Economic betterment was the primary motivation for the immigration of the Chinese to Hawaii during the nineteenth century. As the first Asian immigration group in the Islands (later followed by Japanese, Koreans and Filipinos) they had little competition. The Chinese strove for economic success. Although most of the Chinese immigrants did not intend to remain permanently in the Islands, some did live there until they died. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, defending their political rights to protect their economic gains was important to the Chinese community, especially to those well-established Chinese who had maintained some kinds of close relations with the Caucasians in Hawaii. This study attempts to explain two things: first, how the efforts of the Hawaii Chinese to solve their problems, and the limits of their ability to do so, led them to become involved in political movements in China; and second, how the Chinese community in Hawaii was affected by such activities.

I. Nature of Chinese Immigrant Society(1)

In the nineteenth century, the deterioration of traditional economic and social conditions in China stimulated a wave of immigration at a time when Hawaii's economy was expanding. By mid-century, China was suffering from several severe problems, the worst being overpopulation, foreign encroachment, and the inability of the Manchu dynasty to put down internal rebellions. For potential emigrants, working abroad offered the possibility of economic benefit; at times it might have seemed like the only viable alternative.

On the other hand, Chinese immigration to Hawaii falls within the era of European development in the Pacific basin. In the early nineteenth century, American and European missionaries, planters, and merchants acquired considerable political influence over the Hawaiian monarchy. The Masters and Servants Act of 1850 and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States made contract labor legitimate under the monarchy and encouraged expansion in both sugar and rice planting. From 1850 to 1897, 115,000 laborers, including many Chinese were imported. The Chinese vigorously sought out opportunities for profit.

By 1910 Hawaii had a substantial Chinese population. According to the census of 1850 there were 1,572 foreign residents in the Islands. Perhaps fifty to a hundred of these were Chinese. By the time the plantations were established, mainly after 1850, the number of Chinese had increased to 364. A total of 411 Chinese had entered Hawaii by 1862. The census of 1866 showed 1,200. By 1872 the number had increased to over 1,900. The largest number of Chinese came during the ten-year period from 1876 to 1886. Later on, there was a smaller wave of immigration in 1890-1892. In 1910, there were 21,674 Chinese in the Islands, constituting 11.3% of Hawaii's total population.

Except for a few Fukienese, almost all the early Hawaii Chinese came from Kwangtung province. They divided themselves into four categories: Chung-shan (中山), Ssu-i (三邑), San-i (四邑) and Hakka. Chung-shan was known in Cantonese as Heung Shan (香山) until 1925 when the name was changed to commemorate Dr. Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙). People from Chung-shan made up the largest part of the Hawaii Chinese immigrant population. Chung-shan is divided into several subdistricts (tu or "doo" 都), which form the basis for territorial or subdistrict associations founded later in Hawaii. The second category is made up of a much smaller group coming from Ssu-i or "Four Countries" an area composed of the counties of Tai-shan (台山), Hsin-hui (新會), Kai-p'ing (開平) and En-p'ing (恩平). There were a few San-i people in the Islands. San-i,

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2 Thrum's Hawaiian Annual (Honolulu, 1903), 27.
4 In the text, the Wade-Giles version of romanization is provided with the Cantonese people or place name in parentheses. Most of the personal names are taken from the archival records, including case files, mortgage, leases as well as contracts and agreements where Chinese characters were signed. The Cantonese place names are taken usually from the Directory of the Chinese Societies (Honolulu: United Chinese Society, 1975).
"three counties" is composed of the counties of Pan-yu (Pun yu番禺), Shun-te (Shun tak順德), and Nan-hai (Nan hoy南海). These people had formed their societies based on the localities of Ssu-i and San-i and formally made no finer distinctions with regard to origin for organizational purposes. (5) The Hakka came from the counties of Pao-an (Pao on寶安), Hui-chou (Wai chou惠州), Tung-kuan (Tung kun東莞), Chia-ying-chou (Ka ying chou嘉應州) and Hsiang-san. In Hawaii, Punti had been used as an "in-group" term for any Chinese who was not Hakka, regardless of the district from which he came.

The fact that such a large proportion of the Hawaii Chinese were Cantonese helped make them particularly attractive to the Chinese political leaders such as Dr. Sun Yat-shen and Liang Ch'i-chao (梁啟超). Dr. Sun had the advantage of being native Chung-shan and Liang of being Punti. In addition, over 98 percent of the Hawaii Chinese were adult males, and this gave the political leaders a potentially larger-than-normal audience. (6)

In the early period, there was no legal discrimination against the Chinese, and they were allowed to go into business, even to become naturalized Hawaiian subjects. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, merchants, were among the first Chinese to come to Hawaii, were primarily involved in two aspects of economic development in the Islands—agriculture and trade. These early Chinese were not only welcomed, but in some cases engaged in joint enterprises with the Hawaiian royalty and Westerners on the scene. In the 1840s and 1850s, governors of the islands of Maui and Hawaii made lands available to the Chinese for sugar production. Marriage between Chinese and Hawaiian women of high rank demonstrates the cordial relations which existed between these early Chinese and the Hawaiian elite. By 1845 at least one Chinese had been admitted to citizenship in the Hawaiian Kingdom. (7)

The economic success of the Chinese merchants assured them of informal political and social recognition. A striking example was the 1856 ball. The Chinese merchants of Honolulu and Lahaina gave a ball in honor of the marriage of King Kamehameha IV. "It was the most splendid affair of its kind that has ever occurred in Honolulu" according to the Honolulu English newspapers. The king, queen, and a large number of dignitaries attended. (8)

6 W. H. Wright, "Chinese Immigration to the Hawaiian Islands", Thrum's Hawaiian Annual, 78-79.
7 One of the prime reasons leading Chinese to become naturalized was a regulation requiring that any alien before marrying a Hawaiian must take an oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian Kingdom and became a Hawaiian subject. See Clarence Glick, "The Chinese Migrant in Hawaii: A Study in Accommodation", Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938, 384.
8 Adopted from accounts appearing in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 20, 1856; the Polynesian, November 15, 1856.
The rise of the Chinese in the economic scale continued for the next forty years. The Chinese, as the first large-scale immigrant group introduced into Hawaii, enjoyed the opportunity of entering occupations almost uncontested in addition to their employment as contract laborers. During the years between 1854 and 1874 the Chinese share in the commercial sector of the expanding Hawaiian economy also increased as more Chinese immigrants became involved in peddling, shopkeeping, wholesaling, restaurants and opium operations. The years between 1876 and 1892 marked the peak period of Chinese economic development under the monarchy. Chinese merchants successfully engaged in the rice industry, labor recruitment, general merchandise business, and legalized opium and spirits sales. (9)

However, despite the Chinese economic achievement, the large influx of laborers brought about a gradual lowering of the status of the Chinese group as a whole. Anti-Chinese agitation became intense in the decade 1878-1888. The Hawaiian government enacted discriminatory laws, regulations and resolutions directed against the Chinese living in Hawaii. For example the Workingman Party, formed in 1883, was intended to put a stop to the Chinese practice of underbidding Caucasians and Hawaiians for jobs. However, when the Chinese were thus singled out as a group distinct from other ethnic groups in the Islands, and discriminatory treatment was repeatedly directed at them, a strong sense of group consciousness and cooperation developed among them. (10)

Chinese merchants assumed the leadership of the Hawaii Chinese community during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From early on they strove for economic success, owned businesses and maintained good relations with Caucasians and Hawaiians. The wealth, knowledge and long-term experience of the merchants enabled them to stand out as leaders of the Chinese community. In the late nineteenth century, some made serious efforts to enter Hawaiian politics in order to safeguard their community and to protect the rights of Chinese immigrants.

II. Hawaii Chinese Enter into Politics under the Monarchy

1. The Establishment of a Chinese Commercial Agent

The establishment of a Chinese commercial agent was an important effort made to raise the Chinese status in the community. The Hawaii Chinese appealed to China to provide consular protection in 1878. Practical need and personal ambition

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9 See note 1.
10 Ibid.
motivated this action. It was evident that simple negotiation with Hawaiian officials was insufficient to protect Chinese rights. In China, holding public office was a prized position. Ordinarily it could be realized with a traditional education in the classics. Here was an opportunity to acquire a Chinese office without having to receive such an education and pass the imperial examinations. A number of Chinese merchants submitted a petition to Ch'en Lan-pin (陳蘭彬), the first Chinese minister to the United States, Spain and Peru for consular protection. They proposed that the Hawaii Chinese bear the expense of a consulate to be established in the Islands.(11)

Ch'en was aware of the mounting difficulties of the position of the Chinese in Hawaii. China had no treaty relations with the Hawaiian Kingdom, but the Ch'ing government, on the basis of Ch'en's report, decided to appoint a Chinese resident of Hawaii as 'commercial agent' (shang-tung 商董) "for the Chinese Empire in the Hawaiian Kingdom" with authority to report on Chinese matters to Minister Ch'en.

Ch'en Fong (also known as C. Afong 陳芳) was appointed to the post in 1879.(12) Chu Ho-chun (朱和鈞), an attache, was dispatched from Washington D. C. to Hawaii to help the commercial agent carry out his duties. In August of same the year, Yung Wing (楊閩), the associate minister in Washington D. C., sent a note to Elisha H. Allen, the Hawaiian Minister to the United States, notifying him of the appointment. However, due to the informalty of the letter Ch'en Fong did not receive his exequatuer until the following February.(13) Ch'en Fong was one of the most prominent and wealthiest Chinese in Hawaii during the monarchial period. In 1859 he married Julia Fayerweather whose Hawaiian genealogy contained ancestors of royal blood.(14) He was made a member of the Privy Council in 1879, the first Chinese be so honored.(15) As an importer of Chinese goods and labor recruiter he also had many dealings with Hawaiian government officials, particularly those in the Ministry of the Interior, the Board of Immigration, and the Custom Office.

Little is known about Ch'en Fong's work of improving the relations between the

12 Shortly after Ch'en Fong had forwarded the two thousand dollars famine relief fund to the Ch'ing government. The fund had been raised in response to news of suffering of inhabitants of north China under the initiative of the immigrant Chinese in Hawaii. Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 38.
14 Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 46.
15 Private Collection on C. Afong. A.H.
Chinese and the Hawaiian government during the two years or so he served as the first official representative of the Chinese. It appears that many Hawaii Chinese did not regard him as the leader of the community. His appointment had aroused the ire of some influential Chinese from the very beginning. Shortly after taking office, Ch'en Fong issued a placard which was posted on Hotel Street in the Chinese quarter. The document instructed all Chinese as to their duties under the Hawaiian government and enjoined them to be peaceful and law-abiding in order that they might be entitled to the assistance and protection, if necessary, of his office representing the Chinese government. A few days later the placard was posted over by another one. It not only ridiculed the original document but hinted that Ch'en Fong might have reason to expect violence to himself or his property. The Pacific Honolulu Advertiser reported the story and suggested that certain Chinese residents (without identifying names) were the authors or promoters of the second placard. (16)

Furthermore, the Hawaiian Foreign Office denied the commercial agent's jurisdiction over the Chinese. When Ch'en Fong sought be appointed Chinese consul in 1881, the Hawaiian government declined to recognize him in that capacity. (17) He resigned in early 1882. The president and vice-president of the newly founded United Chinese Society were appointed, respectively, as commercial agent and vice-commercial agent in Hawaii by the Chinese Minister. (18) The United Chinese Society was to play the leading part in Chinese community affairs for at least half a century.

2. Moreno's Chinese Connection

The Moreno episode signified the first attempts the Hawaii Chinese had made to get into the Islands' politics. Celso Caesar Moreno, a professional lobbyist well known in Sacramento and Washington D.C., arrived in Honolulu on the China Merchant Steam Navigation Company's ship "Ho-chung" in November 1879. One week later, he invited King Kalakaua, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Royal Chamberlain

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16 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, April 10, 1880.
17 On May 21, 1881, Ch'en Lan-pin and Yung Wing sent a note to Elisa H. Allen notifying him of the new appointment. When Ch'en applied to the Hawaiian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for an exequatur, the Ministry replied that an exequatur would be issued to him after the government had received the treaty draft between Hawaii and China, which China was about to present to the Hawaiian government. Ch'en and Yung told Allen that there was no treaty negotiation between the two countries and wanted the Hawaiian government to follow the examples of several countries which did not have treaty relations with Hawaii and yet had stationed consuls in the Islands. Allen replied on September 1, 1881 that King Kalakaua would stop in New York on his world tour, by then he would discuss the matter with him. Nevertheless, the Hawaiian government adhered to its decision not to allow China to station a consul in Hawaii. Kim, 1981, 386-387.
18 Kim, 1981, 387.
aboard the steamer to meet Fan Yau Ki, a wealthy Chinese industrialist from the said company (19). Moreno presented four proposals to the king. First, the Chinese company planned to establish a line of steamers between China and Honolulu, and later on to extend the line to California, and Callao, Peru, with the idea of securing a large share of passenger traffic between those ports and China. To opponents of Chinese immigration to the Islands, Moreno's plan brought much annoyance. The steam lines would, they were convinced, introduce unwanted immigrants and diseases.

Another of Moreno's schemes was the laying of ocean cable to connect the American and Asian continents. He had advocated the cable project for over ten years. While he succeeded in getting a cable act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1876, Moreno was unable to gain sufficient financial backing in America. Later he went to China. Although he was unsuccessful in raising the necessary capital, he made the acquaintance of some important Chinese, including Li Hung-chang (李鴻章), the Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Posts, and Tong King Sing, manager of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company.

The third plan was the liberalization of Hawaii's strict opium laws. Moreno advocated making Honolulu the opium processing and distribution center for the whole Pacific area. Finally, there was the ten-million dollar loan proposal. The loan bill was approved by the king and introduced to the legislature by representative Robert Hoapili Baker. Baker proposed that the government borrow $10,000,000 half of this to be spent in building forts and warships. Three million dollars would be used to buy gold and silver bullion to be converted into a national coinage. The rest of the loan would be used for such objects as hospital, boarding schools, harbor improvements, railroads, and irrigation works. There were rumors that part of the funds had been brought over on the steamer "Ho-chung" from China.

For the Chinese community, especially among the merchants, Moreno's schemes were highly welcome and beneficial. In the first place, regular steamship communication between Honolulu and China would serve not only for the conveyance of

19 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 22, 1890.
20 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 15, 1879.
21 In 1868, Moreno wrote a book on Americans interests in Asia, urging American capital and enterprise to utilize the opportunities he so presented to them. "The monopoly of the present British Ocean Cable Company has held the entire Pacific coast subject to its exactions ever since its organization by compelling travel a distance of 25,000 miles in order to reach China." Moreno continued, that "by the proposed new line, it will enable to reach the same point in a distance of 6,000 miles." Washington Chronicle, August 20, 1876, reprinted in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, January 24, 1880. Supplement.
22 In the above mentioned letters, Moreno mentioned these two persons often.
24 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August, 20, 1880; Kuykendall, 1967, 205-206; 211.
25 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 21, 1880.
passengers and cargo but would also provide postal facilities for Chinese in Hawaii. In the second place, a trans-Pacific cable company would form a connecting link between Chinese merchants at home and abroad. It would also give them a means of communication with Chinese merchants in California who had provided capital for some of the Chinese firms in the Islands. Finally, opium had been the most profitable business for Chinese merchants before the prohibition act of 1876. Moreno's bill would authorize Chinese exclusively to import, manufacture, export, sell, and consume opium. If the opium bill passed, there was to be one two-year license available to the Chinese only.

The legislature opened its session on May 1, 1880. As the legislature progressed, members became aware of a growing influence in public affairs— that of the Chinese. The legislature hall was filled daily with lobbyists for Chinese causes, who brought gifts to the members and gave mighty banquets. Moreno was undoubtedly the most active one among them. It was known that he was trying to secure the result by using money which had been provided by some Chinese merchants in Honolulu. The Caucasian-controlled legislature did not pass these bills.

The Moreno episode had a negative effect on the attitude of the Caucasians toward the Chinese. First, Moreno claimed that he was an agent for the Chinese Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, a Chinese government-sponsored undertaking. During his stay in Hawaii, his activities were also financed by some Chinese merchants. Therefore, he was naturally presumed to represent the Chinese. Second, there were less than 4,000 Caucasians in comparison to over 8,000 Chinese in Hawaii at the time. Tension had already existed in the community and it intensified with Moreno's activities. The year 1880 was a time of economic recession in the Islands, yet wealth in the Chinese commercial world led Chinese leaders from their marginal social position into politics. Ironically, this led to more discriminatory acts against them.

Walter Murray Gibson, an avowed opponent of Chinese immigration became premier and foreign minister in 1882. For the next five years, the policy of the administration was to promote Japanese immigration. After 1886, convinced that Japanese contract workers would fill the sugar planters' labor requirements, Gibson closed the door on the Chinese. The Anti-Chinese movement then shifted its focus to

26 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 15, 1879.
27 Hong Kong Newspaper, August 17, 1876; North China Daily News, Peking, October 20, 1879. Both letters were reprinted in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 29, 1879 and December 6, 1879.
30 Kuykendall, 1967, 211.
31 Initiating Japanese immigration was the most important contribution of the Gibson regime to the solution of Hawaii's persistent labor-population problem. For Japanese immigration, see Kuykendall, 1967, 153-172.
economic restrictions on the Chinese residents in the Islands. Chinese merchants and skilled workers increasingly felt the pinch.

3. The Wilcox Rebellion and Its Chinese Connection

The years from 1887 to 1893 were politically turbulent in the Islands. In 1887 a reform legislature, controlled by Caucasians, brought about a constitutional monarchy which reduced King Kalakaua's powers. Then an unsuccessful uprising led by a part-Hawaiian, Robert W. Wilcox in 1889 was followed by the deposition of Queen Liliuokalani, and the formation of a provisional government in 1893. During these years Chinese residents had made attempts to influence Hawaiian members of the legislature and had given financial help to the Hawaiians during the uprising.

What immediately affected and most concerned the Chinese were matters concerning their legal status. The constitution of 1887 limited the privilege of voting along racial lines. Only those of "Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent" were allowed to vote. Even more threatening were the book-keeping act and a constitutional amendment proposed by a special legislative committee in 1888. The former required all licensed businessmen to keep accounts "in the English, Hawaiian, or some European languages." (32) The proposed amendment would restrict Chinese employment to certain occupations, limit the right to hold land, and deny Chinese the right to remain in the country for more than six years. (33)

Merchant elites were well established in the Chinese community, and had acquired status and prestige within the general Island community. They were among the Chinese most respected by Hawaiian authorities and by Caucasians who had entered into business or social relations with them. Being composed of prominent leaders, this established Chinese merchant elite grew very sensitive to discriminatory treatment at

32 Session Laws of 1888, 96-97. AH.
33 Discussion of the constitutional amendment aroused strong feelings in Hawaii. The contemporary English language newspapers contain ample evidence of pro and con views. The Advertiser published a symposium of opinion from citizens in various walk of life. Letters and interviews indicate that the weight of public opinion favored the adoption of stricter measures of regulation and control. Only a few took a moderate view of the Chinese question. For example, a letter by P. C. Jones, a partner in C. Brewer & Company, showed his opposition to the proposed anti-Chinese amendment. Jones wrote: "...I believe firmly in the doctrine that all men are born free and equal, and I cannot see why a Chinaman [Chinese] has not as much right to come to the country as other foreigners..." For a few of the numerous discussions of this issue, see the resolution adopted by the Oahu Reform Party convention on August 1, 1888, as reported in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 13, 1888, and editorials in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, December 14, 1888; the Friend, XLVI (October 1888), 77-78; Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 4, 1888.
the hands of the Hawaiian government.

The legal battle was fought on two fronts. On the one hand, Ch'en Fong and his son Ch'en Ling (also known as Chun Lung 陳齡) sent a petition to King Kalakaua asking him to grant Chinese the right to vote. The answer was that Chinese who became Hawaiians by naturalization could not vote. (34) Wong Kwai (also known as Wong Kwai 王桂) and Li Lu (also known as L. Ahlo 李祿) both of whom had resided in the Islands over thirty years and were naturalized, hired Caucasian lawyers to take the cases to the Hawaiian Supreme Court. The latter body, however, dismissed the two cases. (35)

At the same time, Caucasian attorneys were employed by the leaders of the United Chinese Society to lobby at the legislature and the book-keeping act was finally declared unconstitutional. (36) The constitutional amendment was also defeated. Then several Hawaiian legislators were expelled from the House on the charge of accepting bribery from the Chinese merchants. (37)

To bribe officials was an expected and common practice in Ch'ing China. It would not have been regarded as a particularly corrupt practice by the Chinese immigrants.

In Hawaii, Chinese became aware that government employees frequently received bribes. (38) It seems that the political conditions in the kingdom had allowed people to play this game, but did not guarantee the results. The Chinese merchants had made the best of the situation.

Confronted with intensive political pressure, the Chinese became important allies of Hawaiians during the Wilcox rebellion. Robert W. Wilcox, educated in Italy, saw himself as a leader of the Hawaiian people in their struggle to overthrow the Caucasian-dominant cabinet. Chinese business relations with Wilcox started before the event. According to Ho K'uan's (also known as Ho Fon 何寛) testimony, Wilcox had relied on Chinese and Hawaiians for his business as a civil engineer and surveyor after he returned to Hawaii earlier in 1889. (39)

Ho K'uan, Papu, Li Lu, and Chang Wen-tin (also known as C. Monting 張文廷) were four Chinese involved in the rebellion although to different extents. Except Ho

34 The petition was undated, but was answered on August 1, 1887. Cabinet Council Minute Book, August 1, 1887. AH.
35 First Circuit Court, Law cases 3095, L. Ahlo v. Henry Smith et al; 3096, In the matter of an application of Wong Kwai, for a writ of Mandamus. AH.
36 The Daily Bulletin, August 20, 30, 1888.
37 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 10, 12, 13, 14, 1888; The Daily Bulletin, September 8, 11, 12, 1888.
38 For example, when several controversial bills were introduced in 1880 on the opium issue; and when T. Aki scandal occurred in 1887, together with other allegations of official corruption. See Lily Lum-Chung, "Opium and the Law: Hawaii, 1856-1900" unpublished paper available at Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii, 1978, 43-53.
39 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, October 18, 1889, "Ho Fon Testimony".
K'uan, all were Chinese merchants in Honolulu. Ho had served as interpreter at the First Circuit Court and as manager of the Lung-chi pao (also known as the Hawaiian Chinese News 聲記報). He had been a resident of Honolulu for twenty years, a classmate of Robert Boyd (another major leader of the Rebellion) and a friend of Wilcox. (40)

All four of them attended the meetings of the Liberal Patriotic Association led by Wilcox. Ho K'uan wrote an article for the Lung-chi pao giving a full account of the first meeting. (41) At the second meeting, the four Chinese pledged to recruit more men and gather arms. Ho and Chang Wen-t'ing had approached Ch'en Fong for a contribution to support the event. The latter, however, turned down their request. (42)

Papu, Li Lu and others who remained anonymous, provided guns, uniforms and money for the purchase of ammunition and provisions. Most of the court testimony implicated Papu as the main go-between for the Chinese merchants and Wilcox. He was even seen delivering bread, salmon and watermelons to the men inside the Iolani grounds (the Hawaii palace) on the day of the incident. (43)

The revolt, poorly organized, was quickly put down. Seventy men, including one Chinese (Ho K'uan) were arrested. Ho was convicted of conspiracy and fined $250. The other Chinese had managed to escape arrest. A police search failed to find Papu and it was rumored that he had left for China. (44)

The conviction of Ho K'uan had broader implications. First, he was apparently singled out and punished more as an example to the Chinese community not to interfere with Hawaiian politics than because of his actual role in the rebellion. Second, the Wilcox rebellion marked the final stage of Chinese participation in Hawaiian politics under the monarchy. Varied efforts taken by the Chinese to ameliorate anti-Chinese sentiments had limited success.

Antagonistic attitudes toward the Chinese by the Hawaiian government intensified the inner cohesion of the Chinese community. Community-wide organizations were founded for self-protection. Instability continued to beset the Chinese after 1889. After Hawaii was annexed to the United States in 1898, the

40 'Paper on Ho Fon' by his great-grandson Russell Ho, April 11, 1973, available in Ethnic Studies Program Resource Center, University of Hawai'i.
41 First Circuit Court, criminal case 1370, King v. Ho Fon. AH.
42 Chung Kung Ai, My Seventy-Nine Years in Hawaii (Hong Kong: Cosmorama Pictorial Publisher, 1960), 173.
43 The Daily Bulletin, October 17, 1889; Pacific Commercial Advertiser, October 18, 1889.
44 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, November 2, 1889.
Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 applied to Hawaii. In 1900, the Organic Act was passed, setting up a territorial government in Hawaii. It forbade such laws as the Masters and Servants Act, thus ending contract labor in Hawaii. In Hawaii, the dispersion of Chinese on various islands where economic opportunity beckoned, resulted in the slow development of voluntary associations. Between 1880 and 1910 nineteen societies of various types were established to meet problems the Chinese faced. Some societies were predominantly regional--either district, subdistrict or village. There were also a few guilds, surname societies and some cultural and religious groups. Immigrants might join several different associations, each concerned with one or a few special interests. Meanwhile, the Chinese were becoming involved with a number of community organizations, each of which attempted to deal with the needs of the individual in the Islands' society.

The United Chinese Society, an umbrella organization founded in 1882, had no real power itself or backing from the Chinese imperial government in dealing with the Hawaiian government. Nevertheless, it did undertake various defensive measures against threats to the Chinese community. The leaders in the United Chinese Society included the wealthiest Chinese merchants in Chinatown. The basis of membership was residence in the Hawaiian Islands, without regard to any differences due to old world heritages such as Punti and Hakka distinctions or, clan, district or, religious ties. The Society's prominent status in the Chinese community indicated that the Chinese in Hawaii had gone beyond their differences of dialect, kinship, and locality and had become united under the leadership of leading Chinese merchants.

III. Nationalism of the Hawaii Chinese Community

Their early experiences in the Islands prepared the Chinese to be drawn into nationally oriented societies and activities. During the period between 1894 and 1900, Chinese residents in Hawaii became increasingly aware of China's deteriorating position on the international scene. They waited upon the growth of a strong and modern Chinese nation, which they hoped would improve their situation as immigrants, and would be more receptive to the appeals of overseas Chinese or hua-chiao (華僑).

Nationalistic societies established by the Chinese in Hawaii took three general forms:

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45 Morrison, 1977, 122, Table 10.
the Hung-men societies (洪門), the revolutionist parties and the reformist parties. Leading Chinese merchants were the chief party men on the scene in both the revolutionist parties and the reformist parties. They were always leaders in one of the local voluntary organizations in addition to holding a position in the party.

1. Nationalistic Organization

(1) Hung-men societies

The Hung-men society represented the transplanting of the Triads, an ancient secret society of China. It claimed to have a quasi-political goal: that of overthrowing the Ch'ing and restoring the Ming. There was little anti-Manchu activity during its early years in Hawaii. At that time, it was primarily a fraternal organization, which bound its members together and pledged mutual aid in times of difficulty. (48)

In Hawaii, the earliest Hung-men society was started by Hakkas in 1869. Between 1869 and 1910 more than thirty other Hung-men societies were formed in the Islands by other Chinese sub-groups as well as by Hakkas. Of these, only three were located in Honolulu. The remainder were organized in towns and rural sections of each island where considerable numbers of Chinese congregated after leaving the sugar plantations. The Hung-men society offered young immigrants a substitute for their familial groups and at the same time introduced them into a new kind of communal world. By 1910, the societies were numerically strong, reaching a total of over 5,000. (49)

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was initiated into the Kuo-an hui-kuan (also known as Ket On Fui Kon 國安會館), a Honolulu Hung-men society for Hakkas in 1903. (50) By joining the Hung-men society, Dr. Sun attempted to reaffirm the avowed aim of the society to overthrow the Manchu. As head of the revolutionists, Dr. Sun's membership in the fraternal organization pledged to mutual support assured him of Hung-men assistance and of cooperation between the two organizations.

48 Unlike their counterparts on the U.S. mainland, the Hung-men in Hawaii engaged in peaceful activities. For the nature of the Triads, and the Chih-kung T'ang (致公堂) federation, see L. Eve Armentrout -ma, "Chinese Politics in the Western Hemisph re 1893-1911: Rivalry between Reformers and Revolutionaries in the Americas", Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California at Davis, 1977, 88-106.
Hung-men contribution to the cause of Chinese revolution was chiefly financial. Figures are unavailable but, because many Hung-men members were also affiliated with the reformist and revolutionist groups, it is unlikely that they would have contributed heavily to Dr. Sun through the Hung-men societies rather than through the other groups.

(2) Revolutionist Parties— Hsing-chung Hui (興中會)

Revolutionist parties organized in Hawaii centered around Dr. Sun Yat-sen. His visits helped to stimulate the growth of a political organization which came to have branches scattered throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Dr. Sun's older brother, Sun Mei (also known as Sun Te-chang 孫德彰), was a successful merchant on Maui. By 1876, Sun Mei had arranged to have his thirteen-year-old brother come to Hawaii and enter a missionary school for two years. Among Dr. Sun's classmates and other associates were a few young Chinese who, twenty years later, were to become his ardent political supporters.

Dr. Sun made his second trip to Hawaii after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. He discussed the need for national revolution with old friends. Several months of campaigning drew less than a score of adherents, including Sun Mei. Hsing-chung Hui, Dr. Sun's first revolutionary party overseas was finally organized in 1894. The major officers were as follows: chairman, Liu Hsiang (劉祥); vice-chairman, Ho K'uan; treasurer, Huang Hua-hui (黃華恢); secretary, Ch'eng Wei-nan (also known as C. Weinan 程蔚南); assistant secretary, Hsu Chih-ch'en (許直臣); directors, Li Chang (李昌), Cheng Chin (鄭金), Huang Liang (also known as Wong Leong 黃亮), Li Lu, Li Tuo-ma (李多馬), Chung Yu (also known as C. K. Ai 鍾宇), Teng Yin-nan (鄧蔭), and Lin Chien-ch'uan (林漣泉). (52)

An examination of the respective backgrounds of these officers reveals two points. First, all of them were merchants. Ho K'uan, once participated in the Wilcox Rebellion and was now Chinese manager of the Bishop Bank. Chung Yu was a manager for the American entrepreneur, James I. Dowsett, and a successful businessman himself. The rest of the officers were also well-established merchants. Second, many of them were English speakers. Cheng Chin and Li Chang also worked as translators

51 Early records of the Hung-men societies do not exist. They have either been destroyed in Chinatown fire of 1886 and 1900, or never kept at all. Today, the Triads headquarter locates in downtown Honolulu. It mainly serves as a social club for local Chinese.

for the Hawaiian government. These men had some influence in the immigrant community.

The involvement of the Hung-men societies in the Hsing-chung Hui started soon after the latter was formed in Hawaii. Although Dr. Sun was not a member of the Hung-men at the time, its strength in Hawaii made it inevitable that some of his followers would be. For instance, Sung Chu-jen (宋居仁) one of the Hsing-chung Hui members who had returned to China with Dr. Sun in 1895, participated in the anti-Manchu uprising organized by Hung-men. In addition, Teng Yin-nan's elder brother was a chih-shih (officer 執事) of Hawaii's Hung-men. Furthermore, fourteen of the Hsing-chung Hui members were T'eng's lodge brothers who had joined the Hsing-chung Hui because of T'eng. (53)

Before Dr. Sun left Hawaii for the U. S. mainland to plead the revolutionary cause, membership in the Hsing-chung Hui had reached 112. A total of about $2,500 had been raised and turned over to him. Sun Mei and Teng Yin-nan, aware of the shortage of funds, sold some of their land and cattle, and donated the sum. Dr. Sun also resorted to the sale of bonds which would be redeemable after the establishment of the Republic. (54)

Dr. Sun made his third visit to Hawaii in 1895 following the failure of the Canton coup. In Honolulu, larger numbers of Chinese turned out to listen to his political proposal and raised some $6,000 for future revolutionist activities. The Lung-chi Pao was to become a more active instrument for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Some members of the Hsing-chung Hui organized a rifle company with a Danish ship captain as military instructor. (55) Among the participants were Yeh Kuei-fang (葉桂芳), Cheng Chao (鄭照), Tu Shou-ch'uan (杜守傳), Hsu Chih-ch'en, Ch'eng I-ch'en (程發臣), Lu Ts'an (陸燦), Li Ch'i (李耙), Ho Ao-ch'uan (候艾泉), and others. Later Li Chi and Hou Ai-ch'uan returned to China to organize an army which participated in the Canton uprising of 1904. (56)

When Dr. Sun visited Hawaii again in 1903 some unforeseen circumstances had weakened the membership of the Hsing-chung Hui. In particular, Liang Ch'i-chao had come to Hawaii in the spring of 1900 and established a newspaper, Hsing Chung-

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54 Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 30.

55 Ai, 1960, 23.

kuo pao (or the New China News 新中國報), and a branch of the Pao-huang Hui (保皇會). Dr. Sun was forced to reorganize the Hsing-chung Hui. He made several speeches to crowds in the Chinese theater, and "the theater was packed from pit to gallery to stage" each time. The local English newspapers covered his assemblies in Honolulu and appear to have been impressed by his leadership.(57)

To revive his party organization throughout the Chinese community in Hawaii, Dr. Sun embarked on a tour of Maui and Hawaii to organize branches. The Chinese of Wailuku, Maui were especially enthusiastic over the establishment of a branch because Dr. Sun had lived there for a time.(58) On Maui, Dr. Sun was initiated into the Ko-an hui-kuan under the advice of Sun Mei and others. Sun Mei also helped his brother obtain a document identifying Dr. Sun as a U. S. citizen by virtue of his being born in Hawaii.(59)

The Chinese on the island of Hawaii also gave Dr. Sun a warm welcome. Rev. Mao Wen-ming (毛文明) had been an ardent revolutionary and had been involved in an attempted uprising in 1895 along with Sung Chu-jen, Teng Yin-nan, and Shih Chien-ju.(60) After the attempt failed, Rev. Mao returned to Hilo, Hawaii. He rented a theater for Dr. Sun to speak in. In a series of speeches, Dr. Sun added the "equalization of land rights (p'ing-chun ti-chun 平均地權) to the Hsing-chung Hui's original goals of expelling the Manchu and establishing a republican government.(61) Since most of the Chinese in Hilo at the time were agricultural laborers, it is quite likely that this plank appealed to them. "Several ten" joined the Hsing-chung Hui.(62) All of these new members were probably Hung-men members.

While Dr. Sun campaigned for revolutionary causes in Hilo, Rev. Mao persuaded Huang Hsu-sheng (黃旭昇), his kinsman in Honolulu, to support Dr. Sun as well. Dr. Sun then returned to Honolulu where Huang persuaded several to join the Hsing-chung Hui. Several former members, including Ho K'uan, Ch'eng Wei-nan, Li Ch'ang and Cheng Chin, withdrew from the Pao-huang Hui and returned to the fold.(63)

In Honolulu, the Lung-chi pao had been a party organ for Dr. Sun. In 1894, this newspaper had been pro-revolutionary, with Ho K'uan as one of its managers, but after Dr. Sun's departure, the newspaper became non-political. Furthermore, its chief edi-

57 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, December 14, 1903; December 21, 1903.
60 Ibid, v. 1, 43.
61 Feng Tzu-yu, 1953, 33-34.
63 Feng Tzu-yu, 1953, 33.
tor, Hsu ch'en, became an assistant secretary of the Pao-huang Hui. After Dr. Sun's successful trip to the island of Hawaii, Ch'eng Wei-nan (founder of the newspaper) and Ho K'uan reorganized the newspaper in accordance with Dr. Sun's request. Under the new name of T'an-shan hsin-pao (檀山新報), it poured out revolutionist literature. Dr. Sun wrote many articles for the newspaper. For a time the editorial policies of the opposing new organs descended to the level of hurling disturbances at each other. (64)

Dr. Sun visited Hawaii for the last time in 1910. The results of this trip were the organizing of T'ung-meng Hui to replace the Hsing-chung Hui and the establishment of a Chinese language school, Hua-wen hsueh-hsiao, for the education of Chinese youth. During this final stay, he made a speech attended by over 1,000 Chinese in which he claimed that the recent New Army uprising, though it had failed, proved that the New Army had become decisively pro-revolutionary. It lacked only funds and a revolutionary strategy. The Hsing-chung Hui was turned into the Tung-meng Hui. (65) Liang Hai (梁海) was chosen as president of the new branch and Liu Hsin (刘新) was secretary. Dr. Sun also made a special appeal to the affluent Chinese merchants to join their revolutionary group. Some wanted to join but feared for their families in China. A separate and secret branch was set up for them. Among them were Chung Yu and Huang Liang, both of whom were made directors. Lu Hsin (卢信) was made secretary to mediate the two branches. (66) Then the Hsing-chung Hui branches in Hilo and Maui were converted into branches of the T'ung-meng Hui.

(3) The Reformist Party-- Pao-huang Hui

By 1900 Hawaii's Chinese community came under the influence of the Pao-huang Hui. The organization sought to improve political affairs in China by restoring Emperor Kwang Hsu to the power which he had been deprived of by the Empress Dowager. It was committed more to a program of reform than to one of revolution. K'ang Yu-wei (康有为) and Liang Ch'i-chao, two political reform advocates from Kwangtung province, fled to Japan after the "Hundred-day reform" movement in 1898. They met Dr.
Sun often in Japan. Liang went so far as to suggest his approval of revolution and republican government for China. In 1899, K'ang Yu-wei founded the Pao-huang Hui in Canada, and sent Liang Ch'i-chiao to organize a branch in Hawaii. Before Liang departed for Hawaii he asked Dr. Sun for letters of introduction to Sun Mei and other Hsing-chung Hui members. These letters assured his warm reception in the Islands.

Liang Chi-chiao arrived in Hawaii on December 31, 1899, a critical moment in the Chinatown community-- the time of the 1899-1900 plague and the destruction of most of Chinatown in fire. Since the Ch'ing government had put a price on his head, Liang arrived with a Japanese alias and passport. He asked the U. S. for political asylum. The request was granted as long as "his speech and assembling with others did not disturb the public peace." Liang then made preparations for the establishment of a political party, putting emphasis on the idea that the Chinese government was too weak to help its subjects abroad, and advocated the organization of a reform movement. A number of Chinese merchants and members of Hsing-chung Hui, joined the Pao-huang Hui.

Two months later, Ku Chin (also known as Goo Kim 古今), a leading Chinese merchant with the title of Hawaii Chinese vice-consul, complained to Foreign Minister Mott-Smith concerning political meetings Liang Ch'i-chiao held in Honolulu. Not only could the spread of political propaganda against the Chinese government cause dissatisfaction among the Hawaii Chinese, and work against the public peace and safety of the community, but all of Liang's activities could cause trouble between the U. S. and China.

While the testimony of Ku Chin would indicate that the objective of Liang's activities in Hawaii was to organize a political party, the activities of Dr. Li Ch'i-hui (also known as Li Kai-fai 李啓輝), a physician who represented the San Francisco Pao-huang Hui, indicated that the political movement was underway by the time Liang held the public meetings. A hearing before the Executive Council of the Territory showed that

67 In October of 1899, K'ang Yu-wei left Canada and returned to China. By that time, the Pao-huang Hui was already well established in western Canada and organizers were being sent out to areas such as San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland, Oregon. K'ang hoped to stop by Hawaii on his way back to Hong Kong, but could not get permission to land, so the Pao-huang Hui in the Islands was not founded until January of 1900, when Liang Ch'i-chiao went there. See Armentrout-Ma, 1977, 140-144; 148-149.


69 Ibid., 47-50. For overlapping membership in the Pao-huang Hui and the Hsing-chung Hui, see Pang, 1963, Appendix D.

70 Foreign Office and Executive Papers, "Memorandum of interview with Mr. Goo Kim, March 1, 1900. AH.

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Dr. Li had introduced the rules and regulations of that party to the Honolulu group on January 14, 1900. (71)

In any event the movement to form Hawaii's Pao-huang Hui developed rapidly after the arrival of Liang Chi-chao. Liang visited other islands where branches had been formed. The party officers claimed that eighty to ninety percent of the Chinese residents had joined the organization. (72)

Many of them, however, subsequently withdrew and joined other political organizations. The controversy among the Chinese arose when the Pao-huang Hui officers applied to the Hawaiian government for a charter as a benevolent society on March 8, 1900. Chinese consul Yang Wei-pin notified Hawaii's Executive Council that the organization was a subversive political society. (73) The government held a hearing. (74) Meanwhile, some officers of the Pao-huang Hui including president Huang Liang, vice-president Chung Mu-hsien (also known as W. A. Heen 鍾木賢), treasurer C. K. Ai and secretary Chen Yi-nan (also known as C. Yik-nam 鄭翼南) had notarized a statement that the term "Bow Wong" (Pao-huang) was used to "signify merely a part of the name of the Association -- used for the sole purpose of giving the Association a high sounding title". (75) However the petition, hearings, and notarized statement did not ameliorate the government's serious doubts which were due to the dissension prevalent in the Chinese community. The petition for incorporation was denied.

More active recruitment of members split the Chinese community further. In 1911, the Pao-huang Hui established a Chinese language school, the Mun Lun School, four days before the opening of the Hua-wen hsueh-hsiao. (76) The publication of the Hsin Chung-kuo pao by the Pao-huang Hui heightened the conflict between the revolutionists and reformists and raised it to the ideological level. Liang Chi-chao served as its first editor and successfully won the support of many Chinese readers. (77)

By mid-1900 many important Hsing-chung Hui members in Hawaii, most of them

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72 Armentrout-Ma, 1977, 149.
73 Foreign Office and Executive Papers, "Consul Yang defends his contention to Minister of the Interior Alexander Young, March 23, 1900. AH.
74 Present at the Council hearing were President Sanford Dole; Ministers A. Mott-Smith, Damon, and Cooper; W. R. Castle; W. A. Henshall, and Cheng Yu-nam representing the Pao-huang Hui; Paul Neumann representing the Chinese Consul; and Dr. Li Chi-hu, and Li Chang, Chinese interpreter. Ibid, "Interview of the Executive Council, April 12, 1900". AH.
75 Ibid, "Notarized statement re petition for charter, April 11 and 19, 1900". AH.
77 Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 301.
merchants and leaders of the United Chinese Society, had joined the Pao-huang Hui. To begin with, two of the officers of the Hsing-chung Hui, namely Hsu Chih-chen and C. K. Ai became members of the Pao-huang Hui. Sun Mei was so impressed by Liang Ch'i-chao that he not only joined the party but also asked his eldest son to revere Liang as an elder brother when Liang visited Sun's family on Maui. Why did they switch sides so readily? Dr. Sun Yat-sen had indicated it was because his letters of introduction gave Liang Ch'i-chao entrance into the Chinese community. Liang himself saw his success as a direct result of having joined a branch of the Hung Men Society in Hawaii. This view is supported by the fact that at least one known high-ranking officer of the Hung-men society, Chung Shui-yang (鍾水養), was among the first to join the Pao-huang Hui.

Scholars such as Clarence Glick and Loretta Pang, have assumed that a certain amount of confusion regarding what was the best solution to China's problems existed in the minds of the Hawaii Chinese. Whereas the revolutionists promised violence and abolition of a traditional Chinese way of life, the reformists appealed to the desire to strengthen and build cultural pride. By the time the ideological issues between the Hsing-chung Hui and Pao-huang Hui were clearly defined, members of Hsing-chung Hui had readily committed themselves to the moderate, the less militant group. It is probable that these views contain an element of truth.

An Overview of the history of the Hawaii Chinese in the nineteenth century, their participation in revolutionist activities, and their affiliation with nationalistic groups demonstrates their nationalism. Frequently this nationalism was affected by local conditions and by the status of the Chinese residents in the Islands. The defeat of China in 1895 in the Sino-Japanese War stirred up bitter feelings among the immigrants: disillusionment at the weakness of the Ch'ing government and resentment against the Japanese. These feelings were intensified by the Hawaiian government's policy of encouraging Japanese immigration during the decade prior to 1895 and restricting immigration from China. It is probable that Dr. Sun's failure in the 1895 uprising caused most members of the Hsing-chung Hui in Hawaii to lose their faith in the party and to join the Pao-huang Hui.

2. The Growth of National Consciousness
The political Life of the Chinese in Hawaii, 1850s～1911

(1) The Chinese Newspapers

The spread of nationalism was as responsible for the appearance of newspapers in the Chinese community as it was for the rise of political parties. The first great stimulus to Chinese newspapers in Honolulu might have been Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Sun acquired the use of the Lung-chi pao for a party organ in 1894. When Dr. Sun returned to Hawaii in 1896, he made his headquarters at the office of this paper, and wrote a number of articles for it. The paper had become non-political after his departure, but after it was reorganized in 1903, it again poured out revolutionist literature.

The Hsin Chung-kuo pao was published in late 1900. Liang Ch'i-chao served as manager and wrote some of its brilliant articles. The Pao-huang Hui members were brought to Honolulu from North America to make up its editorial staff. Later Hsu Chih ch'en, the chief editor of the Lung-chi pao, became an assistant secretary of the Pao-huang Hui. From late 1900 on a battle of words was kept up between contributors to newspapers representing opposing political views. As political groups split, and then reorganized, so the editorial policies of the papers aligned with them were formulated and reformulated. In the late summer of 1907, internal dissension arose in the Hsing-chung Hui concerning its news organ, the Tan-shan hsin-pao, which was then reorganized and renamed the Ming-sheng pao (民生報). Dr. Sun sent Lu Hsin from China to Hawaii as a reporter for it. One of Lu's articles criticized Tzu Hsi for being a non-Chinese empress. The newspaper directors were displeased and refused to publish it. Lu Hsin resigned. A group of the Hsing-chung Hui members among whom were Tseng Chang-fu (曾長福), T'an Kuei (譚逵), and Huang Liang, founded the rival Tzu-yu hsin-pao (The Liberty News 自由新報) with Lu Hsin as chief editor. Other important staff included Dr. Sun's son, Sun K'o (孫科) and Wen Hsiung-fei (溫雄飛), a reporter from San Francisco.

The Chinese newspapers did not depend on income from subscriptions and

81 Dr. Sun wrote two editorials for the Tan-shan hsin-pao, the purpose of which was to make clear the difference between the Pao-huang Hui and Hsing-chung Hui, and to persuade people to join the latter. See Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 12-3; 18-22; Armentrout-Ma, 1977, 269-271.
82 Pang, 1963, 40.

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advertising. Party members contributed to these papers in addition to paying for subscriptions and buying advertising space to demonstrate their loyalty to the party's cause. Sometimes the same advertisement by a firm would continue to appear for months. Notices by Chinese organizations might be repeated issue after issue. The newspapers were continued or discontinued as their support continued or declined. (84)

(2) Politicalization of the Immigrant Associations

More important than the conflicting relations between the political organizations was the penetration of political issues into the immigrant associations. Political issues came to be regarded as the most important events affecting the lives of the Chinese in the Islands. Events within the societies were given political interpretation. A controversy within the See Dai Doo District Association may serve as an example. When the Emperor Kuang Hsu and the Empress Dowager died in 1908, many of the Chinatown societies displayed the imperial dragon flag at half-mast. The See Dai Doo Association did not do so. One of its members who was also a member of the Pao-huang Hui immediately charged that the president of the society belonged to the revolutionist group and that the society had begun to split into factions. The member was suspended from the society and an explanatory letter by the officers was published in the Tzu-yu hsin-pao which sponsored the revolutionary cause. The letter ended as follows:

--- is it not known that while many hui-kuans raised their flags, not a few also did not raise their flags? A few days after the message (the death of the Emperor) came, Wong (the person who made the accusation) had his hair cut, dressed contrary to the mourning customs, and attended to his school work as usual. Without observing mourning rites he himself deserves the title of revolutionary follower.

(85)

The fact that issues such as this arose frequently suggests growing national variegation of political attitudes among the Hawaii Chinese and an increasing influence of political factors upon the Chinese community organization.

(3) Chinese Patriotism

The participation of Hawaii Chinese in patriotic activities demonstrated their growing nationalism. One event of importance was their active role in the boycott

84 For the sponsorship and duration of the Chinese newspapers in Honolulu during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Glick, 1980, 293-296.
85 Tzu-yu hsin-pao, January, 25, 1909.
movement of 1905. Overseas Chinese in the Americas were vociferous in demanding revision of the Chinese Exclusion Treaty between the United States and China. One reaction was the boycott movement, the first stage of which began in 1900 and 1901, when the Chung Sai Yat Pao (Chung-hai jih-pao 中西日報) of San Francisco and Chinese official in the U.S. called on the Ch'ing government to let the immigration treaty with the U.S. lapse in 1904 and to negotiate a more favorable one to replace it. By the middle of 1903, considerable opposition to the renewal of the immigration treaty and the principle of excluding Chinese had developed in the Chinese community in America. In October, San Francisco's Chinese Christian community called a meeting. One delegate from Canada suggested that if the U.S. proved unwilling to modify the treaty all trade between China and the U.S. should be cut off. The meeting was closed with the motion that Minister Liang Ch'eng be notified of their motion.

Finally in November of that year, when Liang Ch'i-chao was in San Francisco, the Chinese merchants of that city held a series of meetings again. Liang helped to draw up petitions to various officials in Kwangtung and to the Ch'ing court, complaining of the mistreatment of overseas Chinese and asking the officials to do their best to help. While Liang Ch'i-chao submitted the merchants petitions to the Ch'ing officials, Chen I-k'an (one of K'ang Yu-wei's students 陳儀侃), editor of the Hsin Chung-kuo pao in Hawaii, wrote to San Francisco merchants to suggest that a boycott of American goods be instituted to force the U.S. to change its policy. Ch'en also wrote an article of over sixteen-thousand-words advocating the cause. It was printed by his newspaper agency and mailed to Shanghai, Hong Kong, and to the Chinese communities in the Americas.

In 1905, while a new treaty was being negotiated, the U.S. Congress passed internal laws that, in effect, reinstated all the features of the former treaty. This caused the Chinese government break off negotiations for a new treaty. Then merchants and student groups in Shanghai declared a boycott of all American goods, to begin in June. The Chinese Six Company of San Francisco responded by announcing that overseas Chinese in the U.S. would participate in the boycott movement. Three leaders in the Chinese community, that is, K'ang Yu-wei, Rev. Wu P'an-chao (head of the largest Chinese language newspaper published in the U.S., 吳磐照), and Huang San-te (head of the Chih-kung t'ang organization in the U.S. 黃三德) made tours

86 For a detailed account of this movement, see Chang Ts'un-wu 張存武, Chung-mei kung-yueh feng-chiao 中美工約風潮 (History of the Chinese-American Labor Immigration Treaties) (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1966).
87 Overseas Chinese penman's club, 1957, 55.
88 Ibid.
89 Chung Sai Yao Pao, May 3, 1905; May 11, 1905; May 12, 1905; June 7, 1905; June 30, 1905; Chang Ts'un-wu, 1966, 134-138; 140-141.
of the U. S. to gain support for the movement. Both K'ang and Rev. Wu were able to
gain interviews with President Theodore Roosevelt, but no major changes resulted.\textsuperscript{90}

The Chinese in Hawaii also took part in the movement once the Chinese Six
Company announced the boycott movement. Ch'en I-k'an went to the U. S. mainland
to give a speech tour to persuade people to join the cause. In Hawaii, an anti-exclusion
organization, Ming-sheng t'ang (民生堂), was formed in 1905, with C. K. Ai as manager.
Political divisions among the Hawaii Chinese were subordinated to patriotic concerns.
Some ten thousand dollars was raised within ten days. Ironically, when the Ming­
heng t'ang made contact with the anti-exclusion organizations in Shanghsi and
Kwangtung, respectively, for remittance of the fund, the latter turned down the offer
on the ground that the fund was not needed. In the end, the sum was returned to the
contributors.\textsuperscript{91}

In any event, by the beginning of 1906 it was evident that the boycott had failed
to achieve its goal of treaty revision, and it became a dead issue in the overseas Chinese
community.\textsuperscript{92}

(4) Conflict between Immigrants and Chinese Consuls

The tense relations between the Chinese consul in Hawaii and the Chinese community showed the dominant power of the merchants over the Chinese community in the early part of the twentieth century. Earlier we noted that anti-Chinese agitation during the late 1870s led the immigrants to ask for consular protection. The first Chinese consul, Yang Wei-pin, arrived in 1898. Tenseness between the consular officials and the Islands' Chinese came about right after the forming of the Pao-huang Hui. The Hui members were dismayed when Yang successfully opposed the formal incorporation of the Pao-huang Hui.

As the immigrant Chinese participated more and more in political activities which were outlawed in China, the suspicion toward the imperial consul grew. There was a general feeling that the consular officials were little more than spies who infilt rated the Chinese community so as to obtain the names of the most ardent supporters of the anti-Ch'ing government activities. Several cases supported this suspicion. Family members of Liang Yin-nan (梁荫南), manager of the Hsin Chung-kuo pao, were arrested in 1900. Although they were later released, the newspaper became and continued to

\textsuperscript{90} Chang Ts'un-wu, 1966, 134-141, 218-220.
\textsuperscript{91} Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1929, 10.
\textsuperscript{92} Chang Ts'un-wu, 1966, 218-220.
be a severe critic of the consulate. Upon reports of the consul, the relatives of Lam Sam were arrested in 1901. Lam Sam had harbored Liang Ch'i-chao when the latter was in Honolulu in 1900. While imprisoned, Lam's mother committed suicide and his grandmother died, perhaps from torture. Huang Liang's family suffered similar recrimination, because Huang was the president of the Pao-huang Hui branch in Honolulu. A force was sent to Huang's village to confiscate his family's possessions. The family was forced to pay a total of $1,250 to prevent destruction of their ancestral temple, the family records, Huang's house, and to save two cousins threatened with imprisonment. Both Lam Sam and Huang Liang were naturalized American citizens.

Consul Yang had instituted the issuance of a certificate designed to indicate that the holder was a royal Chinese belonging to no society opposed to the government. Yang charged each Chinese resident $5.25 for certificate, and $11.25 for Chinese omen who wished to join their husbands in Hawaii.

The misconduct of Consul Yang led five Chinese merchants to petition the Territorial government of Hawaii to investigate charges against the consul. Acting Governor Cooper had personally interviewed five of the petitioners, including Huang Liang, Ho Fon, Ng Fawn, C. K. Ai, and Sheadick. Cooper's reporters induced Secretary Hay of the U. S. Department of State to direct a note to U. S. Minister E. H. Conger in Peking instructing him to call the affair to the attention of the Chinese government. Yang resigned late in 1902.

The climax came in 1910 when consul Liang Kuo-ying demanded that each Chinese pay him $1.25 for census tax. There was much heated discussion in the Chinese community. The issue had not been resolved when the Hsin Chung-kuo pao published the news that Consul Liang had sent the names of eight Chinese--Dr. Sun Yat-sen and seven Honolulu Chinese--to the Ch'ing government. A mass meeting was held to arouse the Island Chinese to the point of requesting that the consul be withdrawn. Shortly afterwards this newspaper reprinted the text of Liang's report to the viceroy of Kwangtung. The consul charged that between eighty and ninety percent of Honolulu Chinese were revolutionists. Of these, he claimed that about ten percent

93 Overseas Chinese Penman's Club, 1957, 32.
94 "Special reports to Washington by the Governor (Territory of Hawaii, re: Bow Wong progressive Association, March 17, 1900- April 29, 1902", Exhibit "G". AH.
95 Ibid, Exhibit "J"; Exhibit "L". AH.
96 Ibid, Exhibit "M"; Exhibit "P".
97 Investigation by the Territorial government and custom officials had uncovered Yang's opium smuggling at about the same time. See Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 244-54.
were members of the Pao-huang Hui and about ten percent were in the Hung Men societies. The rest, were supporters of Dr. Sun. The United Chinese Society asked an explanation of consul Liang’s allegation, but was turned down. The Chinese Ministry in Washington directed that an investigation be made into the charges and complaints. Liang was asked to resign.(98)

Between 1893 and 1911 the principle changes in the political life of the Hawaii Chinese community were the growth of Chinese nationalism and involvement in political movements. Membership of some Chinese in two opposing nationalistic organizations showed their lack of concern for doctrinal distinctions. Overseas Chinese in Hawaii had materially supported Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary cause. They contributed several men to the revolutionary activities. Furthermore, the development of national organizations in these years indicates that the Chinese in Hawaii had transcended social groupings based on regionalism, clan affiliation, and secret society lodges.

Conclusion

Large-scale Chinese immigration to Hawaii began around the mid-nineteenth century. Most Chinese immigrants came largely as laborers for sugar plantations and Chinese rice plantations but, also, some came as merchants and craftsmen. In Hawaii, the Chinese were assimilated economically into the wider community, residentially dispersed and in many cases linguistically undifferentiated from other residents. Yet they still considered China their homeland. Under the Hawaiian monarchy, the Chinese immigrants managed to a great extent to rise above the unenviable condition they had found themselves in on their arrival. As the Chinese laboring population grew and Chinese business enterprises became prosperous, racial prejudice emerged as a defense mechanism for vested interests who felt seriously threatened. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, laws were passed to restrict Chinese immigration and to limit Chinese activities in the Islands.

Various efforts were made to respond to discrimination under the monarchy and later under American laws. The United Chinese Society and various voluntary associations were founded by the Chinese merchant leaders for protection. Chinese merchants also appealed to China and were instrumental in having a Chinese commercial agent assigned to Honolulu in 1879. They also financed lobbyists in the Hawaii

98 Overseas Chinese Penman’s Club, 1957, 72.
legislature and influenced Hawaiian members. A few eventually provided funds for the Wilcox Rebellion of 1889. All of these efforts aimed not only to alleviate the unfavorable treatment imposed upon the Chinese but also to enable the merchant leaders to play a more active role in Hawaiian politics.

Between 1893 and 1910 the major development in the Hawaii Chinese community was its involvement in political activities affecting China. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Liang Ch'i-chao arrived in Hawaii they raised the level of national consciousness among the Chinese. This nationalism reflected their alien status. It also promised closer ties with the homeland and demonstrated concern for strengthening China. The Hawaii Chinese played an important part in founding the Hsing-chung Hui in 1894. Dr. Sun was able to attract adherents from among prominent Chinese merchants, Christians and laborers. The Hsing-chung Hui had branch organizations founded on several islands, and developed into the T'ung-meng Hui in 1910.

The Hawaii chapter of the Pao-huang Hui was founded in 1900. It obtained the participation of many wealthy and influential Chinese in the community. Although the revolutionary ideals of the Hung-men societies in Hawaii were overshadowed by social and welfare considerations, members of the Hung Men provided a great number of recruits for both the Hsing-chung Hui and the Pao-huang Hui. However, political doctrines ranked second in importance to the concern for creating a strong China. Membership by some Hawaii Chinese in the two opposing national organizations demonstrates this.

Moreover, the development of political organizations brought about changes in the Hawaii Chinese community. In the first place, their growing national consciousness led the Chinese to become deeply involved in patriotic activities. The boycott movement of 1905 was an expression of nationalism. Also the Chinese in Hawaii contributed to the revolution of 1911. In the second place, rivalry between the members of the Hsing-chung Hui and the Pao-huang Hui in Hawaii showed the rate of politicization of the community. Leading merchants were among the first to actively participate in the political parties. Almost all the members of the United Chinese Society had became members of political organizations. Major divisions of the community then tended to form more along the political lines than along clan or regional lines. Participation in political parties left its marks on the Hawaii Chinese community.

Finally, a few words should be said about the role which the Hawaii Chinese played in the revolution of 1911. The Chinese in Hawaii have long emphasized the importance of Hawaii and of the Hawaii Chinese to the success of the revolution. Available evidence indicates that Hawaii and the Hawaii Chinese did make significant
contributions to the revolutionary movement. First of all, Hsing-chung Hui, the first revolutionary organization overseas, was founded in Hawaii. Secondly, the Hawaii Chinese made financial contributions to the revolutionary cause. They made several donation to the Hsing-chung Hui. The amount of money is a matter of debate. One source states that the overseas Chinese in the United States had contributed the sum of $14,000 for the 1911 revolution. The portion donated by the Chinese in Hawaii was $2,000.(99) Another source states that in spite of having many wealthy merchant members, the T'ung-men Hui in Hawaii only contributed a total of $1,500.(100) If this was the case, the financial contribution of the Hawaii Chinese might be regarded as less significant. Thirdly, the Hawaii Chinese provided a certain amount of manpower. Some, such as Sun Chu-jen, accompanied Dr. Sun Yat-sen to China in 1894. Teng Yin-nan had participated the 1895 Canton uprising. Li Ch'i and Hou Ai-ch'uan reputedly returned to China to organize an army for the revolutionary cause. Cheng Chao went to Canton to join Dr. Sun in 1905. After assessing their roles in the revolutionary movement in terms of the nurturing of the political parties as well as in terms of material and manpower contributions, it is clear that the Hawaii Chinese helped to create the basis for the 1911 revolution.

註 100 Armentrout-ma, 1977, 363.