIES

In my opinion, Overseas Chinese ethnicity—whether individual or collective—is extremely complex. It varies with time, space, circumstance, and situation. It is shaped initially by the Chinese subethnic group from which a given person or group of Chinese emigrants came: Cantonese, Hokkiens, Hakkas, etc. One’s conception of “Chineseness” is further shaped by the particular overseas context and comparisons therein with other groups and other cultural norms. It is still further molded by changes in conceptions of China at the national level. Once China is thought of—by both Chinese in China and Chinese overseas—as at least prospectively a modern nation, “modernity” becomes a necessary component of “Chineseness.” It is not enough to be “Chinese” in some traditional way; it becomes necessary to be both culturally Chinese and culturally modern. This way of looking at Overseas Chinese ethnicity is, it seems to me, more accurate than assertions about the attractiveness of general “modern culture” to the Overseas Chinese (e.g., Coughlin, 1960, chap. 9; Yamada, 1983, 33).

It seems to me that as long as there is some incentive, pressure, or concern about remaining “Chinese,” the attractiveness of “modernity” will be thought of by Overseas Chinese as the attractiveness of Chinese modernity. For Overseas Chinese, as indeed for all Chinese since 1900, the cultural question remains how to be both “modern” and “Chinese.” There may indeed be a universal, transcendent modern culture, but that is, I believe, a nonissue to most Overseas Chinese. The issue is whether to remain a modern Chinese or hyphenated Chinese (Chinese-Filipino, Chinese-Canadian, etc.), if the possibility is there, or to become an unhyphenated modern Filipino, Canadian, or whatever. It is either Chinese modernity or someone else’s modernity or a combination thereof.

What, then, are the stimuli, incentives, pressures, and concerns that cause Overseas Chinese individuals and groups to redefine their ethnicity? “Redefine” may not be the best word here, since it seems to imply a necessarily rational process of decision and selection. It might be better to speak instead of situations and circumstances that raise the question of ethnicity in ways that cannot be ignored.

The first of these is replenishment of the Overseas Chinese community in a given country. Newcomers from China or other Overseas Chinese communities provide alternative examples of “Chineseness”—ones that contrast and may conflict with the prevailing conceptions in the local Chinese community. The extreme cases occur when a large influx of

newcomers arrives after a long period of accommodation or even “creolization” of a given community. One classic example of this is the Chinese mestizos and the new wave of Chinese immigration in the Philippines after 1850 (Wickberg, 1965); another is the *peranakans* of Java and the large influx of newcomer *totoks* from China in 1900 (Williams, 1960). A good post-World War II example is furnished by Canada, where twenty-five years of nonreplenishment (1923–47) has been followed by forty years of replenishment (Wickberg et al., 1982). This kind of process produces not only social cleavages along local vs. outsider-newcomer lines, but cultural competition as well—competition that the newcomers, if numerous, with their more recent version of Chinese culture, are likely to win.

The importance of replenishment to the maintenance of ethnicity is well known, but it has its limits as an explanation of ethnicity maintenance and resurgence. In the postwar era, while mainland North American Chinese communities have experienced massive replenishment, Asian Overseas Chinese communities have had almost none. Yet in both Japan and the Philippines (and generally throughout Southeast Asia), ethnic organizations have continued to proliferate (Wickberg, 1988; *Huaqiaozhi Riben*, 1965, 200–223; *Huaqiaozhi: Congzhi*, 1978, 214–23, 241). In the prewar era these positions were reversed; Asian Overseas Chinese communities were steadily replenished but North American ones almost not at all. Yet mainland North American Chinese communities continued to produce new ethnic organizations (Wickberg, 1980). And in Hawai’i, where it might have seemed that the Chinese community of the 1930s was on its way to assimilation (Glick, 1938), that community began to produce Chinese clan associations, stoutly maintained its Chinese schools, and created Chinese Buddhist associations by the 1950s (Glick, 1980, 288; Chou, 1954, 33–35; Lau, 1975, 84; Young, 1973, 71, 75; Young, 1972).

A second stimulus or reminder of one’s “Chineseness” is what I have called “visibility.” I think of this as being of different kinds: physical, economic, cultural, and nominal. Physical visibility varies in degree across a spectrum of the five areas we are considering. Thus, in Canada and the mainland United States, people of Chinese background are conspicuously visible in physical terms, with accompanying cultural assumptions about them on the part of non-Chinese. Physical visibility is important in North American society and will be for a long time to come. For a North American Chinese questions of ethnicity are heavily and unavoidably influenced by having a “Chinese face.” In Hawai’i and the Philippines, physical visibility is somewhat less salient than in North America, and in Japan there is enough overlap in physical appearance between Chinese and Japanese that many Chinese—especially long-term residents—can “pass” as Japanese if they wish.

Economic visibility is strongest in the Philippines and all through Southeast Asia. The occupational concentration of people of Chinese background (until quite recently) in cer-

tain key economic positions has been as important to their visibility and accompanying stereotypes as has physical visibility in North America (Wickberg, 1988). In Japan, some Chinese are engaged in international commerce and others are Tokyo intellectuals and professionals. But these are hardly occupations monopolized by Chinese. And the other characteristic Chinese occupations—restaurant owner, barber, tailor, and the like (Yamada, 1983, 27)—are not ones that readily excite envy among non-Chinese. Roughly the same may be said of the Chinese occupations in the mainland United States and Canada. Whether the status of many Hawaiian Chinese as professionals and business owners excites envy is a question I leave to others to answer. Even in the Philippines, where economic visibility is most important, the recent easing of policy restrictions on Chinese citizenship and access to professional occupations is likely to result in some deconcentration of Chinese economic activity, thereby reducing the effects of economic visibility on Chinese conceptions of themselves.

Cultural visibility, unlike physical and economic visibility, is entirely voluntary. Little can be done about physical appearance, and economic visibility is often conditioned by host-society policies and restrictions. But nobody requires the Chinese overseas to maintain a Chinese-style family system, eat Chinese food, practice certain Chinese arts, or engage in Chinese religious practices. When visibly done, these practices may mark those doing them as Chinese. But over time Chinese cultural practices have become increasingly acceptable in host societies, and some—Chinese food, for example—are shared with other groups everywhere. More about this below.

Nominal visibility—that is, visibility because of possessing a Chinese or Chinese-derived name—is found everywhere. But it is not important everywhere. In the Philippines, where occupation seems to be most important, possession of a Chinese or Chinese-derived surname has not been a major impediment to social acceptance and mobility. Thus Tan, Lim, and Yap have become Filipino surnames, and some major leaders have had names like Ongpin, Teehankee, and Cojuangco. Nominal visibility may be of greatest importance in Japan just because in so many other ways the Chinese are, or can be, almost invisible. Physical and cultural overlaps between China and Japan and the relative unimportance of Chinese occupational patterns in Japan leave names as the major distinction. Even those can be concealed, if desired, by taking a Japanese name—sometimes the mother's surname, if she is Japanese (Zang and Jiang, 1959, 131–32; Sugawara, 1979, 228). Baseball star Oh Sadaharu has at least a Japanese personal name. But academics like Dai Kokki (Dai Guohui) and Ko Sekai (Xu Shijie) simply render their Chinese names according to the Japanese sound of the characters, which produces names most Japanese would recognize as un-Japanese.

Visibility aside, there are certain economic advantages and disadvantages to being Chinese or being so considered

by others, and these too raise questions about one's ethnicity. Maintenance of a Chinese identity facilitates access to occupational and trading networks and the jobs that go with them. Some of these networks are internal to a given country and reflect the conditions of classic minority occupational concentrations. Others are part of international Overseas Chinese trading and other business networks. Always important in Southeast Asia and Hong Kong, these networks have recently extended and enlarged their importance in places like North America. To be part of these business networks requires language and cultural skills and, these days, usually a business education as well. Being Chinese may also be an advantage in seeking international employment with a non-Chinese firm. It has been said that Japanese companies sometimes hire Overseas Chinese in Japan not for trading relationships with China but as mediators in their trading relationships with Overseas Chinese networks in Southeast Asia (Sugawara, 1979, 166–70).

Some of the economic disadvantages of being or seeming to be Chinese are well known. Before World War II job discrimination was universal in mainland North America. Sometimes it took the form of professional codes that effectively excluded Chinese Americans or Chinese Canadians from certain professions. Thus, in western Canada, British Columbia's lawyers, pharmacists, and accountants maintained codes that excluded from their professions anyone not on the provincial voters list—knowing that Chinese had already been excluded from that list. Hence, the first Chinese Canadian lawyers were not called to the bar until the 1940s (Wickberg et al., 1982, 82, 205). In the Philippines, the nationalization of certain commercial activities (rice and corn trading and retail business) excluded Chinese, for whom attainment of citizenship was extremely difficult. Certain professions were also out of bounds for Chinese until recently.

Although these restrictions are disappearing in North America and the Philippines, they continue in Japan. Access to nationally funded universities is limited to Japanese citizens. Citizenship is not impossible to obtain (Sugawara, 1979, 201, 304ff). But even with citizenship and a degree from a prestigious national university—or without citizenship and a degree from an excellent private university—employment interviews are often traumatic. If the applicant's resume reveals or suggests that he may have non-Japanese ancestors, his chances for employment—with the government or a private firm—are likely to drop sharply. Thus, in Japan one sees characteristic patterns often observed elsewhere (particularly in earlier decades): Overseas Chinese with higher education retreating to Chinatown and ethnic occupations because of the traumas of competition outside. In Japan, this translates into Overseas Chinese “defected salarymen” who, in doubt about their future in the Japanese work world, give it up and withdraw to the safety of ethnic occupations (Sugawara, 1979, 176ff; Zang and Jiang, 1959, 108).

Besides the advantages and disadvantages of being Chinese in terms of jobs, there are, as conditioning factors,

questions about the cultural opportunities: can one be anything else but Chinese in the country one is in? How attractive and accessible is the dominant culture of that country? How easy are intermarriage and citizenship? What cultural accommodations are possible? Is hyphenated status (Chinese-American, Chinese-Filipino) culturally acceptable?

In the Philippines, intermarriage has long been widely practiced, with important results in the formation of modern Philippine society. But until the last fifteen years, Philippine citizenship was almost impossible for any but the richest Chinese to obtain. Anyone else whose patrilineal ancestors were Chinese was classified (until the mid-1970s) as a citizen of the Republic of China or Taiwan, whether he wished it or not. Place of birth and personal commitment did not matter. In a grotesque example of where such a policy could lead, Quintin and Rizal Yuyitung, Philippine-born publishers of a mildly left-wing Chinese newspaper in Manila, were abducted in 1970, with the connivance of the Marcos government, to stand trial in Taiwan on charges of sedition against their country of citizenship (*New York Times*, May 25, 1970, 11).

Since the mid-1970s it has become much easier for Philippine Chinese to acquire Philippine citizenship and there has been a rush to do so (Wang, 1976b, 256; HJN, 1984–85, 195). This is not surprising since, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the Chinese community has not been replenished by new immigration and hence is made up largely of people born in the Philippines. Another sign that Filipino attitudes toward the Chinese are changing is the recent visit of President Aquino to her “ancestral village” in South China during her trip to China in the spring of 1988. Members of the important segment of the Filipino elite that is partly Chinese in origin used to attempt to distance themselves from the Chinese part of their background. They did this by joking about having pigtailed ancestors (thereby implying they had come a great distance since then), by publicly maintaining ignorance of things Chinese, or even by professing some hostility to the Chinese. President Aquino’s visit—aside from its ceremonial importance to China-Philippines relations—is a kind of symbolic statement that it is now acceptable to treat one’s Chinese background seriously (*Asiaweek*, April 29, 1988, 10). After her return to Manila, President Aquino joined Cardinal Jaime Sin, who is also of Chinese descent, in supporting a television documentary and stage play project on the Chinese heritage in the Philippines (*Tulay*, October 16, 1988, I, 4, 12). Although popular attitudes toward the Chinese will not change overnight (Mei Nan, 1988, 5; Feng Nan, 1988, 4), apparent changes in Filipino elite attitudes may now make it possible for “Chinese-Filipino” or some other kind of hyphenated status to be culturally acceptable in the Philippines. The rise of the Kaisa group of young Chinese in the 1970s and 1980s is particularly significant because its members are committed to integration and to the use of the term “Chinese-Filipino.”

In some places—Canada, Hawai‘i, and the mainland United States—multiculturalism is accepted, in one way or another. Citizenship is by place of birth, rather than by descent, and intermarriage is increasingly accepted (especially, of course, in Hawai‘i). Hyphenated accommodations are acceptable, and indeed these are the lands that invented the terms that are most often used for such accommodations.

Japan, as usual, is another story. Most of the Overseas Chinese in Japan either were born there or are long-term residents, very much in touch with the Japanese environment (Yamada, 1983; Sugawara, 1979, 164, 180–84). Citizenship is by descent, and naturalization, though not always easy to get, is accessible. Decisions about seeking it often accompany decisions about intermarriage (Sugawara, 1979, 175–76, 189). There appears to be a small but steady flow of naturalization applications (Sugawara, 1979, 203), but there are sometimes blips influenced by political changes. Thus, when Premier Tanaka went to Beijing in the early 1970s and Japan’s relations with the mainland were subsequently normalized, applications for naturalization increased (Sugawara, 1979, 304ff). I have seen no statistics on intermarriage, but in one Chinese school in Japan (perhaps an extreme case) it was found that the parents of 35 percent of the children were mixed couples, usually a Chinese father and a Japanese mother (Zang and Jiang, 1959, 131–32). Some Japanese writers also speak of the frequency of intermarriage (Yamada, 1983, 12ff).

But Japan is famous for its homogeneity of population and for what one might call its “uniculturalism.” In common with the Scandinavian countries and some other parts of the world, Japan is a very homogeneous society. Much has been written recently about the Japanese treatment of the Koreans in Japan, the largest cultural minority there. The Chinese in Japan, with a stable, unreplenished population of slightly over fifty thousand, are a tiny group in comparison to the Koreans, who are ten to fifteen times as numerous (Sugawara, 1979, 330–31). Like the Koreans, the Chinese are subject to fingerprinting and demands by the Japanese police to see identification documents. These legal requirements, long in existence, have recently been renewed in the new Alien Registration Law (*Sing Tao International*, June 1, 1988). Given these conditions, it is difficult to imagine that any kind of hyphenated accommodation (like “Chinese-Japanese”) will become acceptable in Japan.

Japanese have accepted Chinese food enthusiastically. Indeed, there has been a boom in Chinese food in Japan since World War II, and one of the things that keeps alive Japan’s only Chinatown—Zhonghua Street in Yokohama—is the restaurants and the Chinese ambience they maintain for Japanese patrons. But even here, as Japanese cooks become more skilled in Chinese cooking (Sugawara, 1979, 130–40), it may be possible to have the Chinese ambience without having the Chinese.

Finally, as an influence on ethnicity, there is the “China factor.” The attractions of local culture are countered by

those of China and of various versions of Overseas Chinese culture. Here, the “modernity” element must certainly be involved. On an individual basis, the Chinese in the Philippines may be pulled toward the familiar Philippine environment but at the same time toward the values and practices of the Chinese family system. In such a case, the relative modernity of Filipino versus Chinese may become critical. In the Philippines, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, it is possible for Chinese to think of Overseas Chinese culture as somehow more “modern” than the cultures native to Southeast Asia. If one emphasizes the possession of business and technical skills as an aspect of modernity, it can certainly appear that way. This is quite different from the situation in Japan, North America, and Hawai‘i. In these places it is difficult for people of Chinese background to feel any sense of greater modernity despite the achievements of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Overseas Chinese (see, e.g., Yamada, 1983, 29, 33).

When speaking of Overseas Chinese ethnicity at the individual level it is, I believe, valuable to draw upon the idea of “conscious models.” Here I am following the work of the anthropologist Barbara Ward, an unusually astute observer of Chinese society (Ward, 1965). I would argue that Overseas Chinese draw upon several models of “Chineseness.” These models are likely to be urban centered because this makes them more readily applicable to the usually urban situation of Overseas Chinese. I believe that such models come from personal experience and are therefore as varied as this experience may be. To be urban and to be “Chinese” may be to be like people in the market town near one’s “home village” in China (for anyone old enough to have been there); or like those in the county town; or the provincial capital; or Amoy, Taipei, or Hong Kong. These models not only are numerous and varied in space but change over time.

The critical point is that we recognize that varieties of a modern Chinese urban culture and society grew up in the coastal treaty port cities and Hong Kong in the early twentieth century. The most conspicuous descendant of this treaty port culture and society is contemporary Hong Kong. The availability of this kind of modern urban Chinese identity to Overseas Chinese is extremely important. In its most attractive form, this model says that “Chinese” means a successful urban business or professional person whose cultural commitments are “modern.” One might go beyond this to imagine an ultimate, all-purpose model for Overseas Chinese ethnicity: a modern, family-oriented, Chinese-looking person who speaks Chinese (probably Mandarin); is successful in various pursuits, economic and noneconomic; and has skills in certain Chinese arts that are acceptable abroad (Wickberg, 1988).

The emergence in recent decades of models of Chinese modernity—most conspicuously Hong Kong, but secondarily Taiwan and now, incipiently, the mainland—is extremely important. In part these developments are the result of economic growth and involvement in international trade and finance. But it is necessary to remember that there

is a long history of self-redefinition in China, beginning about 1900, that bears on the conceptions of “modern Chineseness” that Chinese people—both at home and abroad—have today.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese governments began to promote modernization, and both government and private individuals and groups began to see China in a worldwide comparative context. This inevitably raised questions about how China could be modern, as defined by the most technically advanced countries, and also remain Chinese. These questions were brought up again, with dramatic force, in the May Fourth Movement that centered on the year 1919. This second attempt to define China as still China but also modern was followed, as a result of political changes, by a third effort in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The Guomindang government of Chiang Kai-shek, newly arrived in power, presented its version of a modernity suitable to China. After 1949 the Communists had their turn on the mainland, while Chiang’s supporters had a chance for a new vision on Taiwan. Finally, the Modernization Program on the mainland is yet another vision of a modern China, not quite like any of the others.

All these visions and versions have included efforts to overcome what is seen as the parochialism of region or locality orientation. Since the 1920s Mandarin has been the language of the schools in China and Chinese governments have attempted—with varying success—to encourage its use in Chinese schools abroad. Not only have there been persistent efforts to encourage nationalism, as opposed to parochialism, but national-level culture has also been promoted; for example, the Mandarin language has been presented as superior to any regional or local dialect or language.

In Overseas Chinese communities, the major nonfamilial institution of ethnic maintenance since 1900 has been the Chinese school. In Asia, Chinese schools have been full time, with curricula representing compromises between the interests of aid-giving Chinese governments, the restrictions of host-society governments, and the aims of the Overseas Chinese themselves (Blaker, 1970). On this subject, as on some others, the Philippines represent an extreme case. As part of their close relationship between 1949 and 1975, the Philippine government let the Taiwan government determine the content of Chinese education in the Philippines and thereby define the “Chinese culture” to be taught there (Blaker, 1970, 252). But since 1975 the Chinese schools in the Philippines, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, have been in retreat, the object of government restrictions on content. In the Philippines, Chinese-language instruction has now been reduced to one hundred minutes per day (Chen Lieh-fu, 1979, chaps. 18–19, pp. 455, 457).

In Japan the uniform affiliation of Chinese schools with Taiwan ended in 1952, when several schools split into pro-Taiwan and pro-mainland groups. Competing schools were then formed. The relative enrollments of each (and thus the

relative numbers of students receiving the Taiwan and mainland versions of modern Chinese cultural instruction) appear to have followed the international political fortunes of the two Chinese governments. As Taiwan's international political status declined in the 1970s and as Japan changed its affiliation to the mainland, Chinese students in Taiwan-affiliated schools in Japan transferred in substantial numbers either to mainland-affiliated schools or to Japanese schools (Sugawara, 1979, 186, 255ff, 262, 274; Zang and Jiang, 1959, 34–35, 105).

Unlike the Asian Chinese schools, the North American “after-school” Chinese schools were always seen as supplementary to existing local educational institutions. Where in Asia Chinese schools were intended to provide both job-skill training and Chinese cultural instruction, in North America they provided only the latter. Before 1945, however, attendance at North American Chinese schools was a serious business in job terms, too. The relatively few children present in Chinese communities of that era could expect to get few jobs outside of Chinatown, and Chinatown jobs required competence in Chinese (Wickberg, 1988).

After 1945 the opening of job opportunities outside of Chinatown made these schools and their instruction seem, for a time, to be unnecessary. More recently, as prospects for trade with China have developed and as an interest in resinicification has appeared in some North American Chinese communities, new cultural centers and other organizations have sponsored language and cultural instruction either in Cantonese or in Mandarin (Wickberg, 1988).

In the United States public schools and universities have been the loci since the 1960s of Asian American Studies programs. These have added a new dimension to Chinese Americans' perceptions of themselves because they focus on the common experiences of all Asian Americans and stress the value of common political action.

The Asian American identity of Chinese Americans is probably without parallel elsewhere. In the milder socio-political climate of Canada, where there has been no Black Power Movement to act as a spearhead, ethnic consciousness movements of the last twenty years have been the private causes of individual groups under a government policy of multiculturalism.

Even in Hawai'i, a part of the United States, the Asian American definition lacks the sharp bite of its mainland counterpart. Instead, the striking things (to me, at least) about resinicification in Hawai'i are how early it began to be of concern and how little it seems to have been influenced by community replenishment (which has been rather slight). The pattern of Chinese American association formation ever since the 1940s suggests a strong community interest in the preservation and transmission of Chinese culture (United Chinese Society, 1984). To an outside observer, the picture appears to be one of a community so successful at adapting to its environment that it began to fear disappear-

ance. Restrictions on ethnic schools in Hawai'i during World War II alerted the community to what might happen. Subsequently, the postwar drive for statehood, increased White immigration, and general internationalizing trends after 1965 have all had an influence (Ng, 1988, esp. 22–24, and see Ng article in this journal issue). But neither resinicification nor its Asian American component can be separated from the special circumstances of Hawai'i and the context of definitions of Hawaiian society and culture.

How has China viewed resinicification? Both Taiwan and the mainland have maintained their interest in supporting Overseas Chinese schools (Sugawara, 1979, 217; Zhang et al. 1986, 15). Taiwan has gone much further in developing direct support, as indeed it has in promoting all kinds of Chinese organizations overseas. The Philippine Chinese community, for example, is highly organized in part because of the substantial influence of Taiwan over several decades (Wickberg, 1988).

Support of Overseas Chinese organizations and involvement in their affairs did not, however, begin with the post-1949 competition between Taipei and Beijing. Since the beginning of the twentieth century Chinese governments have tried to influence Overseas Chinese communities. From then until 1940 most Chinese governments encouraged the Chinese outside of China to think of themselves as Overseas Chinese, or *huaqiao*—sojourners whose ultimate commitment was to China. Probably at no time in the history of overseas residence by Chinese people were those people so firmly, so uniformly linked to China. As Wang Gungwu has pointed out (1976a), this was not only the time when the term “*huaqiao*” came into usage; it was also the time when it best fitted the reality of Overseas Chinese cultural, political, and other relationships with China.

Since 1949, and especially in the 1970s and 1980s, two new terms, expressing new realities, have come into use. These are “*huaren*” and “*huayi*.” *Huaren* are persons of Chinese origin living outside of China and frequently no longer citizens of China yet retaining some cultural affiliation to it. *Huayi* are the descendants of earlier waves of Chinese migration overseas, born abroad and at least prospectively citizens of the countries in which they reside (Chen Lieh-fu, 1979, pref. p. 2; Wang, 1976b, 251ff). Thus, in a general way, it can be said that it is accurate to describe Asian Chinese communities as communities of *huayi*, because they have been so slightly replenished in recent decades that most of their members are now locally born descendants of earlier immigrants. Mainland North America, while not lacking in *huayi*, has continued to have its Chinese population replenished by immigration—so much so that the majority of the Chinese there were not born in the United States or Canada and hence can be considered *huaren*.

Hawai'i's Chinese population, unlike those of the mainland United States and Canada, remains predominately local-born (see Tsai and Gardner, 1988, 3, 10–11). It thus is fair

to speak of Hawai'i in these terms as more like Asia than like mainland North America—a land of mostly huayi. Needless to say, these perceptions of overseas communities as made up of huaqiao, huaren, and huayi have influenced and will continue to influence Chinese governments' policies and expectations regarding Chinese people outside of China.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing has been a rather impressionistic set of comments and suggestions, based on wide reading and considerable thought but, given the subject, inevitably difficult to put on firmly documented ground. In what follows I will briefly summarize the nature of the Chinese populations in the areas discussed, introduce some additional considerations that bear on ethnicity, and finish with some rash predictions.

First, what size populations have we been talking about? Estimates of "ethnic Chinese" populations are inherently difficult to use because the methods by which they are made are almost never fully specified. In the case of the mainland United States we are speaking of a population of perhaps one million or more (HJN, 1984–85, 366). A common estimate for the Philippines is six hundred thousand. The Canadian Chinese population is now at least three hundred thousand and may be approaching the size of that in the Philippines. Japan and Hawai'i are the small ones, each with somewhere in the range of twenty-five to seventy-five thousand (HJN, 1984–85, 265, 266). In each case, the Chinese population represents a small fraction of the total population of the larger society.

Mainland American Chinese tend now to be clustered in such major urban and suburban centers as metropolitan New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Houston. Canada's Chinese population is even more concentrated. The twin poles, metropolitan Toronto and Vancouver, dominate and there are several much smaller centers. As in the United States, satellite Chinatowns proliferate in the metropolitan areas. Hawai'i's Chinese population is now found almost entirely in the Honolulu area. The Philippine Chinese population, although widely distributed in major cities, retains a focal point in Manila Chinatown and the Metro Manila area. In Japan, Chinese in significant numbers have long been found only in Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo, and Osaka.

There is considerable variation in the subethnicity of these various Chinese communities. In mainland North America, what were once solidly Sei Yap Cantonese communities with Sam Yap and Zhungshan minorities have now accepted large numbers of newcomers from elsewhere—especially Taiwan, in the case of the United States, and Hong Kong, in the case of Canada. In Hawai'i, the long-standing pattern of Zhungshan majority and Hakka minority is still in place because later migration from Hong Kong and Taiwan, unlike that in mainland North America, has been small relative to the size

of the community as a whole. The Philippines, as before, has a Hokkien community with an important Cantonese minority. The Chinese community in Japan, though small, is quite diverse. Before World War II it was made up of Guangtong (Cantonese), Fujian (Hokkiens), and Jiangnan people from the Ningbo-Shanghai region—migrants who had followed long-established trading routes from China to Japan. Then, as a result of decisions by the victorious allied forces, the Taiwanese residing in Japan changed status overnight in 1945 from Japanese colonials to members of the Chinese minority group. In so doing, they doubled the size of the Overseas Chinese group in Japan and became the leading component of it, 50 percent of the total (Sugawara, 1979, 110; Zang and Jiang, 1959, 5, 12–17).

Despite their differences, the Chinese communities in all the areas we are looking at share a concern about resinification. Perhaps that is in response to the greater opportunities now available to Chinese in the larger society in North America, or fears of the cultural effects of naturalization, or an awareness of the effects on the huayi of the Philippines of lessened contact with China (See, 1976, esp. 181–90). Whatever the reason, the number of "national arts" and other youth organizations is impressive. Some of these, like martial arts groups, are often attached to some of the oldest, most parochial Chinese organizations in the Philippines and in Canada (Wickberg, 1988). One wonders to what extent such organizations may be able to preserve local, subethnic versions of Chinese culture abroad, or whether resinification of Overseas Chinese communities inevitably means "mandarinization" in all aspects of culture (cf. Yamada, 1983, 19). Perhaps it is not surprising that when the Vancouver Chinese Cultural Centre created a Chinese garden on its premises recently, it chose a national type, a Suzhou-style garden, and named the garden after Sun Yat-sen, a Cantonese with national ambitions and achievements. Future struggles may be not between national and parochial culture but between national modern Chinese and international modern Chinese culture.

It is this question that comes up when we observe the sharing of Chinese culture with non-Chinese that is promoted in some Overseas Chinese communities. Vancouver's Suzhou Chinese Garden could only have been built by enlisting the money and voluntary efforts of many non-Chinese. The Vancouver Chinese Cultural Centre is itself an organization whose membership is open to non-Chinese while it simultaneously promotes Chinese culture to the Chinese. Thereby, what belongs most intimately to the Chinese also belongs, in another sense, to the non-Chinese. This advertising and sharing of aspects of Chinese culture with non-Chinese is not so new; it has been practiced in Hawai'i for some time, and to a lesser extent in the mainland United States. The spirit of the Vancouver Cultural Centre's approach was echoed in a recent talk by Rizal Yuyitung, who is now back in the Philippines. Speaking to a group of Philippine Chinese writers, he argued that the way for Philippine Chinese

to integrate while retaining Chinese culture was to share that culture. In other words, one strengthens one's own possession of the culture by sharing it (Yuyitung, 1988, 16–18). One of the most interesting developments in Vancouver (and probably elsewhere in North America) has been the rise of Chinese martial arts clubs, which attract both young immigrants from Hong Kong and resituated third-generation Chinese Canadians. They also attract young White Canadians of both sexes (Wickberg, 1988).

Finally, here are some perhaps rash predictions. First, it seems to me that, given the proportions of its ethnic composition, Hawai'i is not likely to be a model for the future development of these other areas in the Pacific region. Its own degree and kind of integration are unique within the region and seem unlikely to be duplicated. If anything, Hawai'i's Chinese community, unless replenished on a much larger scale than it has been up to now, may become a creolized relic with a somewhat anachronistic definition of cultural "Chineseness."

Second, integration with workable ethnic maintenance—seemingly so far advanced in Hawai'i—seems to have good prospects in both Canada and the mainland United States and to at least be possible in the Philippines, but not in Japan. What I see in Japan is a continuation of what that community has been: neither integrated nor assimilated—a source of "cultural friction" to Japan (Yamada, 1983, 25). The critical factor is change in the basic Japanese practice of holding anything alien at arm's length. Such a change is unlikely to occur soon. Brief replenishment of the community may occur when Hong Kong becomes part of mainland China and when there are definite indications about the future of Taiwan. That may revive feelings of "Chineseness."

But at the other extreme there is the continued pull toward assimilation. In Japan the Chinese schools remain, as they were, full-time operations. But it has become common for parents to send children to Japanese high school following Chinese elementary school, in order to equip them for university study or the job market (Sugawara, 1979, 23–33; Zang and Jiang, 1959, 106). In other words, through force of circumstances rather than government regulations, the Japanese version of the Chinese school is becoming part time. Meanwhile, continued intermarriage also pulls in the direction of assimilation.

But without basic changes in Japanese attitudes it is likely that neither assimilation nor effective ethnic maintenance will be possible, and Japan's Overseas Chinese will remain caught in the predicament they are now in.

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