

和興會館

WO HING SOCIETY
LAHAINA, MAUI

PRELIMINARY CATALOG OF
PLAQUES, COUPLETS, AND RECORDS

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LAHAINA RESTORATION FOUNDATION
MAUI COUNTY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

FORWARD

This project is dedicated to the memory of the deceased members of Wo Hing Society, the organization's current membership, and descendants of the Chinese Community of Lahaina, Maui. It has also been produced with deference to Tin Yuke Char (1905-1999), a retired Honolulu businessman and historian who, along with his wife Wai Jane Char, organized the first Chinese community history projects in Hawai'i, under the auspices of the Chinese History Center, during the 1970s. Their practice of involving people of all ages and from all walks of life in recording the material remnants of early Chinese culture in Hawai'i served as a model and inspiration for this project.

The Wo Hing Catalogue has involved many people and its scope eventually expanded well beyond researchers on Maui or in Hawai'i. It has included Chinese as well as non-Chinese professionals and university students from Asia and the U.S. mainland. At this writing, some are deceased. They included the late Henry Pang Lee-Chee, Lawrence Chan, Jamie Chan, Yung Sen Chen, Phillip Y.B. Chien, Kris Chung, Winnie Chang, Ai Jong Ho, Patty Lau, Loretta Lau, Mei Pang, Kong How Hu, Siew L. Tan, Fawn Shang, Sik-Chuen Leung, and Sun Shing Leung. The measured drawings of Wo Hing were produced by Conway Carter, a Ph.D. candidate at the School of Architecture, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Photography included in this catalogue has been provided from both private and public collections. They include Rose Soon, Barbara Long, Rob Ratkowsky, Martha Vockroot, the U.S. Library of Congress, Hawai'i State Archives, Duke University, UCLA Library, Maui Historical Society, Wo Hing Society, Lahaina Restoration Foundation, and the Bishop Museum. Charles Meyers in particular and other members of the Bishop Museum staff have provided invaluable assistance in locating early photographs of Lahaina and non-extant Chinese society halls in Honolulu.

Special thanks are due Tim Lee, CLG Coordinator (2006-2007), Astrid Liverman, Ph.D., Architecture Branch Chief (2008-2009), Ross W. Stephenson, Architectural Historian, Randolph W. Lee, Assistant to the Administrator, Nancy McMahon, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer; and Pua Aiu, Ph.D., SHPD Administrator. Special thanks are also due Laura H. Thielen, Chair of the Hawai'i Department of Land & Natural Resources, and Vince S. Kanemoto, Deputy Attorney General. Their counterparts at the County of Maui include Jeff Hunt, Planning Director; Kathleen Aoki, Deputy Director; John Summers, Long Range Planning Administrator; Kalbert K. Young, Director of Finance; Michael Hopper and staff of the Maui County Office of Corporation Counsel, as well as Darlene Lai, formerly of the Purchasing Department.

Additional thanks must be extended to Theo Morrison, Executive Director of the Lahaina Restoration Foundation (LRF) who generously provided equipment and assistance as needed as well as former Executive Director Keoki Freeland who supported the project since its inception. LRF and its Board of Directors must also be complimented for acquiring and restoring the Wo Hing Society Hall as well as and their ongoing commitment to maintaining it and the collections that it contains. The bulk of the accolades are due LRF staff Busaba Yip, Ph.D. who began the painstaking work of organizing, cataloging, and translating the materials and Ken Kimura who recorded each document photographically and prepared the digital records which accompany this catalogue. Their dedication and attention to detail over a period of two years is truly laudable.

Stanley Solamillo, Cultural Resource Planner
Maui County Planning Department, 2009

The Wo Hing Society Preliminary Catalogue of Plaques, Couplets, and Records has been financed in part with Federal Funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, through the Certified Local Government Program (CLG). However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products, constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

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INTRODUCTION

At a personal level, as the coordinator of the Wo Hing Research project, it has been a powerful journey of returning back and coming closer to my own Chinese ancestors' roots. Being a part of the translation process has been a tremendous experience working as a member of a team of Chinese scholars from many parts of the world.

At a community level, the translation of Wo Hing Records has brought back to life the history and traditions that have been passed down for many generations. Many interactions among the Chinese communities, not only the members of the Wo Hing society on Maui, but also a number of overseas Chinese communities became closer through the process of translating and conducting research on the Wo Hing records. The project has prompted much dialogue among the various Chinese scholars involved as well as in their communities through the entire process.

The Wo Hing project has been an inspiration for the Wo Hing Society members and the Chinese Community at large on Maui and in Hawai'i by keeping our Chinese history and tradition alive. In facilitating different cultural events for the Wo Hing Society, we have been able to apply the information from the research project to organize various cultural events. Information from the records has been made available at a number of cultural events such as the Moon Festival and Ancestor's Day and has generated much interest. A growing number of parents have begun to encourage their children to participate in the society's cultural events.

As docents at the Wo Hing Museum, we have had the opportunity to disseminate information about the project and its results with Wo Hing members, American-born Chinese, members of the overseas Chinese communities, as well as local, mainland and overseas visitors who have come to visit the Wo Hing Society building, which is, the only Chinese Museum on Maui.

Translation of the Wo Hing records at the Wo Hing Museum, and the documents and history that they represent have been an inspiration for many visitors, both Chinese and non-Chinese, who have come to visit the Museum. They see the beauty of traditional Chinese culture and realize the importance of keeping Chinese history and tradition alive.

CHALLENGES

Having worked on the project since 2000, the translation has been a slow and tedious process, since most of the records are written in stylized traditional Chinese calligraphy which is not familiar to modern Chinese. It has been a challenge to find the right persons to do the work on a volunteer basis. In hindsight, we have accomplished a great deal given limited funding and many other challenges.

The Chinese scholars who have been involved in the translation of the Wo Hing records are from two different linguistic backgrounds – Cantonese and Mandarin. Consequently, the translation of the records has been accomplished using both languages. Most of the records have been translated into Mandarin, however, the name of the organization, Wo Hing, and of important persons associated with the society remain in Cantonese. The Chinese translations use both traditional and simplified format of Chinese epigraphy. The name “Wo Hing” was meant to honor the history of the Cantonese who were the principle group of Chinese immigrants to Hawai'i and the original members of the Wo Hing Society. Our mission has been to share the information with the larger Maui community.

There is an interconnectedness between all of the Wo Hing records. To be able to see the connection and interaction of the information from all the records is another challenge. To understand the relationship of all the records is to be able to see each piece of information as a part of a whole history and of a particular time period. It is the ability to see one tree in the whole green forest. We need to be able to see the connection of each piece of information and what it means to the history of the Wo Hing organization at a particular time and in a larger context.

What does all this information mean for the Chinese community today? Each record and artifact speaks from an older time and in a very special way. These experiences open us to a deeper level of coming to know the real and living story and history of our Chinese Ancestors. The Chinese calligraphy that was written on some of the records has a significant meaning to the history of that time period. It presents the values, belief system of the members, and the fundamental principles of the Wo Hing organization. Future research and translation work will provide more answers as to how and why these values and traditions were so important for the Chinese at that time. What are

lessons for us to learn from the past? What does it mean for us to live our lives in today world? Looking to the past to understand the present and looking forward to the future remains our challenge.

There are still a lot of missing pieces from the history of the old days. How can we truly find out about our ancestors from the over the 2000 pieces in the Wo Hing records? For example, are a number of records which are of unknown title and dates. Also there remains some mystery about the names of the Chinese at that time. One person may have more than one name. Why? What does it mean? These are some of our challenges with the translation process.

Translation may be viewed as being part of a larger research process which brings back to life the forgotten pieces of history. It is important not to misread the data and information from the translations. From our experience, some of the plaques can be translated in a number of ways, depending on the personal background of each Chinese scholar. How to capture the real meaning, the real message of the records and be able to present the whole picture and story of Wo Hing and the Chinese ancestors at that time remains the ultimate challenge.

FUTURE WORK AND ACTION PLAN

Translation of the Wo Hing Society records will be an ongoing project for at least another 2 years, pending a second phase of funding and the continued commitment of the Chinese team who are a part of the project. The team that has been involved in the process of translation has included Chinese scholars from many different parts of the world. Each member sees the beauty and the importance of bringing back to life the missing pieces of the history of our Chinese ancestors.

Our goal is to eventually share these findings with many communities. A final version of the Wo Hing translation records will be presented in different formats besides the digital data based. The publication of this document will be presented in Chinese and in English, and a website of the database will be created and named the "Wo Hing Website".

The final version of the Wo hing Records will be more details of description of the records. The order of the records, both on paper and digital format will be re-organized and re-arranged for easy locating and according to the content areas of the final data from the translation.

Given the resources:

A relational database could be created with all of the pictures and translations as a research tool with easy search and find function.

A "How To" guide based on our experience could be published in print and/or online for other temples/societies to replicate this process of gathering, organizing, and translating old documents. A possible benefit would be other temples/societies could contribute to a larger picture of the Chinese culture in Hawaii through collaboration and the pooling of information.

Maybe a community club or team could be assembled, in-person and/or online, to facilitate similar translation efforts.

Pursuit of archival storage or at least better storage conditions for original documents.

Re-enactments, events, displays, or other publications of the most interesting information resulting from the project to share with the public in interesting ways.

Busaba Yip, Ph.D.
2008

THE TRANSLATORS: WO HING RECORD-TRANSLATION AND WORKING TEAM

High Priest: The late Mr. Henry Pang Lee-Chee Kong Tong main office-Honolulu
Chinese-Hawaiian from Canton (2001-2002)

Mr. Yung Sen Chen (2002)
Taoist Priest, Taiwan

Ms. Kris Chung (2001-2003)
Overseas Chinese from Thailand, residing in California

Ms. Winnie Chang (2001)
Taiwan

Ms. Ai Jong Ho (2001)
Overseas Chinese from Malaysia

Ms. Mei Pang (2001)
Shanghai, Peoples Republic of China, residing in Honolulu, Hawai'i

Ms. Fawn. Shang (2001)
Shanghai, Peoples Republic of China, residing in Honolulu, Hawai'i

Mr. Kong How Hu (2007-2008)
Taiwan, residing in California.

Mr. Siew L. Tan (2008)
Overseas Chinese from Malaysia, now residing in Washington.

Ms. Sik-Chuen Leung and Mr. Sun Shing Leung (2008)
Overseas Chinese residing in Indiana.

Mr. Philip Y.B. Chien (2008)
Hong Kong

Ms. Patty Lau (2008-2009)
Overseas Chinese from Singapore, residing in Hawai'i

Ms. Lorreta Lau (2008-2009)
American Born Chinese, Hawai'i

Mr. Laurence Chan (2008-2009)
Overseas Chinese from Hongkong, residing in Pennsylvania

Ms Jamie Chan (2009)
Overseas Chinese from Hongkong, residing in Pennsylvania

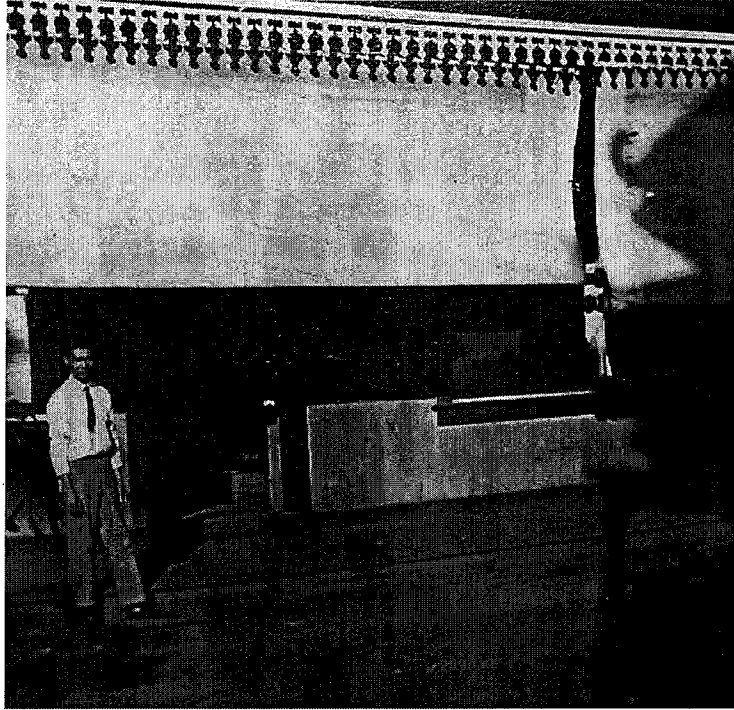


Figure 1. Pang Sing Fat, manager of the Sing Fat Company, posing for a photograph in front of his store with the shadow of the Wo Hing Society Hall appearing on the company's canvas awnings in Lahaina, 1900. *Courtesy Lahaina Restoration Foundation.*

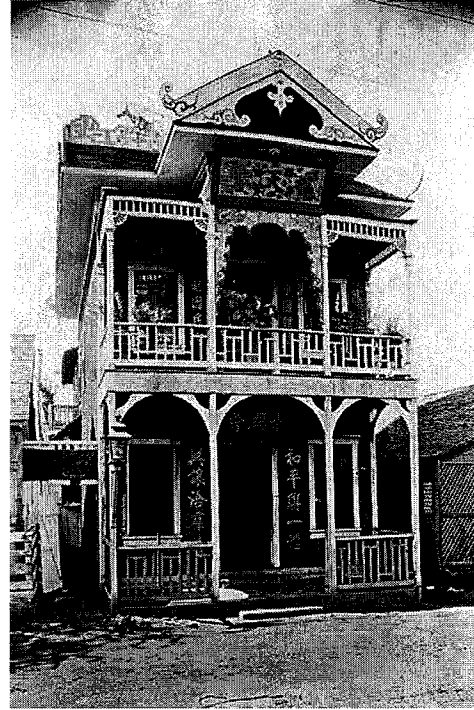


Figure 2. The first Wo Hing Society Hall in Lahaina in 1900. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

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WO HING SOCIETY

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Sometime in 1900, manager Pang Sing Fat posed for a photograph in front of his business, Sing Fat Company, later described as “Dealers in Provisions and Groceries, Dry and Fancy Goods, Ladies Underwear, Silk Waists and Kimonos,” in the 800 block of Main (Front) Street in Lahaina (Polk-Husted 1910: 843). The image was taken around 7:00 a.m. just as the sun rose above Mauna Kahalewai or the West Maui Mountains, casting a crisp shadow of a two-story portico from the building across the street onto the canvas shades of the store, where it was captured on the right side of the photograph (Figure 1). The resulting black and white print was traded between Fat family members for the duration of a century, and only after a copy of it had been donated to the Wo Hing Museum, was there conclusive proof that two other images, housed in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. and at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, had been taken of an earlier edifice that had been the first home of the organization (Figure 2).

In 1900 Lahaina was a secondary port on the island of Maui and had developed as a string of buildings along the shore which fronted a thoroughfare that was called for a brief period, Main Street, and later renamed as Front Street. The township had a courthouse which faced a small harbor that had served as the county seat, before that function was moved in 1903 to Wailuku, located in the central part of the island. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in 1778, Lahaina had been the capital of the Kingdom of Maui during the reign of Pi'ilani (1570–1600) and then of the Hawaiian Kingdom under the reigns of Kamehameha I (1795–1819), Kamehameha II (1819–1824), and Kamehameha III (1825–1854). The capital had been moved by Kamehameha III to Honolulu in 1845, ostensibly because of the seasonal arrival of some 400 whaling ships whose crews inundated the town in an economy that

lasted from 1832-1857, a growing population of foreigners who chose to reside there, and the impact of their presence on traditional Hawaiian and royal Kānaka lives. Lahaina became a destination for large numbers of immigrant Chinese after 1852, when a new law, the Masters and Servants Act, permitted them to emigrate to Hawai'i and to Lahaina to work for four sugar plantations which were operational prior to 1860 when Campbell & Turton, the precursor of the Pioneer Mill Company, Ltd. or "PMCo" was established.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION

The Hawaiian archipelago had been known to the Chinese as "Tan Heung Shan" or the "Sandalwood Mountains" and was accorded by tradition to have been first visited by them in 1421. Initial settlement by a small number of Chinese may have occurred as early as 1788, as part of the fifty-year sandalwood trade (1788-1838). The first recorded sugar mill in Hawai'i was built in 1802 on Lāna'i by a Chinese sugar boiler named Wong Tze Chun. He had arrived on a sandalwood trading ship with a rudimentary stone mill, boilers, and knowledge of the Chinese method of manufacturing sugar. Wong planted a small crop of sugar cane, built a mill, and ground what is believed to be the first sugar manufactured in Hawai'i. Unfortunately, he was only able to produce sugar from a single harvest and abandoned the venture soon thereafter. Two decades later, Wong's efforts were duplicated by a pair of like-minded Chinese businessmen. They established the Hungtai Company and sugar mill in Wailuku, Maui in 1828. It may be conjectured that the efforts of the Chinese at sugar production provided the foundation for later ventures by both Europeans and Anglo-Americans in the archipelago. The first Chinese society, the Lin Yee Chung Association, was incorporated in Honolulu by 1849 (United Chinese Society 1999: n.p.). Those Chinese who immigrated to Hawai'i in the 1830s and 1840s were predominantly "merchants, businessmen, technicians, and skilled craftsmen (Lum 1989: 16). The numbers of resident Chinese remained rather small until mid-century, then grew from 1,206, when first recorded in 1866 to 17,939 by 1889.

The Chinese in Hawai'i were largely Cantonese and primarily came from eight districts in South China's Pearl River Delta of Kwangtung Province. They included: Namhoi, Punyu, and Suntain, collectively known as Sam Yup or the "Three Districts"; Sunwui, Sunning (renamed Toishan in 1914), Hoipin, and Yanping, collectively known as Sze Yup or the "Four Districts" (Chan 1986: 16-17). The Chinese fell roughly into three categories: traders or "huashang" who went abroad to seek commercial opportunities; overseas workers or "huagong" who were contracted by non-Chinese companies; and sojourners or "huaqiao" who sought their personal fortune and established communities with continued connections with mainland China (Wilmott 2007: 36). Conditions such as overpopulation, civil war, and famine were largely responsible for the out-migrations, initially to other parts of Southeast Asia then abroad, even though imperial edicts prohibiting such travels under the penalty of death were promulgated by the Ch'ing government from 1656-1729 (Ibid.: 15).

By mid-century, when large numbers of Chinese workers began to arrive in the Hawaiian archipelago to work for local sugar companies, they were part of a world trade in labor that had been initiated with the introduction of West African slaves to Brazil in the 1570s, followed by the Caribbean in the 1640s, to work on sugar plantations (Thomas 1997: 133, 135; Yun 2009: 6). Hawai'i of the 1850s joined a number of tropical islands and territories, most of whom were European colonies, which were involved in sugar production for an insatiable European and growing American appetite for the product.

Indentured labor was introduced into the world sugar plantation system in 1834 as a contemporary and economical alternative to slave labor, as the latter form of labor began to wane following a change in international opinion and law (Yun 2009: 6). It was expedient initially because the cost of transport was ultimately born by the laborer, and the cost per worker upon delivery was significantly lower. However, the constant need for ever increasing numbers of workers to plant, tend, harvest, and process the crop caused the growth of an illicit trade. At its height in the 1860s, it included unscrupulous officials, labor contractors, and ship captains, fraudulent contracts and other documents, coercion, and kidnapping. The latter component materialized itself in the accosting of hundreds of adults and youth from the docks of Chinese ports such as Macao and Hong Kong for shipment to distant lands in the Caribbean, North America, South America, and Africa.

Graphic accounts of such practices were reported in the Anglo-American press on the U.S. mainland and introduced into the nation's lexicon such terms as "Shanghai'd" for "kidnapped" and "coolie" for "laborer." The latter term was attributed to Hindu origins and was rendered in Cantonese as "*ku lie*," meaning "bitter labor," then transliterated into English as "Coolie" and widely applied to a number of other ethnicities.

The trade in bonded laborers was not limited to Chinese but grew to include other East Asians from Japan and Korea, Malays from Java, South Asians from India, as well as Pacific Islanders from New Hebrides, the Solomons, Loyalty, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands to labor on plantations and other enterprises across the globe (Horne 2007: 2; Northrup 1995: 38). Bonded Chinese were sent to the Transvaal, Cuba, Peru, Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Panama, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Brazil as well as Hawai'i, and North America from 1847-1876 (Yun 2007: 6, 34). Japanese went to Brazil, Argentina, Panama, Cuba, Mexico, Bolivia, then later to Venezuela, Columbia, Uruguay and Paraguay from 1899-1929 (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 86; Oyama 2002: 9-22; 41). Indentured South Asians were transported to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and other islands in the British West Indies, as well as the French Caribbean, Dutch Guiana, Mauritius, Reunion, East Africa, Natal, Transvaal, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, and Fiji from 1836-1924 (Ibid: 53). Javanese were sent to Dutch Guiana from 1853-1920 (Ibid.). The traffic in indigenous populations from the Pacific, identified in the vernacular as "Blackbirding," provided forced labor for Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and French Polynesia (1863-1904; Horne 2207: 2).

Within the context of the world trade in bonded labor or its various permutations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the contract labor system in Hawai'i was probably more benign, but not without its own levels of chronic abuse, violence, and atrocity. Consequently, there appear to have been a number of instances of labor unrest although they have not been enumerated in detail. Of those strikes which were recorded as being initiated by Chinese workers later in century, they included: Kohala (1890), Lihue (1896), Pa'auhau (1897), Lihue (1897), Papa'aloa (1897), Lahaina (1897), Wailuku (1898), Sprecklesville (1899), and Waianae (1899; Reinicke 1966: 2-7).

Chinese resistance to the plantation system in Hawai'i as well as their propensity to cease plantation employment altogether after completion of their three or five-year contracts, caused their welcome of 1852 to be withdrawn within sixteen years. By 1868 PMCo in Lahaina joined a number of other Anglo American- and Euro-owned sugar plantations who lobbied for workers from other countries. They included: Japan (1868; 1885), Madeira and the Azores (1878), Puerto Rico, Italy, and Okinawa (1898), Philippines (1905), Spain (1907), as well as Norway and Russia (1909). African-American workers were also brought to Maui from Tennessee and Texas in the American south in 1900. The successive waves of immigrant populations to Maui and the Hawaiian archipelago were initially begun, in the words of one unidentified Anglo-American official of the period, to "offset the numerical preponderance of Chinese plantation laborers" (Bailey 1932: 46).

Japanese labor grew to be the mainstay of the plantations in the Hawaiian islands, however, and by 1895 that population numbered 22,000 (Thrum 1896: 39). A significant number of resident Chinese had become citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Honolulu Chinese merchants had provided a royal gala for Kamehameha IV and his wife in 1856, and one Honolulu merchant in particular, Chun Afong, also known as Chen Guofen, had been elevated to membership in the Privy Council of King Kalākaua by 1879 (Dye 1994: 69-78; Dye 1997: 169). Citizenship for Chinese as well as Japanese immigrants was later denied, however, by the so-called Bayonet Constitution of 1887, whose adoption was effected by pressure from growing Anglo-American interests. It was followed by the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 by a group of American nationals and the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii. This extinguished hopes that citizenship opportunities for Chinese would reopen and when the archipelago was later annexed by the United States in 1898, local Chinese were suddenly subject to American anti-Chinese legislation, collectively known as the Chinese Exclusion laws, whose passage had been fueled by anti-Chinese hysteria that swept through the U.S. mainland from the late 1870s onward. The laws had been passed piecemeal by the U.S. Congress as the Page Law of 1875, Immigration Act of 1882, Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and Immigration Act of 1891 (Salyer 1995: 5 7, 15, 26).

For a brief period during the 1880s Chinese came to Hawaii as "Free labor," instead of indentured, and a large number arrived in the archipelago during this period. Many of these laborers became employees on rice plantations or other ventures which had been established by their countrymen while others hired out as day laborers to the sugar companies. A Chinese consulate was established in Washington, D.C. in 1875 and a Hawaiian legation was opened in Hong Kong by 1881. The Hawaiian consulate indicated to the Ch'ing government at least on one occasion that: "There is no coolie trade in Hawaii and the wives and children from China are welcome..." (Beechert 1993: 49).

Anti-Chinese *reportage* in Hawaii's Anglo-American press, however, was commonplace. Referred to as "Chinamen," "Celestials," or in the vernacular as, "Heathen Chinees," the Chinese had been denigrated by the popular press since the beginning of the 1880s. Fears about the "excess of Chinese arrivals" as free laborers to

Honolulu combined with several suspected outbreaks of smallpox prompted the Hawaiian Kingdom to issue regulations curtailing Chinese immigration in 1886 (Thrum 1895: 120). Further restrictions were enacted by subsequent legislatures from that year through 1892, after which a conditional permit law allowing Chinese to work only as agricultural laborers or domestic servants and requiring that they leave the Republic if they ceased in those endeavors was passed in the following year (Ibid.). The latter ordinance suggests that major factors prompting the legislation were both economic as well as racial.

Debates about the “Chinese Question In Hawaii” occurred at various levels of the government at the behest of Anglo-Americans in Honolulu who charged that unrestricted Chinese immigration threatened the “autonomy of the country” and espoused that “the perpetuation of Anglo-Saxon civilization [was] essential to the continuation of a free government and the political independence of the Kingdom” (Thrum 1889: 84). Such views of the Chinese as well as all Asians as a threat to the country and the aspirations of its growing Anglo-American population made them the objects of numerous campaigns which were ultimately aimed at their Americanization and Christianization.

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association or “HEA,” a successor organization of the American Board Congregation of Foreign Missions or “ABC FM” which had arrived in Lahaina in 1823 to convert the indigenous Kānaka population to Christianity, was at the forefront of such efforts. Under the leadership of Francis W. Damon, superintendent of Chinese mission work from 1881 onward, the HEA expanded its activities after it organized its first Chinese congregation on Fort Street in Honolulu (1879). Five more missions were established in Kohala (1882), Wailuku (1888), Keokeya (1900), Hilo (1901), and Waimea (1906). By 1910 there were also five Chinese language schools that were operated by the organization’s “Chinese Department” at Hanapepe, Hanalei, Kahului, Lahaina, Makawao, and Wailuku and two additional Chinese congregations were later formed in Honolulu at Beretania Street (1915) and University Avenue (1923; HEA 1925: 50; 1926: 22, 62-66).

Despite such attempts to evangelize the Chinese and arrest the spread of what the HEA described as “pagan temples” throughout the archipelago, they erected at least twenty halls throughout the islands which contained small Taoist temples and shrines. On Maui they numbered seven and included: the Chee Kung Tong (1904) and Tow Yee Kwock (1906) in Wailuku, Wo Hing in Lahaina (1905), Ket Hing/Kwock Hing at Keokeya in Kula (1907), Lin Hing/Lin Ming in Keanae (1908), Chee Kung Tong in Kipahulu (1908) as well as another possible Chee Kung Tong in Pā’ia that was recorded on a Sanborn Company insurance map that was produced in 1914 (Char 1972: 3; Lun 1936: 30). These institutions which served the early Chinese immigrant communities were organizations which had been usually formed on the basis of five categories including: surname, district, village, trade, or dialect, but also included secret societies for political reasons (Char 1972: 2; Lun 1936: 30). They were referred to by the contemporary Anglo-American press as “joss houses” in reference to the incense or “joss sticks” used in their second-floor temples or “tong houses” in reference to their secret memberships. The latter were also known as “tongs,” or “triads,” “Chinese Freemasons” or Hung Men (Hung Moon) secret societies (Char 1972: 2).

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, then known by the name of Tai Cheong, entered this turbulent setting of conflicting cultures and ideologies in 1879 when he was brought to Hawai’i from Huengshan (later renamed Chung Shan in 1925) district by his brother Sun Mei on his first of six trips to the archipelago. He entered I’olani school in Honolulu, graduated in 1882, and then enrolled at nearby Punahou School. Sun Mei, known locally as S. Ahmi, had immigrated to the islands earlier in 1871 and had worked as a vegetable and rice planter at Ewa on O’ahu, then operated a store at Ewa and was involved in labor contracting. Sun Mei left O’ahu for Maui in 1881, opened a store at Kahului, then settled on 1,900 acres of government lands near Keokeya in Kula. Sun Mei financed his brother’s medical education in Hong Kong and Macau (Lum 1999: 5-6).

Dr. Sun Yat-sen organized his first secret society, the Hsing Chung Hui or “Revive China Society” in 1894, followed by the T’ung-meng-hui or “United League” in 1905, and the Kuomintang, known as the “National Party,” “National People’s Party,” or “Nationalist Party” in 1912 (Damon 1991: 165, 170). Dr. Sun also became associated with several older revolutionary organizations from Mainland China, the Hung Men and the Chee Kung Tong. Hung Men (Hoong Moon) organizations, also known as the Triads, were secret societies that were the successors of an organization that was formed in Hunan province in 1674 to overthrow the Ch’ing (Qing) dynasty and restore the Ming. Dr. Sun became a Hung Men member when he joined the Ket On Society in Honolulu in 1903, and following his initiation into the society, was given the rank of marshal (Ibid.: 174-175).

The Chee Kung Tong was a Hung Men organization that was initiated at an indeterminate date and was secretly formed in numerous overseas Chinese communities including those in Hawai'i. In Honolulu they included the Bow Leong Say (1892) and the Wo On Society (1905) which were later merged to form the Yee Hing Chung Wui in 1913 and changed their name officially to Chee Kung Tong in 1919 (Lun 1936: 30-31). On Maui, branches of the Chee Kung Tong included Wailuku, Kipahulu, and Pā'ia, as well as Wo Hing in Lahaina and Ket Hing/Kwock Hing at Keokea in Kula. Dr. Sun also joined the Ket Hing/Kwock Hing Society in 1903 and subsequently became associated with the Chee Kung Tong (Fong-Mitchell 1982: 3). The Hung Men societies, including the Chee Kung Tong, were the foundation for Dr. Sun's fund-raising activities abroad and are purported in oral tradition to have often mortgaged their society halls to raise capital for his insurrections in China (Damon 1991: 175).

In Hawai'i Dr. Sun was able to capitalize on the social, political, and economic networks that the Chinese communities had developed which linked the capital in Honolulu with the neighbor islands, as well as the U.S., Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Chinese mainland. These connections were maintained after his death at least until the mid-twentieth century and only loosened with the demise of the Chinese exclusion laws and acceptance into larger American society after 1943.

The transitory nature of Chinese immigration, embodied in the *persona* of the "sojourner" or "huaqiao" (wa kiu) who ventured to Hawai'i as well as to other destinations in search of personal fortune, was born out by relatively low numbers which were recorded by census takers. Official enumerations of the Chinese did not exceed 25,000 persons in any given year between 1852 and 1909. However, immigration statistics indicated that the population was in flux whose total numbered some 46,000 Chinese during the same period. Most worked the durations of their contracts and then either returned to China or out-migrated to other destinations such as the US mainland, Mexico, or Canada.

LAHAINA CHINESE

Little is known about the Chinese who may have resided in Lahaina from 1852-1865, however, their first recorded mention occurred in Francis T. Bishop's *Narrative of a Voyage in the North and South Pacific Oceans*, which he penned in 1832. He wrote that: "At one end of the settlement [(in Lahaina)] was a Chinese store built by...a merchant [from] the Island of Oahu." He noted that the shopkeepers charged whatever the market would bear for a variety of goods including: "teas, coffee, crockeryware [sic], goat hides, glass ornaments, beads and other trinkets, silk, handkerchiefs, hats, cutlery, haberdashery...marine stores, [and] various articles of Chinese manufacture." As a result, Bishop also became the first Anglo-American on record to proffer anti-Chinese sentiment about Lahaina Chinese when he called them, "cheating Chinamen" because of their prices (Witley Files, Bishop 1832: 17).

In the following year another description of a Chinese entrepreneur in the port occurred when Ah Chon was granted permission by Kamehameha III to "build a house at the Island of Mowī [sic] and fence the same...to accommodate Masters & Officers of whale ships." [H]ousehold furniture, cooking utensils, [etc. were] to be furnished by Ah Chon and the profits...[of] the said [e]stablishment [were] to be equally divided by the said [p]arties (Ibid., Int. Dept. Misc. 1833 – Ah). At least a dozen other references to the Chinese in Lahaina were made during the 1840s. Unfortunately, most of the romanized Chinese family and personal names, like anglicized Hawaiian names such as "Mowī" in lieu of "Maui," remain unintelligible.

Honolulu had at least one Chinese-owned business by 1843, a bakery operated by Sung & Company, and Lahaina was purported to have had a branch of the mercantile firm, Sam Sing & Company, which also operated establishments in Waimea, Kohala, and Hilo during the nineteenth century (Lum 1988: 16). The company also opened a branch in Kahului by 1900. It may be conjectured that a number of Chinese laborers had been hired by four sugar companies that were operating in the township prior to being acquired by PMCo. They included: Lahaina Sugar Company (1859-1876), West Maui Plantation Company or West Maui Sugar Association (1871-1893), J. Campbell (1860-1863), and Campbell & Turton (1863-1865), the predecessor of PMCo (Dorrance and Morgan 2000: 12-13; 63-64; Simpich 1974: 134, 174; PMCo 1961: n.p.; Conde 1973: 252-53).

The first census to enumerate the Chinese in the archipelago occurred in 1866 and 1,206 were recorded as residents. This number stayed rather constant until 1878 when it increased to 5,916 and rose dramatically in 1884 when it reached 17,939 persons (Thrum 1885: 71). In that year the Chinese in Lahaina were finally recorded as comprising 350 males and four females out of the township's total population of 2,269 persons (Ibid., 1889-1890: 6). PMCo

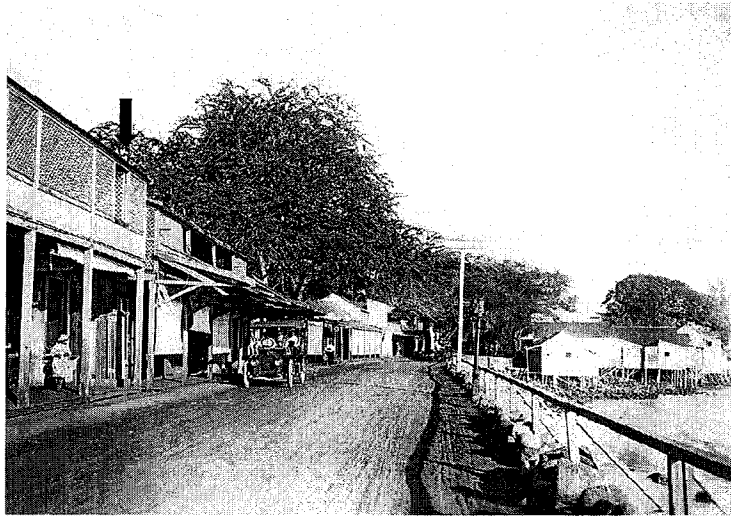


Figure 3. Front Street in 1900 with two-story building identified by Waal in 1897 as housing the Goo Lip tailor shop and the residence of L.A. Choy and family, who operated the precursor of the PMCo Lahaina Store. *Courtesy Maui Historical Society.*



Figure 4. Front Street in 1900 with building identified by Waal as housing the Goo Lip tailor shop and the residence of L.A. Choy and family. *Courtesy Maui Historical Society.*

was reported as having 247 Chinese workers on its payroll, including 210 contract laborers and thirty-seven day laborers, out of a total of 1,541 workers which included 1,186 Japanese, five Portuguese, and forty-eight Hawaiian or Kānaka laborers (Thrum 1898-1899: 176). The population figures for 1884 suggest that out of Lahaina's Chinese population of 354 persons, 144 were probably local merchants, followed by their employees, as well as farmers, fisherman, tradesman, or teamsters.

By 1890 Lahaina's population was recorded as being 2,113 persons. The township's Chinese population had decreased to eighty-nine males and five females although additional details were lacking, and the decrease mirrored a general contraction in the archipelago's total Chinese population to 15,301 persons (Ibid 1895: 11-12). In contrast, Wailuku's Chinese population was enumerated as including 1,202 males and 33 females and contained the largest Chinese community on Maui (Ibid.: 12). Other population centers on the island included Kahului, Kula, Pā'ia (Makawao), and Hana but no similar enumerations were made in that year. In contrast, the 1890 census reported that Honolulu had 7,522 Chinese residing in the city (Ibid.: 14).

Other nineteenth century descriptions of the Chinese in Lahaina were penned by postmaster Arthur Waal in 1897. He wrote that:

There were a number of Chinese restaurants and stores on the Main [(Front)] Street, and the stores carried a good stock, and had a nice trade in groceries and dry goods. There were several Chi-

nese laundry shops, and one Chinese attracted my attention because of a long queue hanging down his back. He was standing in the door, and with his mouth, was spraying the clothes that he was to iron... (Waal 1897: 4).

Waal recorded some of the Chinese-owned businesses on Front Street and keyed his text to a period photograph (Figures 3, 4). From his description, they were not concentrated into a quarter, referred to in the vernacular of the period as a "Chinatown" but were interspersed among businesses that were operated by Europeans and Anglo-Americans. They included the two-story "Goo Lip tailor shop," whose second floor housed "Mr. and Mrs. Choy and family," an unidentified "Chinese restaurant," "Charles Dudoit's billiard parlor, a Japanese barber shop" with the "Lahaina Telephone Office" on the second floor, "John Richardson's law office, Matt McCann's saloon" and "Chang Chong restaurant." Waal added that "Yee Chong & Co., Choy Kim Sing, manager, [was] on the extreme left" (Ibid.: 46). Other Chinese enterprises that Waal recorded in 1897 were the following: "Sing Kee Restaurant &

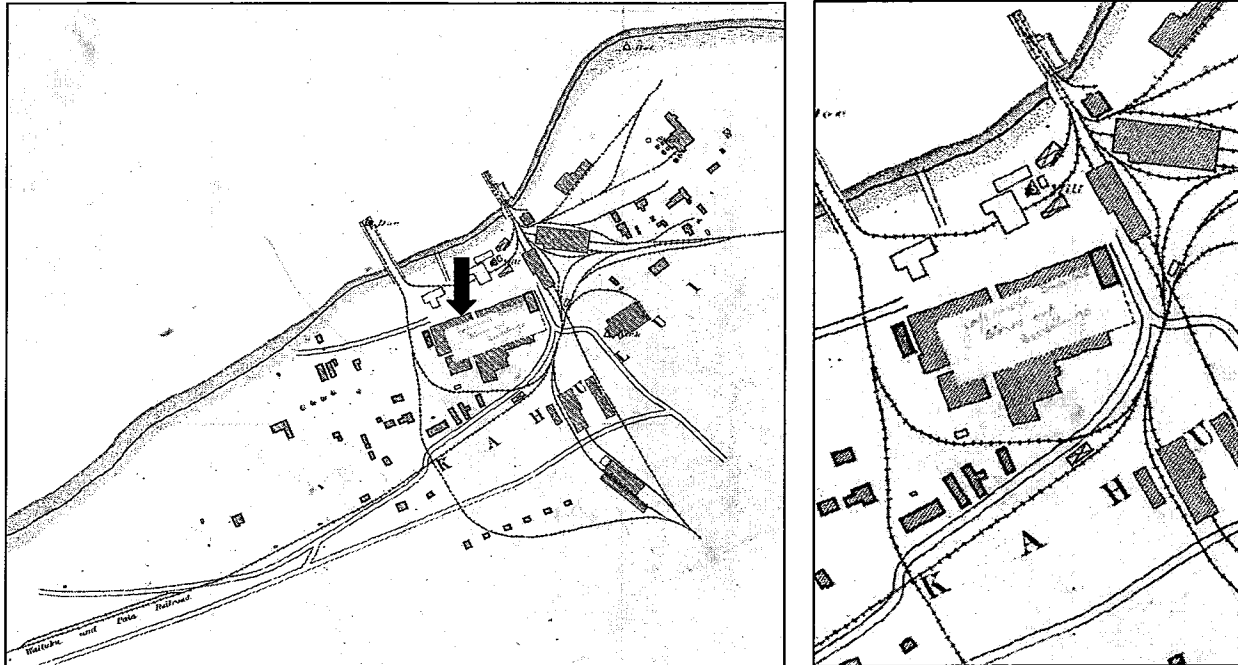


Figure 5. Kahului in 1899 before the fire of 1900. The buildings partially obscured by the label, “Japanese stores and dwellings,” appear to have been the location of the Chinese quarter which was burned by the Territorial Board of Health in March 1900. *Courtesy University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.*

Bakery, Yet Lung Grocery, G.G. Seong, General merchandise, Nee Chong & Co., Chong Kim Sing, manager; Lahaina Restaurant & Bakery, Chang Chong, manager; Ah You Poi Factory, [and] Ah Nee Poi Factory” (Ibid.: 65).

Waal had emigrated to Maui from Norway and started his tenure at Lahaina as a field luna at Ka’anapali for PMCo. He described his experience there, noting that there was a Chinese store near the camp, which was situated three miles north of the township, that it “was operated by Ah Ping & Co., and [that] the manager in charge of the store was Lau Tong.” He continued: “From him I bought a broom, a mattress, a pillow and cover, a kerosene lamp, a bottle of kerosene, a wash basin, pitcher, water glass, bucket, soap, tray, and towels, etc.” (Ibid.: 8). Given the selection of items purchased by the author, the store appeared to be well stocked, but Waal complained nonetheless that, “the store had no furniture for sale...” He also added that: “At Kaanapali, we had no such thing as a recreation hall or clubhouse, [so] a Chinese restaurant took its place” (Ibid.: 10). Waal’s brief descriptions suggest that during the 1890s, there were at least ten Chinese-owned establishments in Lahaina and two in Ka’anapali.

By 1900 Chinese community in Lahaina numbered some 354 individuals and there were at least thirty-five Chinese-owned businesses in the township (Thrum 1898-1899: 8; Polk-Husted 1902: 552-612). They were enumerated as including sixteen general merchandise stores, four laundries and tailors, three coffee saloons and groceries, two restaurants, two taro growers and poi manufacturers, two shoe repair establishments, one coffee grower, dairyman, and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1902: 552-612). PMCo employed Chinese managers at its stores in Ka’anapali and Pu’ukoli’i as well as a clerk. The dominant business type was comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Goo Lip, Sing Fat, Yee Chong Company, Sing Chong & Company, and G.G. Seong (Ibid.). Advertisements for G.G. Seong were later printed in the local Anglo press, along with others for a growing number of Chinese-owned businesses in Wailuku.

Lahaina was the site of a Japanese-led strike against PMCo in April 1900. The walkout lasted three weeks and included 600 workers from Ka’anapali camp and Mill Camp, joined by 200 workers from Olowalu Sugar Company, located six miles south of Lahaina. Maui County Sheriff L. Mansfield Baldwin and a contingent of deputies were called from Wailuku to maintain order and the strike ended without violence (*Maui News*, April 7, 1900: 3: 5; April 14, 1900: 3: 2; April 28, 1900: 3: 1).

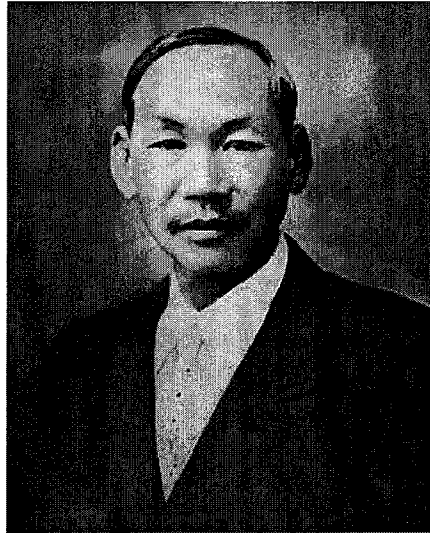


Figure 6. Chung Kung You, Co-Founder of Wo Hing Hui Kuan in 1909. *Courtesy Wo Hing Society.*



Figure 7. Chan Wa, Co-Founder of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan in 1909. *Courtesy Wo Hing Society.*

Earlier in January a discovery of bubonic plague in Honolulu following the deaths of twenty-six individuals prompted officials to quarantine the city's Chinatown and forcibly remove its population of Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiians to camps that had been established at Kalihi beach, at two sites occupied by a drill shed and kerosene warehouse, as well as on the grounds of Kawaihau Church. The quarter was then set ablaze but the fire raged out of control and destroyed sixty acres of downtown Honolulu (Mohr 2005: 141).

Three months later, Maui was faced with a similar public health emergency when six plague cases were confirmed as having occurred in the three-acre Chinese quarter in Kahului (Figure 5). Quarantines were declared for Kahului as well as for Wailuku, Hana, and Lahaina. Some two hundred residents, mostly Chinese and Japanese, along with a few Hawaiians and one Anglo were removed to a detention area that was established at the Kahului horse racing track. It was later named Camp Wood after Clifford Wood, President of the Honolulu Board of Health, who traveled by steamer to Maui to supervise the operation. The Kahului quarter was then similarly set afire. The larger Chinese business community in Wailuku was barely spared a similar fate after it was argued briefly by officials and the press that its conditions were worse than those of Honolulu's Chinatown prior to the discovery of the plague.

The destruction of the Chinese section in Honolulu was resented by many in that city's Chinese community for decades because health officials appeared to target Asian-owned and occupied properties. In addition, the conflagration reminded Honolulu's Asians of another fire that occurred in their quarter in 1886 and had been accompanied by mob violence, as well as the burning of Chinese communities that occurred on the U.S. mainland from 1880 onward. Such incidents were almost always violent and routinely involved roundups, deportations, and new laws which barred their return. The destruction by fire of Chinese homes and businesses from 1880-1890 in the West occurred in: Diamondville, Dutch Flat, Susanville, Tulare, Rock Springs, Newcastle, Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Placerville, Redding, Donner Lake, Marysville, Portland, Sawyer's Bar, Truckee, Chico, Modesto, Yreka, North San Juan, and San Jose (Pfaelzer 2007: 256-287). Following the removal of the Chinese, the vacant and charred real estate almost always passed into the hands of awaiting Anglo-Americans. Consequently, Kahului's Chinese merchants became equally suspicious of the public health motive after an expansion of the harbor was undertaken by the Kahului Railroad Company (KRRCo) in the years that followed the fire.

Lahaina's Chinese business owners appeared to act out their frustrations in December 1904 when they attempted to sever their dependence on European and Anglo-American shipping companies by establishing, along with a group of Japanese and Chinese merchants in Honolulu, a jointly-owned company with its own vessels. The inter-ethnic solidarity was a direct result of the Honolulu Chinatown fire and prompted the formation of the short-lived Japanese-Chinese Bi-national United Association. The organization was followed by the Japanese-Chinese Federation which represented Asian property owners in claims and reparations sought from the Territorial and later,

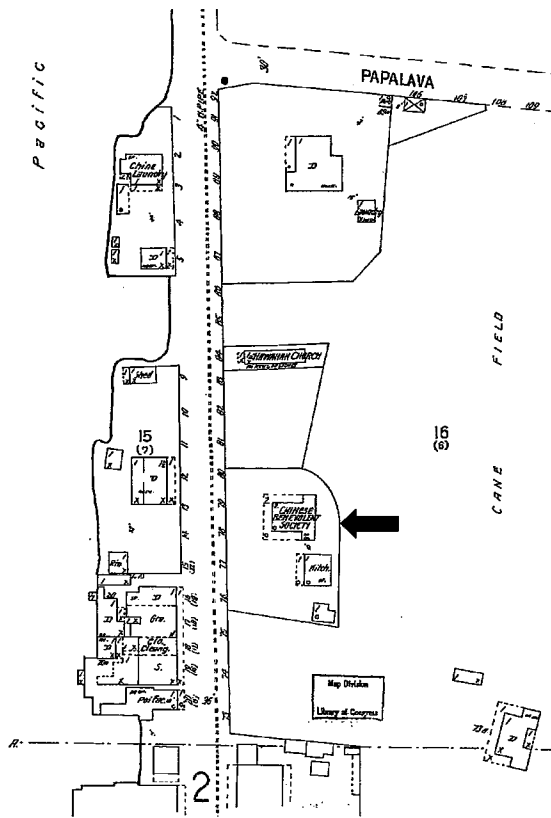


Figure 8. Wo Hing Society Hall at 79 Front Street, Lahaina. Other Chinese-owned buildings on Front Street during the decade include the Chine[se] Laundry, a Poi factory, and possibly a grocery (Sanborn Insurance Company, 1914: 2).

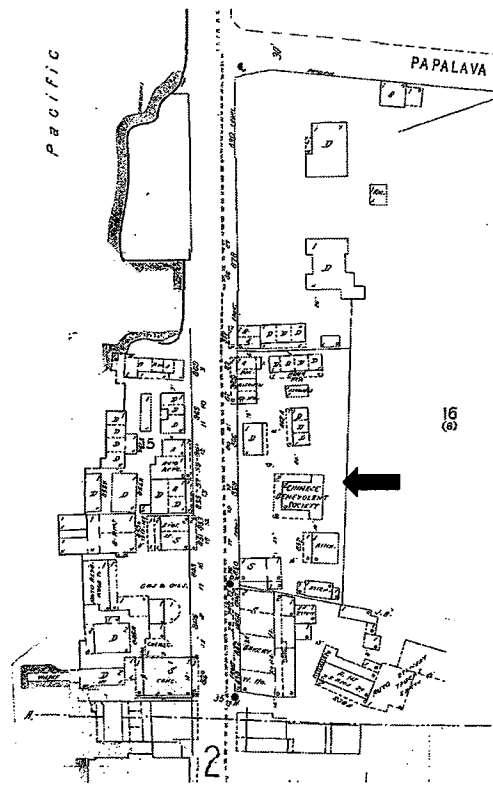


Figure 9. Wo Hing Society Hall re-addressed as 858 Front Street, Lahaina (Sanborn Insurance Company, 1919: 1).

Federal governments (Ibid.: 184, 194). The Maui meeting was held at the Ah Ping & Co. store at Ka'anapali on December 31 of that year and was announced by the local press. Unfortunately, the proposal did not materialize.

THE WO HING SOCIETY

Although the Wo Hing Society appears to have been in existence prior to 1900, it was August 1905 before members of the local Chinese community officially incorporated the organization at the Lahaina courthouse. “Wo” was transliterated as “Peace and Harmony” and “Hing” as “Prosperity” (Yip 2003: 30). The Wo Hing Society was initially formed by Chung Kung (C.K.) You and Chun Wa (Chan Wa) and they are regarded as the founders of the association (Figures 6, 7). C.K. You was also known as “Ah You” and was listed as such in the telephone directory as well as “C. You” and may have been also identified as “Huang You.” He was identified in the telephone directory of 1905 as the manager of the PMCo Ka'anapali Store and assumed the management of Ah Ping & Co which Arthur Waal described earlier in 1897 (Polk-Husted 1905: 553; Waal 1897: 8). Ah Ping was later hired as the manager of Kipahulu Sugar Company, a German-owned enterprise that had been incorporated in 1879 and replaced a disgraced German manager named H. Haneberg (*Maui News*, December 15, 1906: 2:2). You's wife, Chung Char Tse, is attributed to have been involved in the initial purchase of the parcel on which the first Wo Hing building was erected (Yip 2009: personal communication). Chan Wa was not listed in the local directories in 1900 or 1905 but was later identified in the directory of 1910 as “Chan Wa, Poi, Lahaina,” then noted as operating a general store by 1920 (Polk-Husted 1910: 803; 1920-1921: 1207).

In 1905 the *Maui News* described Wo Hing as a “mutual relief society” that had been capitalized in the amount of \$10,000 and stated: “Mow Sing and eight other Chinese of Lahaina have filed an application with the Treasurer [A.J. Campbell, T.H.] for a charter for a mutual relief society under the name of Wo Hung Kee [sic; Wo Hing Kung

See]. The capital stock is \$10,000 with a privilege of extension to \$50,000" (*Maui News*, August 26, 1905: 5:1). Mow Sing was later identified in the local telephone directory of 1910 as the proprietor of Tong Chong, a "restaurant" and "general merchandise" store in Lahaina (Polk-Husted 1910: 833, 846). The other eight Chinese who were listed on the charter unfortunately remain unknown.

Wo Hing was actually comprised of three organizations, the Wo Hing Society or "Wo Hing Hui Kuan" and the Wo Hing Company or "Wo Hing Kung See," as well as the Man Fuk Tong which was responsible for maintaining the Chinese cemeteries and performing the mortuary functions for the society's membership and local Chinese residents. "Hui Kuan" was transliterated as "society," while Kung See was synonymous with "company" (Yip 2003: 20). "Tong" could have many meanings including "residence," "public hall," or "association." Used in conjunction with other words such as "miu tong," "gau tong," "chee tong," and "hawk tong," the phrases could be transliterated as "temple" or "shrine," "church," "ancestral hall," and "school," respectively (Ibid.).

In September 1905, the *News* indicated that:

The Wo Hung Kong See [sic; Wo Hing Kung See] Association is now an incorporated institution; with a capital stock of \$10,000, and the right to increase to \$50,000. On Thursday and Friday evenings of last week there was a joyful celebration by the Society, with flying colors and a gong symphony. On Sunday evening the festivities were continued. The members of the Association are very charitable among their needy countryman (Ibid., September 2, 1905: 5:2).

Earlier in the same year, the Lahaina Chinese community had received brief mention by the Anglo-American press following Lunar New Year:

The Chinese made liberal preparations of [sic] the celebration of New Years. Some of them closed their shops for three days, and all of them observed the festival on Friday (Ibid., February 4, 1905: 3:2). The Chinese residents spared no expense in celebrating their New Year's Day. Plenty of powder was burned, illuminations turned night into day, and bountiful dinners were served in several places. Flags were displayed at the Wo Hing Club House. The serenaders [sic] came round at 10 o'clock on New Year's Eve, and at 5 a. m. on New Year's Day. The Chinese families were very liberal in extending hospitalities to persons of other nationalities (Ibid).

In December of that year, the *News* also reported that to commemorate the organization's new status "...extensive improvements at the Wo Hing Society House will be completed in time for the Chinese New Year's activities" (Ibid., December 23, 1905: 2:3). Less than one month later, the weekly stated that:

The...improvements at the Wo Hing Club House having been nearly completed, a bountiful dinner was served on Tuesday afternoon, under the direction of Ah Y[o]u of Kaanapali. Among the guests were a number of prominent gentlemen, irrespective of nationality or religion. The menu was quite tempting, and there was an abundance for all. A leading member of the Honolulu Wo Hing Society arrived last week, and was present during the festivities (Ibid., January 20, 1906: 6:2).

In May 1905 while the Wo Hing Society's building was in the middle of construction, Lahaina was once more the site of a Japanese-led strike which unfortunately turned violent, and the town was placed under martial law. News of the strike and occupation by a force of 126 National Guardsmen from Honolulu was published in newspapers across the U.S. mainland, beginning with the *New York Times* (May 22, 1905: 2: 1). The strike began on May 20 and lasted only five days.

Following the end of the walkout work resumed on the Wo Hing Society building (Figures 8, 9). After completion of the new edifice, carved and painted wood plaques and couplets were ordered from a Chinese sign maker in Honolulu who carved and painted them, then wrapped them and sent them by ship to society members in Lahaina in 1906. A receipt for the work, written with a brush and Chinese ink was kept among the society's records.

The improvements to the Wo Hing building were substantial and included a large hipped roof which dominated the edifice, an enlarged floor plan, a two-story *lanai* or balcony with portico, and late Victorian details. Although the

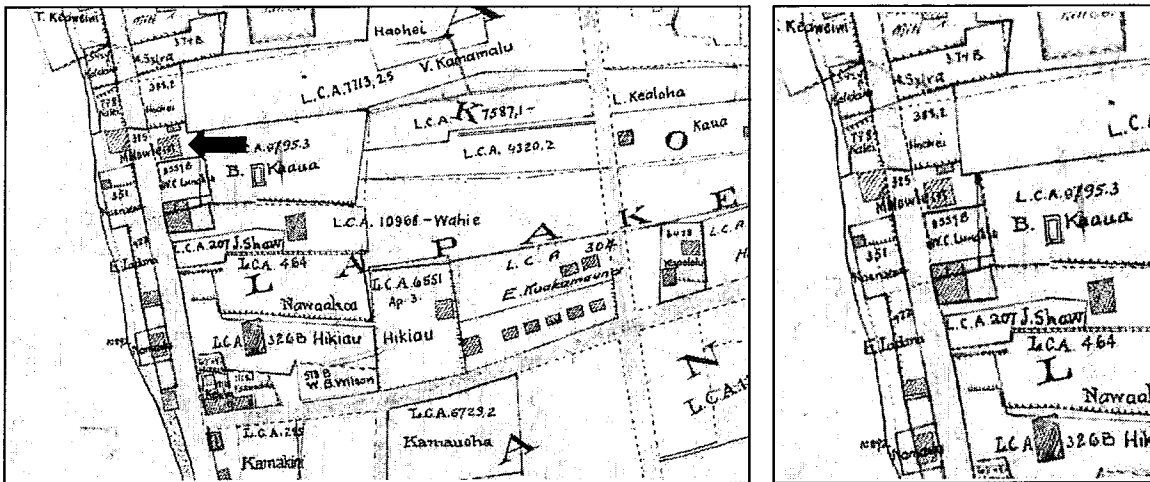


Figure 10. Two parcels owned by M. Nowlein (Land Commission Award [LCA] 325) and W.C. Lunalilo (LCA 85348), which later became the building site of the Wo Hing Society building. *Courtesy Hawai'i State Archives.*

edifice was built by Chinese for a Chinese organization, it was a thoroughly American building and presented a fashionable edifice to both Lahaina residents and visitors. The dominant feature, a hipped roof, was not yet widely used on the island, and would not occur on another building in the township until the Lahaina courthouse was renovated with a similar roof in 1926. Unfortunately, the identity of the contractor responsible for erecting the society building remains unknown. It may be conjectured that he was also the builder of the Tow Yee Kwok hall that was constructed in Wailuku one year earlier. This may be inferred from the similarities in plans, details, and style of the two buildings, which, apart from Wo Hing's hipped roof, appear to have been nearly identical.

The Tow Yee Kwok Association was incorporated on May 24, 1904 by Hoo Sam, Young Yuen, Ah Ton, Lamb Sung, and a Chinese Hawaiian with the surname of Akana (Fong-Mitchell 1982: 2; Polk-Husted 1902: 554; 1910: 799). The construction of a new hall occurred on a parcel that had been purchased from Sam Kahale, and the site was located on the edge of the business district, in the 2000 block of Vineyard Street (Polk-Husted 1902: 575). Brief descriptions of its construction were reported by the *News* from December 1904 through January 1905 and they comprise the most complete account of the erection of a Chinese building on Maui in the twentieth century. In the second week of December 1904 the press noted that, "The Chinese of Wailuku are erecting a large two-story building on Vineyard Street, to be used as a Joss House" (*Maui News*, December 10, 1904: 3: 1). At the end of the month, the *News* reported:

The Chinese Joss House or Lodge being constructed on Vineyard Street is a unique building so far as the roof is concerned. Along the combs of the roof a Chinese dragon with two tails stretches its length, glaring from a fierce head down on the passers by, and along the eaves like designs are being worked out (Ibid., December 31, 1904: 3: 1)

In the first week of January 1905, the *News* announced that, "[t]he Chinese Joss house on Vineyard Street is about finished, and its exterior, especially the roof finishing, is enough to produce convulsions, especially when the big dragon waves its green tail to the zepthers [sic] (Ibid., January 7, 1905: 3: 1).

After the construction of the hall was completed the press described the dedication of the new building: "On last Saturday evening and Sunday the Chinese dedicated their Joss House on Vineyard Street, to a [sic] ear-splitting accompaniment of firecrackers, drums, and Chinese gongs" (Ibid., January 21, 1905: 3: 1). The reporter continued with an announcement of plans for the Tow Yee Kwok's first social function: "The Chinese of the Gee Kung Tong [sic; Tow Yee Kwok] Society [will] entertain their friends at a swell Chinese dinner, all the dishes to be prepared Chinese style, at their temple on Vineyard Street tomorrow evening (Ibid.: 3: 1).

Another mention of the Wailuku Chinese was made by the local press following Lunar New Year in 1905. It stated that: "Promptly at 12 o'clock on Tuesday night, a salute was fired, in honor of the Chinese New Year. The

enthusiastic celebration continued all day along [sic] on Wednesday. The homes and shops of prominent Chinamen were finely decorated, and the serenaders [sic] made their rounds as usual” (Ibid., January 27, 1905: 2:3).

Six months later, the society fulfilled its obligations to its Hawaiian benefactor, Sam Kahale, following his death. Kahale had been identified in the local telephone directory as a “taro planter” who resided in Wailuku and appears to have been a widower (Polk-Husted 1902: 575). The funeral was reported by the local press:

S. Kahale[,] one of Maui’s old time Hawaiians...died suddenly last Monday and was buried under the auspices of the [Ch]ee Kung Tong Society which is composed of the representative [C]hinese merchants and businessmen of Central Maui.

It appears that when this society, which is a branch of the society by the same name on Oahu, were [sic] ready to build their club house, Kahale sold them the land at a nominal figure with the understanding that at his death he was to be buried by the society with full ritual...and a still further sum was to be paid monthly or annually to his heirs. This is the first funeral of this nature to occur in the territory (Ibid., August 19, 1905: 2:2).

Like the Tow Yee Kwock in Wailuku, the Wo Hing Society’s generosity to non-Chinese was commonplace at Lunar New Year celebrations, and was also extended for funerals. Such was the case in December of 1905, following the death of Lahaina resident, Samuel Nowlein, who was English. Nowlein had been born in Kamalo, Moloka’i in 1851 and had been educated in Honolulu. He was a royalist, had been Quartermaster General of the Royal Guard at I’olani Palace, and had been decorated by King Kalākaua with the Royal Order of the Star of the Oceanic. Following the American-led *coup d’etat* in 1893, he had been one of the leaders, along with Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox, of the ill-fated “Revolution of 1895” which attempted to effect a counter-coup against the two-year-old Republic of Hawai’i and re-establish the monarchy. Nowlein was captured at Waialae along with several others, pleaded guilty to charges of treason at a military court, and escaped death from a firing squad by turning state’s evidence (Waal 1897: 54). At the time of his death, ten years after the rebellion, he had been living in an old house behind the ruins of the Richard’s mission on Main (Front) Street.

The nature of Nowlein’s association with the Chinese community in Lahaina remains unknown, although his grandfather Michael J. Nowlein, a former sea captain and Lahaina sugar grower during the 1840s, owned one of two parcels (LCA 325) on which the Wo Hing society hall was eventually built (Figure 10). Similarly, a relationship between the younger Nowlien and the Chinese community in Honolulu can only be conjectured. His co-leader in the 1895 rebellion, Robert Wilcox, had been related by the marriage of a sister to Sung Kee-yun, a Honolulu merchant who came to Maui to establish branches of the Hsing Chung Hui, and who along with his two sons, later died in China in several of Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s uprisings against the Ch’ing Dynasty (Lum 1999: 74). After the rebellion, there were rumors which persisted for some fifty years that Honolulu Chinese had provided assistance to Wilcox but those remained unsubstantiated (Mohr 2005: 25). Nowlein’s funeral in 1905 was described by a reporter for the local press who wrote:

The funeral took place on Wednesday afternoon...There was a large attendance of sympathizing friends, including persons of several religious faith [sic]. A procession was formed, consisting of Lahaina policemen escorting the hearse; the Wo Hing Society with funeral banners; carriages conveying the bearers; the relations of the deceased and others...The burial took place in a private cemetery...After the Episcopal Committee Service...the Wo Hing Society left two mortuary flags over the grave (*Maui News*, December 9, 1905: 6:3).

Prior to being registered as a mutual aid society in August 1905, the Wo Hing organization appears to have been already involved in the care of elderly and sick Chinese. This fulfilled one of three obligations that typically were within the purview of Chinese fraternal societies. The *News* reported, albeit with some derision, that in April of that year, “[a] Chinaman named Lee died in the Wo Hing Club House on Monday after a long illness” (Ibid., April 15, 1905: 5:2). By 1905 the Chinese had officially been in the territory for some fifty-three years, and the Man Fuk Tong Association of the Wo Hing Society maintained three cemeteries in Lahaina for the burial of its members as well as other local Chinese. They included Pueue and Pu’upihā Cemeteries in Lahaina, and Hanakao’o Cemetery south of Ka’anapali (Yip 2003: 23; Nishiyama 2009: personal Communication).

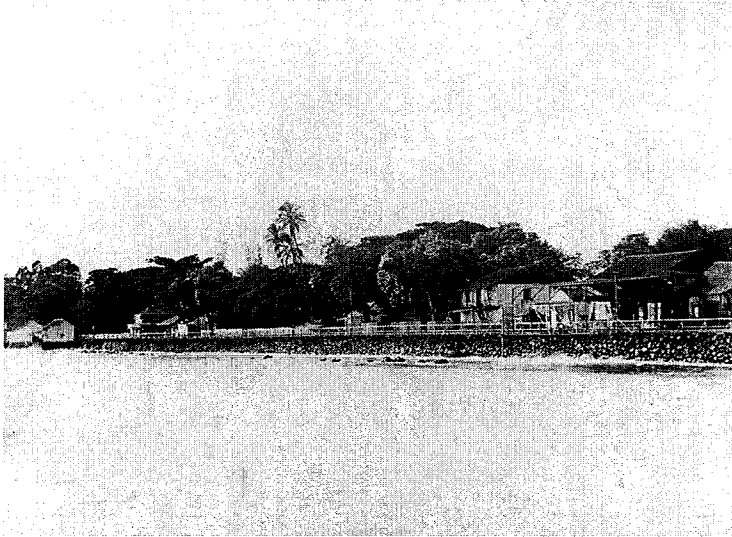


Figure 11. Front Street in 1910. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

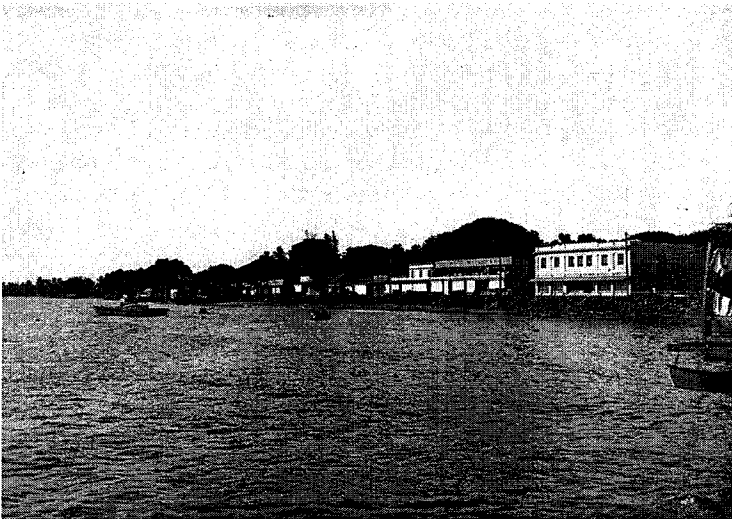


Figure 12. Front Street in 1913 after the construction of the Lahaina Store by PMCo. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

In that year there were thirty-one Chinese-owned and operated businesses in Lahaina. They included fourteen general merchandise stores, four laundries and tailors, three coffee saloons and bakeries, three groceries, one restaurant, two taro growers and poi manufacturers, one shoe repair establishment, one dairyman, watchmaker, and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1904-1905: 493-632). The dominant business type was comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Goo Lip, Sing Fat, Kwong Sang Wo, Len Wai, and Yee Chong Company (Ibid.). In July of 1905 the Anglo press announced that: "A Chinese drug store [(Quong Wo Lung)] has been opened at the corner of Main (Front) and Mill Streets (Lahainaluna Road) (*Maui News*, July 15, 1905: 5: 2).

Five years later, the number of Chinese-owned and operated businesses had increased to forty-four and the number of listings in the local directories included thirteen trades, managers, and professionals. The businesses included only eight general merchandise stores, six laundries and tailors, four coffee saloons and bakeries, two groceries, four restaurants, five taro growers and poi manufacturers, one shoe repair establishment, one butcher, one watchmaker and jeweler, one harness maker, one machinist, one confectioner, a teacher and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1904-1905: 493-632). The dominant business type was still comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Goo Lip, Sing Fat Co., Kwong Sang Wo, Kwon Wo Tong, Yet Lung, and Wing Chong Company (Ibid.).

Another plaque and couplets arrived from Honolulu at the Wo Hing Society in 1911. They were sent by twenty members of the Hung Shing-di (Hong Cheng Di). Association. In December of that year, the 267-year Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) finally came to an end. The day-to-day emblem of the Ch'ing rulers, the braided queues worn by Chinese, often referred to as "pig tails" by even the most tolerant of European and Anglo-American writers including Arthur Waal, were cut off by their wearers (Waal 1897: 4). Announcement of a new government was anxiously awaited by the Chinese in Lahaina as well as in other overseas Chinese communities.

Unfortunately, the formation of the Republic of China was never properly announced by the *News* beneath a prominent headline but only reported with the following text from a wireless cable: "NANKING, DEC. 19. Dr. Sun Yat[-s]en has been elected president of the new Chinese republic" (*Maui News*, December 23, 1911: 3: 2). A political cartoon was carried on the front page the following week (Figure 13; Ibid., December 30, 1911: 1: 3). The cartoon featured a hen named "Liberty," with four chicks named "Turkey, Portugal, Persia," and "Mexico," who looked awestruck as a chick emerged from an egg marked "China." The hen was captioned as remarking: "I didn't

Maui News

ILUKU, MAUI, H. T., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1911

THE CHINA EGG.



Maui News

ILUKU, MAUI, H. T., SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1912

THE NEW JOSS.



Maui News

ILUKU, MAUI, H. T., SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1912

A PROGRESSIVE AT THE INTERNATIONAL DOORS.



Figure 13. Mainland political cartoons depicting China and the Chinese were printed on the front pages of the *Maui News* following Dr. Sun Yat-sen's establishment of the Republic of China on October 11, 1911 (left: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 30, 1911; middle: *New York Mail*, January 6, 1912; and right: *Washington Star*, March 9, 1912).

expect that one to hatch" (Ibid.). Along with a description of Dr. Sun's wife in Kula which appeared under the headline "First Lady of China," and the by-line, "Long Lived Here on Maui and Raised Her Family," which was printed later on January 6, 1912, these items comprise the few positive representations of the Chinese which were carried by the local press (Ibid., January 6, 1912: 2: 2).

In March 1912 the membership of the Wo Hing Society was recorded by the local Anglo-American press as celebrating the establishment of the new government when it stated: "The Chinese celebration of the birth of the new republic was a big affair, lasting all day Sunday and Monday, and ending with a lantern parade in the evening" (Ibid., February 23, 1912: 5: 1). Similarly at the Tow Yee Kwock hall in Wailuku the *News* noted that: "The new flag of the Chinese Republic was hoisted on the flag staff of the Chinese clubhouse on Market [S]treet Wednesday noon, and saluted with a salvo of bombs and firecrackers. It is called the rainbow flag and is composed of five bars, red, yellow, blue, white, and black" (Ibid.: February 24, 1912: 5: 2).

There were unfortunately, two factions of Chinese who resided in Wailuku. The Tow Yee Kwock was a branch of the Chee Kung Tong, while another group, the Bo Wong Society, remained loyal to the Ch'ing government. The roots of the Bo Wong or "Chinese Reform Society" lay in the Bo Kwock Hui or "National Protective Association." The organization had been founded in 1898 by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao to transform the absolute monarchy of the Ch'ing Dynasty into a constitutional monarchy. The movement failed and its two leaders fled China for Japan. The emperor, Kuang Sui, was accused of participating in the movement, imprisoned by the empress dowager, and a price placed on the heads of Kang and Liang (Lun 1936: 30).

The name of the organization was changed in Japan to Bo Wong Wui or "Emperor Protective Association" in the belief that the emperor must be saved in order to save China. In March 1900 Liang secretly traveled to Hawai'i from Japan, arriving in the aftermath of the Honolulu Chinatown fire, and he organized the first branch of the Bo Wong Wui there (Ibid.). The organization existed through 1908. Following the death of the emperor Kuang Sui in that year, its name was changed to Dai Kwock Hin Jing Dong or "Imperial Constitutionalist Party" and once more in 1912 after the establishment of the Chinese Republic to Chung Kwock Hin Jing Dong or "Chinese Constitutional Party." Despite the formal changes in monikers, however, the organization still remained known in the vernacular as the Chinese Reform Society (Ibid.).

At least one altercation between members of the two groups broke out in Wailuku after the February 1912 celebration it was reported by the local press. It stated: "As a result of the Chinese flag raising, Wednesday noon, Dang Fong, banker Lufkin's cook, and Ching Hau, the Market Street watchmaker and member of the Bow Wing [(Bo Wong)] Society, got into an altercation and Dang Fong beat Ching Hau over the head with a parasol. Hau had to go to the doctor and Fong fell into the hands of the police" (Ibid.). Neither of the participants was listed in the local telephone directory and no record of similar activity was noted as having occurred in Lahaina.

In that year, another plaque and pair of couplets were received by the Wo Hing Society from the Hung Shing-di (Hong Cheng Di; Hung Men) members in Honolulu. Carved with the dedication, "a gift from all of us," were the donor's names. They included: Chung Kun-yau, Yu Yuen-wo, Wong Fuk-chiu, Yu Yuk-wah, Wong Ying-fu, Yung Sam-mong, Leung Chung, Lau Shun, Chan Hung, Ng Ngai, Chan Ying-wah, Yan Kai-kwong, Lam Tak-chiao, Wong Di-luk, Lam Bu-hung, Chan Mui-mau, Wong Hung-chim, Yip Hung-sheung, Ng Kin-tak, and Tong Shui-lin.

In 1912 many of Hawaii's educated Chinese left the islands for China to participate in the establishment of the new government. Even the HEA indicated in its annual report for that year that all of its Chinese missions were suddenly without pastors. A number of Lahaina's Chinese appear to have left the township as well and there were a number of merchants whose names had been published in the telephone directory of 1910 who were no longer listed.

U.S. popular opinion was generally in support of Dr. Sun's revolution and the United States was the first country to recognize the new government, but there remained a number of Anglo-American factions, even in Hawai'i, who appear to have been less than supportive of Chinese nationalism. Political cartoons from various mainland papers were published in the *News*. One featured a caricature of the "Chinese Republic" knocking on the doors of various halls of state from the international community, seeking recognition for the new republic (Figure 13). Another portrayed China as a malevolent dark giant, still wearing a Ch'ing queue wound into a bun, and grasping in one of its hands the statue of liberty which had been labeled "the new joss." (Figure 13). The *News*' decision to publish these and other cartoons conveyed a continued antagonism by its editor toward the local Chinese communities.

In 1914 the U.S. Navy submarine USS F-14 anchored in the Auau Channel off Lahaina, known in the vernacular since the 1840s as "Lahaina Roadstead" or "Lahaina Roads," and the port was visited by its crew. Designated as the alternate anchorage for the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, the Navy returned in 1926, 1938, 1940 and 1941 for maneuvers and what was dubbed, "Fleet Week." The accompanying shore leave participants disembarked at Māla Wharf, which had been built by PMCo earlier in 1921, and inundated the town. One visit was recorded by Chinese photographer Tai Sing Loo later in 1926. Like many tourists who later flocked to the township, a number of the servicemen who were in Lahaina in 1914 walked into the Wo Hing Society building and two photographs were taken by an unidentified crew member which documented their visit. One of the photographs also recorded a pair of couplets which were displayed on the interior east wall.

In 1915 there were forty Chinese businesses operating in Lahaina. They included twelve general merchandise stores, one laundry and tailor, one saloon, four groceries, six restaurants, five taro growers and poi manufacturers, two teamsters, one watchmaker and jeweler, one bicycle dealer and repairman, six managers, and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1915-1916: 1011-1094). The dominant business type was still comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Chan Wa, Pang Sing Fat, Len Wai & Co., Sang Chong, G.G Seong, Wah Ying Lung, Yee Chong Co., and Yet Lung Co. (Ibid.).

The following year beneath the headline, "Local Chinese Celebrate," the *News* reported the following event:

Headed by the Chee Kung Tong or the local Chinese society the Chinese residents of Wailuku have been celebrating all this week what they designate as a "Decoration Day." The club of the association on Vineyard Street has been the center of social activity, and here much elaborate entertaining has been carried on. During the past several evenings a grotesque parade has formed a feature of the celebration in which the brightly colored and richly embroidered Chinese dragon was conspicuous. It was the first celebration of the kind to be held in Wailuku, and will end tomorrow night (Ibid., August 25, 1916: 6: 6).

What the *News* described as "Decoration Day" was the pre-World War I equivalent of Memorial Day. Similar events are presumed to have occurred in Lahaina but were unfortunately not reported by the Anglo-American press with any regularity.

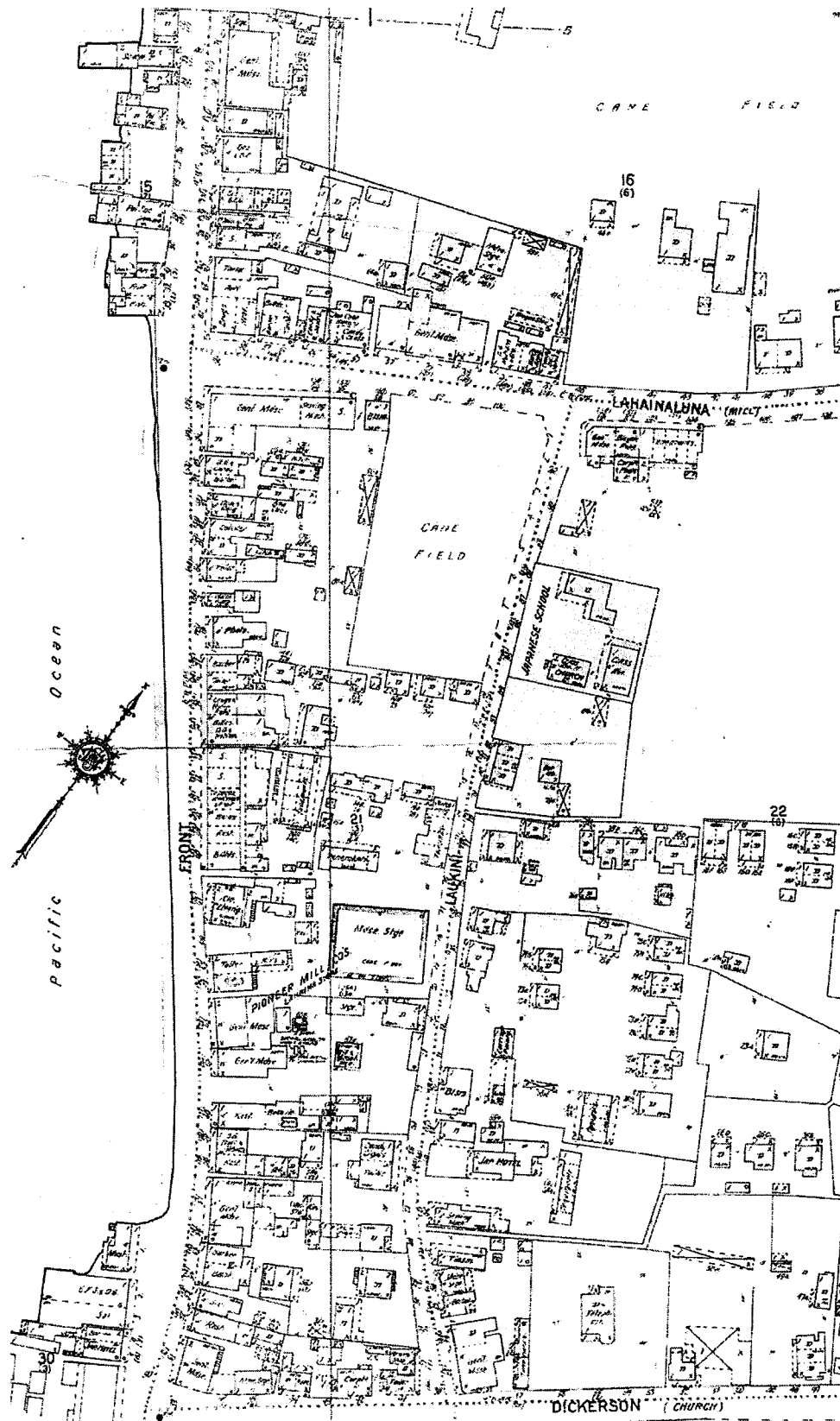


Figure 14. Mid-Section of Lahaina commercial district (Sanborn Insurance Company, 1914: 3).

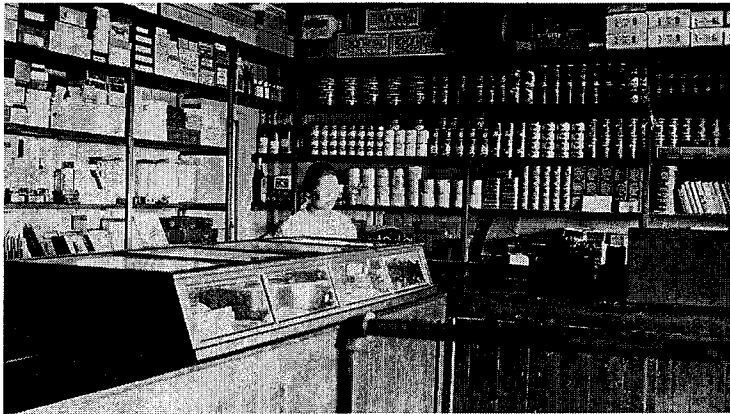


Figure 15. Interior of unidentified Chinese fish market in Lahaina and general store owned and operated by the Soon family in Kipahulu the 1910s. *Courtesy Lahaina Restoration Foundation and Rose Soon.*

The Japanese-Chinese organizations formed in Honolulu in the wake of the fire of 1900 were dissolved by 1915 and the first of many crises between China and Japan loomed on the horizon. The *News* reported beneath the headline, “Chinese Want to Fight,” that “local Chinese appear[ed] to be unanimous in their stand that China should fight rather than submit to Japan’s demands. Some of the speeches [were] of very fiery character, and it [was] proposed to organize military companies in the islands to go to China to assist in the conflict which they believe is very near” (*Maui News*, March 20, 1915: 2: 4).

In March 1916 another plaque and couplets arrived at Wo Hing from Honolulu. They were brought by Zhong Guan-yao and a receipt for the work noted: “Mr. Zhong Guan-yao ordered a pair of red deep carved with golden words [plaque and] couplet on February 12, 1916 for the amount of \$8.50. Full amount was paid by Zhong Guan-yao personally on March 20. Invoiced by Wah Yuan, Honolulu – Hawaii.” The plaque and couplets were prominently displayed on the front of the building.

In 1918 in advance of the Summer Festival, Huang You, ordered on behalf of Wo Hing Kung See, nearly thirty-eight pounds of pork from an unidentified local butcher. A receipt for the order noted that: “28.5 Jin or about 38

pounds of pork was sold for \$8.45 on July 17, 1918.” The pork was “delivered” to Huang You of the Wo Hing Company, who paid for the order, and the meat was “distributed.” Huang You was not identified in the local telephone directory. He may have been “C.K. You” or “Ah You,” one of the society’s founders, a former manager of the Ka’anapali Store, and owner of the Lahaina Poi Factory (Polk-Husted 1910: 798; 1915: 1012). “Ah,” though in common usage and often incorrectly printed in local Anglo telephone directories as a family name or surname, was actually a word of indeterminate meaning, and was used as a familiar term by the Cantonese in place of a personal name. Consequently, “Ah” in “Ah You” could be substituted for “C.K.” in “C.K. You” (Jones 1984 : 20-21).

Although PMCo had hired Ah Ping and C.K. You to run its store at Ka’anapali Camp and another unidentified Chinese manager for its retail establishment at Pu’ukoli’i Camp, the company continued to employ European and Anglo-American managers at its flagship store on Front Street. A new fireproof edifice was erected in 1913 by H. Hackfeld & Company, agent and owner of PMCo, after it had purchased and razed a Chinese mercantile establishment that had been operated by L.A. Choy and his wife during the 1890s. After the transfer of Hackfeld assets to a new entity called American Factors, Ltd. in 1918 which followed the U.S. entry into World War I, audits of the Lahaina Store were conducted by the Honolulu-based Audit Company of Hawaii, Ltd.

In 1918 the company’s accountants noted that the Lahaina Store served a market of some 4,000 persons, that sales were suffering from the competition of some nine Chinese and thirteen Japanese stores who sent salesman into the PMCo camps to solicit business, and that many PMCo employees were small share holders in the competing operations (Audit Company of Hawaii, Ltd, September 12, 1918: 3). The audits also provided information on



Figure 16. Goo Lip block in Lahaina in 1915. *Courtesy Wo Hing Society.*



Figure 17. Unidentified Chinese resident reviewing the damage following the Lahaina fire of 1919. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

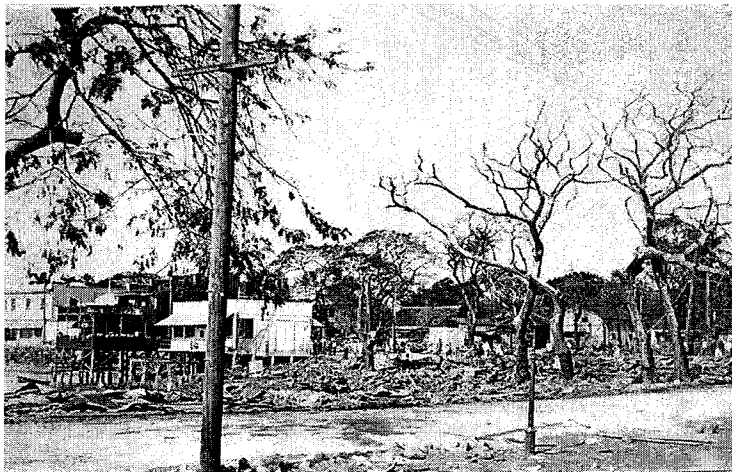


Figure 18. Another view of the fire damaged corner of Front and Market Streets. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

various company and individual accounts and detailed what sundry items the Lahaina Store provided to the Chinese merchant community, such as ice from a PMCo subsidiary, Lahaina Ice Company for Hop Kee Store, as well as what local Chinese rented commercial property from PMCo such as Ah Chong, G.G. Seong, and Sing Chong (Ibid., August 31, 1918: n.p.).

In the following year, despite the fact that Lahaina had escaped destruction during the bubonic plague scare of 1900, the business district was devastated by a fire. There had been a few small blazes in the town during the early 1900s such as one in June 1901 which destroyed “three Chinese buildings including the store of You Lee, which was insured for \$1,500” but they had been easily contained (*Maui News*, June 29, 1901: 3: 1). On Saturday, January 5, 1919, however, an evening conflagration destroyed four blocks as well as a number of Chinese businesses located along Front and Hotel (Market) Streets. Described as the “Worst Fire in Maui’s History,” the *News* reported the destruction with the headline “BIG FIRE AT LAHAINA CAUSES \$150,000 LOSS” along with the by-lines “Large Section of Business Part of Town Destroyed” and “Insurance Carried \$36,000” (Ibid., January 10, 1919: 1: 1-2). Had the Wo Hing Society building been located in the vicinity, it would have been most surely destroyed and its records lost.

Photographs of Lahaina Chinese surveying the damage the following morning were taken by an unidentified photographer (Figures 16-18). Rumors of arson were rampant and one even suggested that burglars had intentionally set the fire in an act of revenge (Ibid.: January 17, 1919: 1: 3). A post card was published in that year by an unidentified company that showed the south side of the Lahaina Store with the charred silhouette of a destroyed adjacent building burned onto its side wall. The *makai* side of Front Street was rebuilt with concrete storefronts and recorded by agents of the Sanborn Insurance Company in the same year (Figures 19, 20). The Bank of Maui erected a new concrete building on the *mauka* side of Front Street that was designed by architect H.L. Kerr along with a new store-

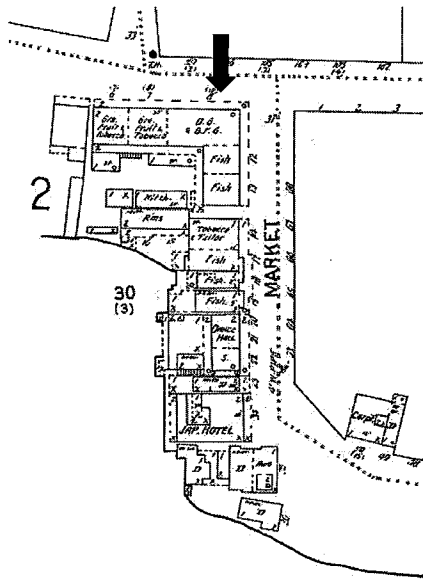


Figure 19. Sanborn Insurance map from 1914.

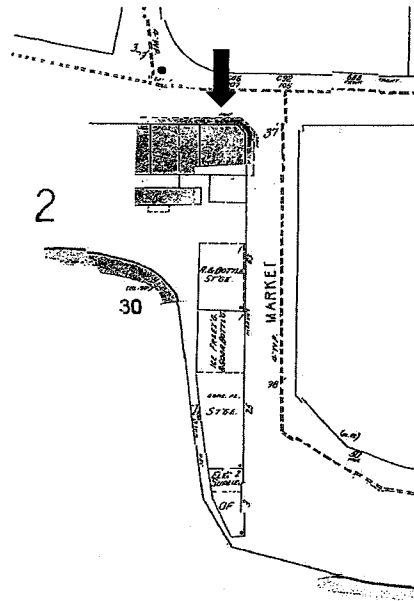


Figure 20. Sanborn Insurance map from 1914 revised in 1919.

front for Len Wai & Company which had a commercial lease on an adjacent building that was owned by the bank and lost (Ibid., 1919: 1-2). All of the remaining Bank of Maui branches including those located in Wailuku and Pā‘ia were rebuilt in concrete in that year as a result of the Lahaina fire. By 1920 the south end of Front Street had been rebuilt. A Japanese hotel, five Japanese fish mongers, a dance hall, boarding house, a Chinese-owned tobacco and tailor shop, an auto mechanic’s shop, and four dwellings were not rebuilt, however, but were replaced by a new wood frame building which housed PMCo’s Lahaina Ice Company and a bottling plant (Figures 19-20; Sanborn Insurance Company 1919: 4). Asian businesses did not reopen in that section of Lahaina Town.

Chinese-owned businesses in Lahaina were enumerated in that year by Polk-Husted as consisting of thirty-nine establishments. They included twelve general merchandise stores, three laundries and tailors, one grocery, one restaurant and bakery, three taro growers and poi manufacturers, one shoe repair establishment, one fish monger, one hardware store, one billiard hall, one barber, one surveyor, four tradesmen, eight managers, one teacher, and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1920-1921: 493-632). The dominant business type was still comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Goo Lip, Hop Wo, Kwong Wo Tong, Lai Tong, Len Wai, Wah Ying Lung, Wing Chong Chan, Yee Chong Co., and Yet Lung Co. (Ibid.).

Lahaina was the site of another strike in 1924 by both Filipino and Japanese workers and the town was suddenly crowded with hundreds of homeless men, women, and children who had been evicted from PMCo camps by management. “Tent cities” were established at various locations in the town. They included a lot behind the Hop Kee store that was identified as “Hop Kee Camp” as well as opposite the Catholic Church. The walkout began on July 24 and ended on September 9.

In the same year, the U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act, which further excluded Asians and prevented them from becoming citizens. Less than flattering press coverage of the Chinese continued in the *News* during the decade, but in spite of it, many of the Maui’s Anglo-American elite and local families in general, selected to accompany their celebrations with “exotic” Chinese food. It may be conjectured that the popularity of Chinese cuisine on the island, altered as it was for both Anglo American as well as local tastes, was popularized by the same paper as early as 1906, when the *News* noted that a Wo Hing event featured a “menu [that] was quite tempting, and there was an abundance for all” (*Maui News*, January 20, 1906: 6: 2).

During the 1920s numerous announcements for evening *fetes* were carried in the *News*, sponsored by individuals such as J.M. Medeiros, a wholesale liquor distributor in Pā‘ia; D.C. Lindsey, president of Maui Electric Co.; Sam Ato, salesman for the Royal Hawaiian Sales Co., an auto parts and supply house in Wailuku; and even a group of



Figure 21. The port of Lahaina in 1920 as photographed from the ocean by Chinese photographer Tai Sing Loo. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

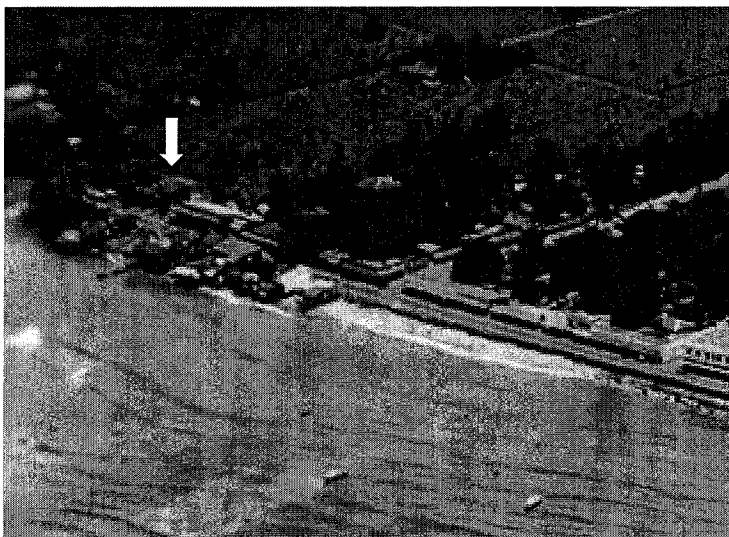
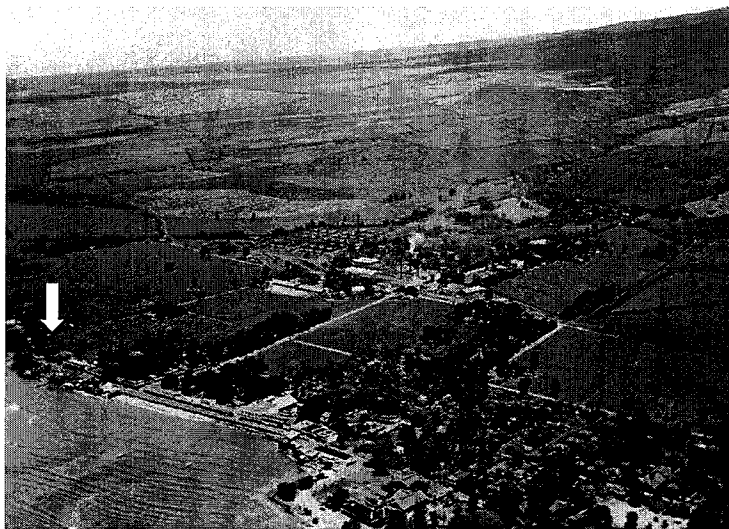


Figure 22. Aerial view of the Lahaina waterfront in 1920 with the Wo Hing Society building identified. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

unidentified “Pu’unene School teachers” for what were described as “Chinese dinners” and “Chop Suey dinners” (Ibid., April 15, 1924: 2: 1; May 18, 1924: 5: 3; June 13, 1924: 6: 2; April 18, 1924: 8: 2). Although the identities of the caterers remain unknown, during the 1920s there were four food establishments in Lahaina from which to choose from and they included Hop Wo, Paradise Café, Ng Sing Kee, and the Eagle Restaurant (Polk-Husted 1920-21: 1197-1288; 1925-1926: 650-688; 1929-1930: 700-742).

The rebuilding of Front Street businesses after the 1919 fire was accompanied by calls from the local Anglo elite, under the auspices of the Lahaina Outdoors Circles, to improve the business district. This had begun in the 1910s with the filling in of the royal lake at Loko Mokuhinia and its sacred island of Moku’ula in 1918 by Hugh Howell Engineering Co. as well as three inland fishponds by PMCo, followed by the rebuilding of the Lahaina Courthouse in 1926, and culminated with the 1927 construction of a stone seawall on the *makai* side of Front Street from the PMCo Hospital to the new Bank of Maui building (*Maui News*, December 21, 1917: 2: 2; May 12, 1921: 1: 1; July 17, 1926: 1: 3-6; April 2, 1927: 1: 4). The contractor selected to build the seawall was Chinese, Yew Hin-char, and the plans and specifications were produced under the direction of Chinese engineer, Apau Paul Low, who was in charge of the Maui County Loan Fund and headed the county’s engineering department in Wailuku. Low’s office was also staffed by a number of Chinese, including assistant engineers Ahoon H. Wong and Daniel T.K. Low, a clerk named A.K. Leong, and presumably several draftsmen (Polk-Husted 1920-1921: 1248-1249, 1254, 1286; 1925-1926: 649, 671).

APAU PAUL LOW AND THE MAUI CHINESE ELITE

Both Low and Char represented the new elite of the Maui Chinese communities – a professional class which came to prominence during the 1920s and in the following decade. Many were the sons of merchants and small entrepreneurs, had been born in Hawai’i, and had been educated either at the University of Hawaii or at prestigious institutions on the

the U.S. mainland such as Yale or Harvard. The first Chinese had attended those institutions in 1850 and 1879, respectively. The new elite included engineers, physicians, educators, attorneys, and accountants. Others were involved in the building trades and included surveyors and contractors or were in real estate. A number became members of organizations which had been only reserved for members of the Anglo-American elite. Some even pursued public office and were elected.

Apau Paul Low was a prominent and accomplished member of his generation. He had been born in 1891 in Honolulu and was the son of Yee Sing Low. Low graduated from McKinley High School in 1910, received an A.B. in civil engineering from Stanford University in 1914, completed post-graduate work at the University of Illinois in 1914 and Stanford in 1915 with specialties in railroad, water supply, and sanitation engineering. He returned to the islands and served as the U.S. inspector of the construction of the Hilo breakwater before being hired by Maui County as Assistant County engineer. In 1918 Low was appointed Maui Loan Fund Engineer, promoted to County Engineer, and served in those positions through 1928, when he was elected Senator. He was the first Chinese to be elected to the Territorial legislature.

In excess of \$1.4 million in public works projects were completed in Maui County during Low's ten-year tenure. He designed and supervised the construction of the 7 million gallon Olinda Reservoir, Wailuku and Makawao Waterworks, Kahului Sewer System, as well as the Malulani, Hana, and Ualapue Hospitals. He supervised the planning and construction of Maui High, Pā'ia, Kahului, and Pu'unene school buildings, Maui County office building, Lahaina Courthouse Renovation and post office building. His greatest achievement, however, was the design and construction of the Hana Road, known in the vernacular as "Belt Road to Hana," which was described by a contemporary biographer in Honolulu as "one of the most difficult and most scenic pieces of road engineering in the Territory" (Overseas Penman Club 1929: 125).

Low was also a member of a string of Anglo-American as well as Chinese fraternal and community organizations. He undoubtedly raised eyebrows among Anglo-American Masons on the U.S. mainland, many of whom had attained particular notoriety for their campaigns against the Chinese and other communities of color, when he was made a Worshipful Master in Masonic Lodge No. 742 at Kahului in late 1923. *Builder Magazine*, a Masonic publication, described his achievement beneath the headline, "A CHINESE W.M.," and stated: "Masons in the United States will find it interesting to learn that a Chinaman has been elected W.M. of one of our lodges" (*Builder Magazine*, June 1924: n.p.). The *Honolulu Advertiser* initially carried the story six months earlier and mentioned that:

As the first Chinese Worshipful Master of an American Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Apau Paul Low, county engineer of Maui is enjoying an unusual distinction, which was conferred upon him Saturday night at the annual election of officers...held in the Mason's building at Kahului, Maui.

Low is one of the Chinese to be found on every island of the Hawaiian group who is a thirty-second degree Mason. He also is a member of the Aloha Temple of the Mystic Shrine. Masons of Hawaii are said to pride themselves on their broadmindedness in admitting Chinese to membership in their order..." (*Honolulu Advertiser*, December 3, 1923: n.p.).

Unlike Apau Paul Low, Yew Hin-char's nativity, upbringing, and education had been in Hilo. He was born in 1896 in Keauhou, one of three sons of Char Kui, and graduated from Mills High School in 1917. He became a general contractor in 1924 after working as an engineer's clerk for four years, then moved to Maui where he opened an office in Wailuku, and began to successfully bid on public works projects. By 1929 he was a member of the Maui Chamber of Commerce, Maui County Fair and Racing Association, the American Legion, and was Chairman of the Rest House Committee (Overseas Penman Club 1929: 34). He was also elected to the Territorial House of Representatives later in 1932 (*Maui News*, November 9, 1932: 1: 3).

Char was not the first Chinese contractor on Maui. The first recorded Chinese builder on the island had been Lee Hop and he had advertised his services in the Anglo-American press twenty-three years earlier. Lee's first advertisement was printed on February 27, 1904, and carried the description of "Contractor and Builder" in addition to his being a merchant and "dealer in furniture, household supplies, hardware, paints and oils, and glass" (*Maui*



Figure 23. Apau Paul Low, Maui County Engineer (third from left) with unidentified persons as well as Governor Wallace R. Farrington (third from right), Samuel E. Kalama (second from right), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Maui County Board of Supervisors (n.d.). *Courtesy Martha Vockroot.*



Figure 24. Portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (n.d.) *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

News, August 24, 1904: 1: 5; Polk-Husted 1902: 588; 1904-1905: 515). His business was initially located on Market Street in Wailuku but by December of the same year, he had moved to a new location on Vineyard, where he remained at least through 1910 (Polk-Husted 1910: 827).

A Chinese general contractor named J.A. Aheong built the concrete Pā‘ia School building in 1908 but the project became so embroiled in controversy from the sand used for the project by Honolulu subcontractor, Concrete Construction Co., that he turned to a much more lucrative retail trade in Makawao that he named Kaupakalua Wine & Liquor Co. (*Maui News*, December 6, 1908: 6: 3; Polk-Husted 1910: 798). The next known Chinese contractor was Ah Cook who operated the Hop Kee Store in Lahaina, started a construction business by 1921, and operated a hardware store and bicycle repair shop. He was listed in the local directories as “Contractor and Builder, Hardware and Furniture” (Ibid 1921: 1225). Unfortunately, no records from the Wo Hing Kung See or Hui Kuan were located which identified the contractor who erected the society building earlier in 1905.

Other less prominent Chinese professionals in Lahaina during the 1920s included a number of teachers at Kamehameha III School, as well as surveyors, accountants who were employed by PMCo, as well as store managers, bookkeepers, and clerks. The Leong Family, headed by Leong Chong, manager of the Kwong Wo Tong general merchandise store, was the first Chinese family to reside in the 500 block of Front Street, south of the business district, in an area that was customarily reserved for the kama‘aina families of the township.

DEATH OF A LEADER AND LAHAINA CHINESE BUSINESSES CHANGE OWNERSHIP

In 1925 the Yee Chong Co. store at the corner of Front Street and Mill Street was purchased for \$20,000 by the Maui Dry Goods & Grocery Co, Ltd, a Portuguese American-owned chain that had been formed by Joaquin Garcia and Frank Medeiros, presaging a transition in the ownership of a number of the port’s Chinese businesses which had survived the fire of 1919 (*Maui News*, March 21, 1925: 1: 2; Polk-Husted 1925-1926: 673).

Two years later, another Lahaina Chinese establishment, Yet Lung & Co., was sold to a pair of brothers, Young Kam Chew and Young Kam You. Lahaina’s Chinese-owned businesses in 1925 numbered forty-six establishments. They included eight general merchandise stores, two laundries and tailors, two groceries, four restaurants and bakeries, three taro growers and poi manufacturers, one shoe repair establishment, one drugstore, one hardware store, one trucking company, one bicycle repairman, and one butcher. The list of professions included thirteen managers and clerks, three teamsters, four tradesman, a dental hygienist as well as one dentist, and an attorney who was also deputy sheriff (Polk-Husted 1925-1926: 650-682). The dominant business type had declined in favor of the professions but was still comprised of general merchandise or dry goods establishments. They included such

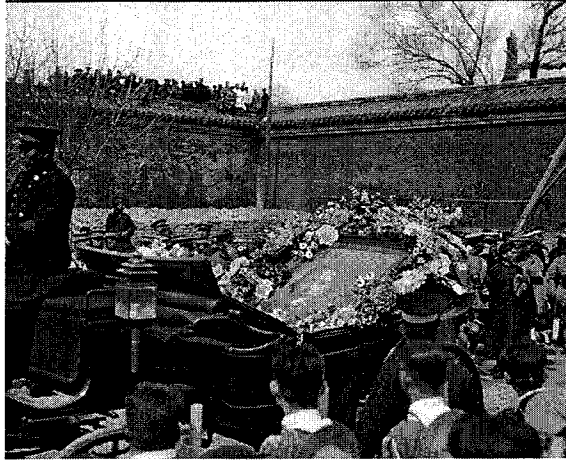


Figure 25. Flower-decorated horse-drawn carriage with portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Beijing funeral procession. *Courtesy Sidney D. Gamble Collection, Duke University.*



Figure 26. Flower-decorated Model T with portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Los Angeles Chinatown funeral procession. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA Library.*

names as Chan Wa, Goo Lip, Hop Wo, Ki Sing Lung, Kwon Wo Tong, Lahaina Dry Goods & Grocery Co., Lai Tong, Len Wai, and Sing Lung Co., and Yet Lung (*Ibid.*).

Dr. Sun died on March 12, 1925 (Figure 24), and his death was mourned by thousands throughout the world – both Chinese and non-Chinese alike. The largest funeral took place in Beijing (Figure 25), while others were held in cities throughout Asia, on the U.S. mainland, and wherever there were large populations of overseas Chinese. In Honolulu and Wailuku there were memorials that were held in his honor, the latter of which was described by the local Anglo press beneath the headline, “Chinese Show Their Sorrow [a]nd Respect [f]or Late Sun Yat Sen” (*Maui News*, April 15, 1925: 6: 5):

Maui’s Chinese communities held ceremonies Sunday afternoon in memorium [sic] of the death of Sun Yat Sen, first president of the Republic of China. From all parts of the island, from Lahaina...[to] Kula...they came to Wailuku to show respect to the great Chinese patriot who spent his early years in Hawaii and a part of them on the slopes of Haleakala. A procession formed and passed up Vineyard Street, to High, to Main, to Market, to Mill and thence to the Clubhouse where it was disbanded and other ceremonies were held. A prolonged discharge of firecrackers mark[ed] the conclusion of the march. In the column there were large number[s] afoot and several decorated and flower laden vehicles, other[s] carrying musicians, and still others carrying members of the Chinese community...American and Chinese flags were carried at the head of the line and further back there were a number of children who carried small Chinese pennants (*Ibid.*).

Unfortunately, no photographs appear to have survived which recorded the processions in Wailuku or Honolulu. However, a similar cortege with a flower-decorated portrait of Dr. Sun and vehicles was recorded by an unidentified Anglo-American photographer for the *Los Angeles Times* in that city’s Chinatown (Figure 26). A pall understandably settled over the Lahaina and other overseas Chinese communities but this was eclipsed by events in mainland China and an international financial crisis which commenced at the end of the decade.

On October 29, 1929, the Great Depression was initiated by a stock market crash on Wall Street. The effects on the Hawaiian and Lahaina economies followed within a year. PMCo commenced the first quarter of 1930 with layoffs of a large number of Filipinos and wage reductions were initiated for those employees who were retained. Lahaina’s Chinese business community contracted in size to twenty-seven establishments. They included fourteen general merchandise stores, four laundries and tailors, three coffee saloons and bakeries, three groceries, one restaurant, two taro growers and poi manufacturers, one shoe repair establishment, one dairyman, watchmaker, and a clerk (Polk-Husted 1929-1930: 493-632). The dominant business type had returned to general merchandise or dry goods establishments and included such names as Goo Lip, Sing Fat, Kong Sang Wo, Len Wai, and Yee Chong Company (*Ibid.*).

END OF PART 1

和興會館

ARCHITECTURE

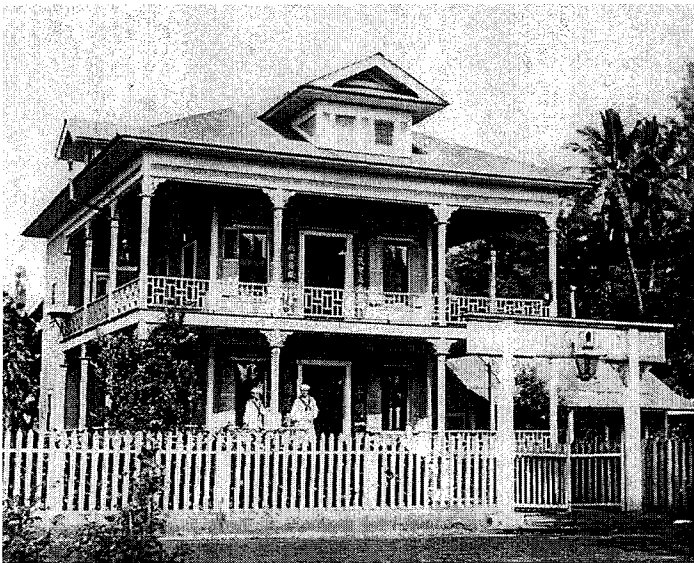
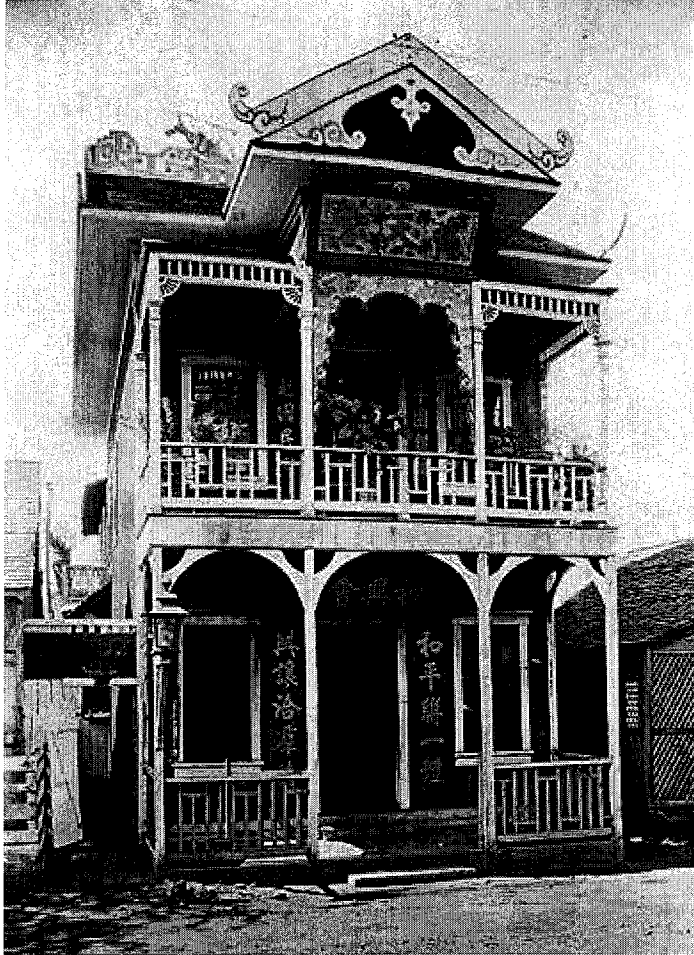


Figure 27. Wo Hing Society Hall of 1900 (above) and 1905 (below). *Courtesy Lahaina Restoration Foundation.*

The Wo Hing Society building is one of only two remaining Chinese society halls on the island of Maui. Like others that were built on the outer islands of Hawai'i and Kaua'i as well as their associated cemeteries and funerary structures, these buildings comprise a very unique collection of cultural resources which in 2008 were under threat of being lost because of the lack of caretakers and funds, alterations, and decay. In 1975 on the island of Maui alone, out of eight halls which had been built in Lahaina (1900), Wailuku (1904), Lahaina (1905), Wailuku (1906), Keokea (1907), Keanae (1908), Kipahulu (1908), and Pā'ia (n.d.), there were only four intact society halls remaining. By 1982 when a multi-property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places was prepared for them, there were three halls standing. Only two remained in 2008, however, and only Wo Hing had been carefully restored and maintained by the Lahaina Restoration Foundation. The second extant society building, Kwock Hing/Ket Hing Hall in Keokea (Kula), where San Yat-sen and his brother, Sun Mei, had been members during the first decade of the twentieth century, had been rebuilt in 2005 to such a degree that the integrity of the front façade had been compromised. Similarly, in 2008 a former Chinese store and outbuilding on an adjacent site in Keokea were in danger of collapse from decay and neglect.

The society houses on Maui appear to have been built in the same decade (1900-1910) and marked more than fifty years of Chinese presence in the archipelago. In addition, they were the first Asian buildings to be erected on the island, embodied the social and political aspirations of the communities they represented, and as such, anticipated establishment of the Republic of China that occurred later in 1912. They were constructed in wood and appear to have either been built by a single contractor or constructed using plans which he generated. The similarities among them include: three-bay facades with gabled or

hipped roofs and dormers, two-story, rectangular or "T"-shaped plans with meeting halls on the first floor, temple sanctuaries above, two-story balconies or *lanais* with hipped roofs, and two-story central porticos surmounted by

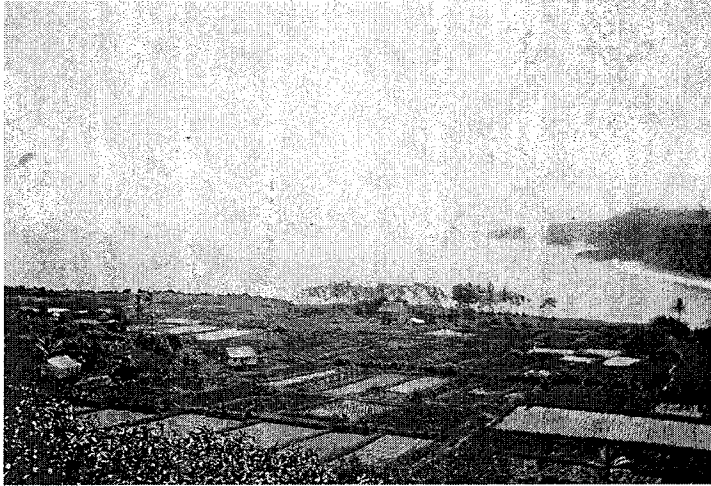


Figure 28. Cultural landscape and Anglo-American house types in Keanae in 1904. *Courtesy Rob Ratkowsky.*

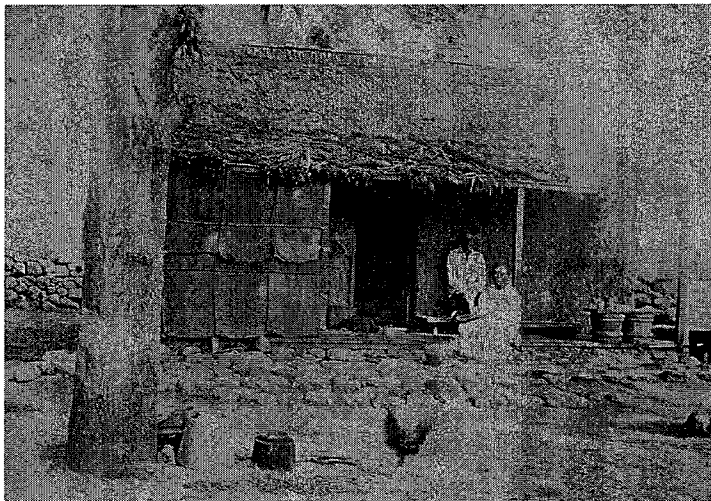


Figure 29. Hawaiian *Kauhale* in Wailuku in 1904 showing possible influences from contemporary Anglo-American dwellings of the period. *Courtesy Rob Ratkowsky.*

cross gables. They were Anglo-American buildings, however, built of Box Frame or Plank Frame construction, and were referred to in the Anglo-American vernacular as “single wall” buildings.

Box framing and its successor, Plank Framing, became the dominant method for construction of all classes of buildings in Hawai‘i from the 1890s onward. Both techniques were initially developed as simplifications of traditional Timber Framing by house wrights in New England in the 1650s. The two methods provided for the removal of intermediate wall studding, transferring the load bearing function to vertical planks which were secured to sills and top plates. In Box framing, the corner posts were retained, but in plank framing, the posts were omitted altogether. Vertical planks provided both the structure as well as a building’s exterior and interior wall surfaces.

Box and Plank Framing became dominant in New England by the end of the seventeenth century and remained in use in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine well into the nineteenth century. Introduced into Kentucky by 1800, Box and Plank Framing became consolidated under the term “Box Frame” in the oral tradition of Anglo-American house wrights. Both were used in the production of tenant and sharecropper housing as well as outbuildings in the latter areas well into the 1920s, providing impetus for their diffusion, initially under the auspices of American sugar companies, to the Hawaiian Islands for the construction of sugar and pineapple plantation dwellings which were erected during the same period. The building technique appears to have been adopted by Chinese carpenters in the archipelago by the 1880s if not earlier, and assimilated by Japanese carpenters by the 1890s as well.

Anglo-American architectural influences on Chinese society halls on Maui were not restricted to building technology but also extended to exterior embellishment. Consequently, Wo Hing and other Maui halls were decorated with scroll-sawn wood brack-

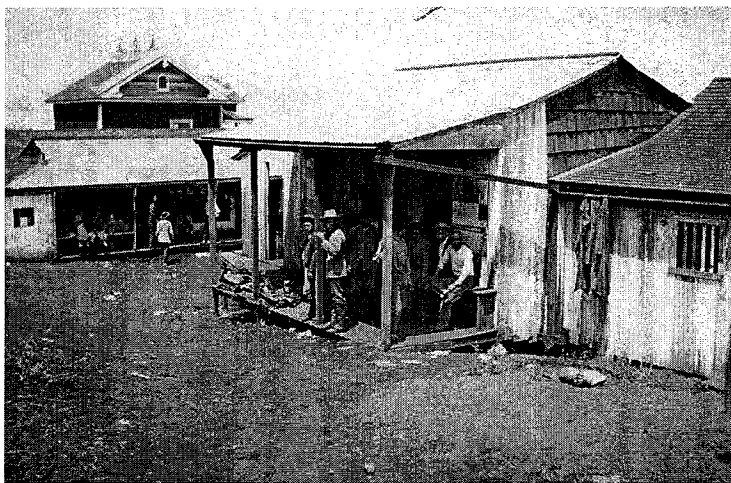
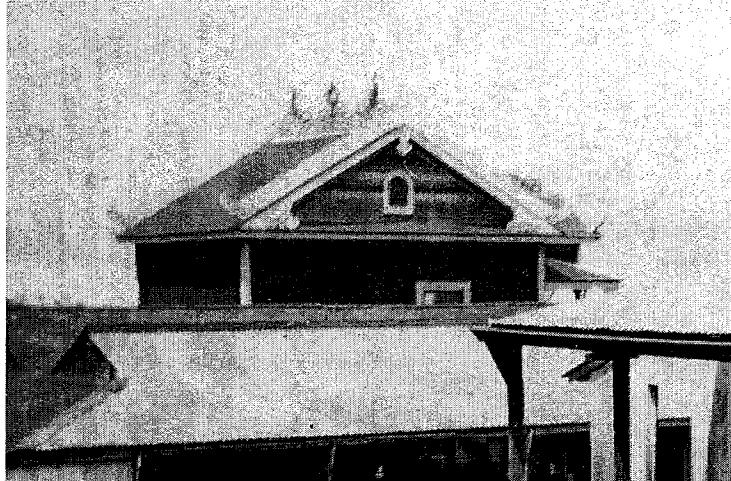


Figure 30. Store at Kipahulu in 1909 (bottom) with two-story Chee Kung Tong society hall in background (top). *Courtesy Rose Soon.*



Figure 31. Wailuku Chee Kung Tong hall in 1988 with variegated shingles and arched vent at cross-gable similar to Waikapu hall. Decorative elements such as wood barge boards, roof combs, and dragons are removed. *Courtesy Barbara Long.*

ets and millwork. The *Chinese-ness* of the buildings came from an overlay of Asian architectural elements and motifs such as polychrome roof combs and stylized dragons, decorative barge boards and wood railings, as well as wood plaques and couplets located about their primary entrances. These features served as the primary means by which it was conveyed to the passerby that the buildings were built for and occupied by Chinese organizations.

Photographs of Maui which were taken from 1899-1910 depict a cultural landscape that was dominated by Anglo-American buildings. The construction boom in Japanese-styled temples was beginning, and the two-bay, three-pile, gable-on-hip or hipped roof plantation dwelling, so ubiquitous to the archipelago later in the century, would not be introduced until after housing standards were adopted by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association in 1920 and signed off by the Territorial Board of Health in the following year. The dominant house type of the period was a variation of the Anglo-American double-pen or "double-house," a vernacular plan type that was built throughout the plantations of the Southeastern U.S.

The three-bay, single-pile dwelling with a side-facing gable roof, front shed porch and rear shed addition, appears to have been adopted by American sugar companies on Maui and throughout the archipelago to house their workers by the 1880s. It was then dispersed from the sugar plantations to the rest of the island during the following decade and built in such great numbers that it even appeared in photographs of *loi kalo* or taro fields in Kanae by 1904, one of Maui's most isolated and consequently, most provincial of farming and cultural regions (Figure 28).

Hawaiian houses or *kauhale*, were still being erected by native or *kānaka* builders and shared the landscape with the new American house type. Another photograph taken in Wailuku in the same year of a contemporary *kauhale* with a partially enclosed porch, exhibited possible influences from the new American dwelling (Figure 29). Similarly, it may be

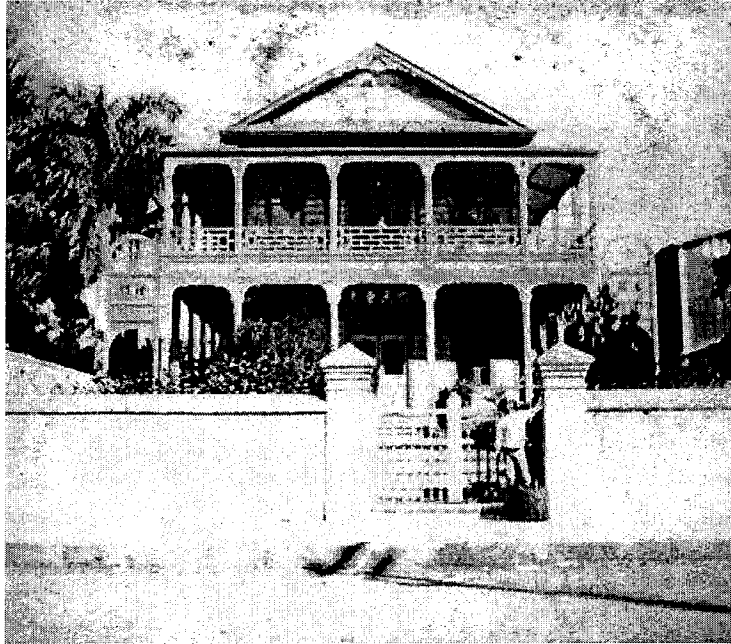


Figure 32. See Yup Benevolent Society Hall, Honolulu, in 1900. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

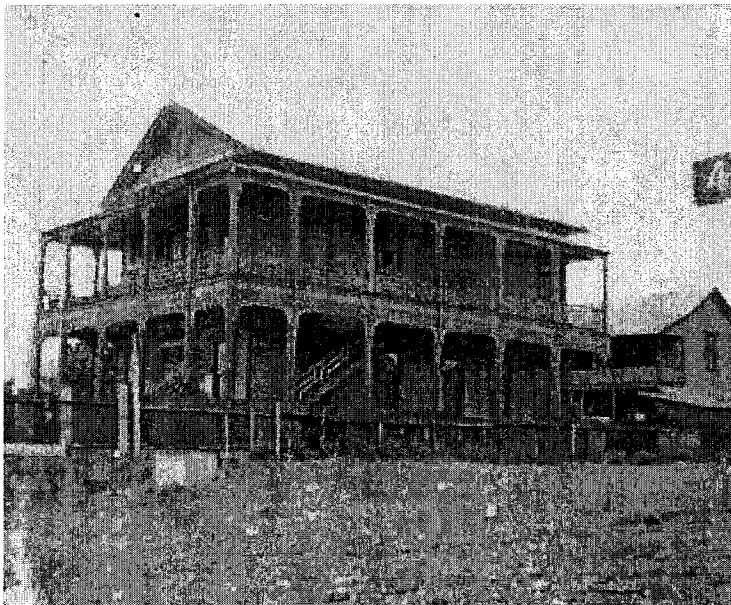


Figure 33. Sze Yup Benevolent Society Hall in 1900. *Courtesy Bishop Museum.*

roofs, whose ends were embellished with polychrome fish scale wood shingles, pent roofs, and arched wood vents. In 1909 the Kipahulu hall still retained its decorative barge boards, roof combs, and stylized wood dragons, while in 1988 most of the Wailuku building's embellishments had been removed with the exception of decorative barge boards on a central portico.

Another possible precedent for the two buildings as well as Wo Hing and Ket Hing/Kwock halls may have been the Sze Yup Benevolent Society Hall in Honolulu (Figures 32-33). The organization was incorporated in 1897 and built a hall shortly thereafter in the 400 block of King Street (Overseas Penman Club 1936: 23). The Sze Yup or "Four District" Society's membership was comprised of immigrants from Sunwai, Sunning, Hoipin, and Yanping districts

conjectured that the three-bay facades of the Maui society halls were adaptations of the same, enlarged by the addition of second stories and broad three- to five-bay *lanais*.

Stores and small commercial enterprises of the period were often housed in rudimentary wood buildings which were single-pile in depth and between three and five bays in width. Covered with gable or shed roofs of wood or corrugated metal, they were erected quickly and expediently with some having the appearance of little more than "lean-tos" surmounted by large wooden signs, which functioned as parapets. The built environment of Maui during this period resembled to some degree, the frontier architecture found in the fishing and mining camps of the Pacific Northwest or American West of the nineteenth century.

A photograph of the Soon family Store in Kipahulu, taken in 1909, was typical of the decade (Figure 30). It recorded a group of one-story wood commercial buildings in the foreground, two of which were crowded with Chinese workers congregating at the end of the work day, while in the background, towering above the roofs of the stores, was a two-story Chinese society hall. It was by comparison, an extraordinary and sophisticated building that punctuated the horizon amid a generic landscape of mundane wooden structures.

The gable end of the Kipahulu society building, which had been built by a sub-branch of the Chee Kung Tong, was erected in 1908, and shared some similarities with that of the 1904 Wailuku hall (Figure 31). Both buildings were two-story in height, featured two-story porticos with central gables and side-facing gable

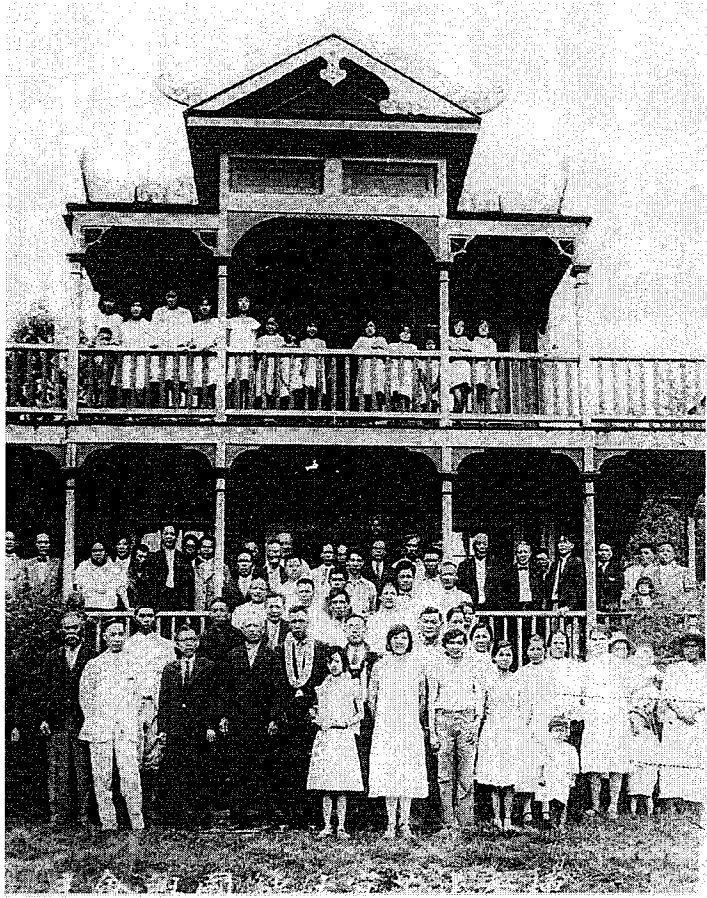


Figure 34. Ket Hing Kwock Hing Hall in Keokea, near Kula in 1931. *Courtesy Barbara Long.*



Figure 35. Wailuku Chee Kung Tong Hall in 1988. *Courtesy Barbara Long.*

in Kwangtun Province, the same origins as a majority of the members of the Maui societies. The building was most surely visited by Chinese with Sze Yup ties from Maui where it may have served as an inspiration for either the choice of the builder or the style and design for future edifices.

The Sze Yup hall was oriented perpendicular to the street and enclosed by a large two-story *lanai*. The building's most dominant feature—a pedimented gable end of a front-facing gable roof—was reminiscent of the temple front historically associated with the Greek Revival style but embellished with decorative polychrome shingles and millwork characteristic of the late Victorian and Craftsman periods, and an ached wood vent. The only discernable Chinese elements were balustrades, plaques, and couplets.

In contrast, the later Maui society halls were oriented parallel to a street or road with side-facing gable roofs. Their designs duplicated the two-story *lanai* of the Sze Yup building but reduced its prominent end gable to either a central dormer like on the 1905 Wo Hing hall in Lahaina or placed an emphasis on the center bay through the use of a projecting central portico and cross-gable like on the 1904 Chee Kung Tong in Wailuku and the 1907 Ket Hing in Keokea (Figures 34-35), as well as the 1908 Chee Kung Tong in Kipahulu. The ends of the side-facing gable roofs were cantilevered to extend beyond the buildings' side facades and they duplicated the finishes of the Sze Yup building in Honolulu.

The earlier Wo Hing Society hall of 1900 as well as the Chee Kung Tong halls in Wailuku and Kipahulu were embellished with a number of Chinese elements which were largely absent from the Sze Yup building in Honolulu. They included decorative barge boards, roof combs, and stylized wood dragons. It may be coniectured that the incorporation of such

overtly Chinese details resulted from the desire of their members to project an ethnically distinct architectural identity rather than to blend into the cultural landscape.



Figure 36. Wo Hing Society Hall, looking southeast, as photographed in 1914.

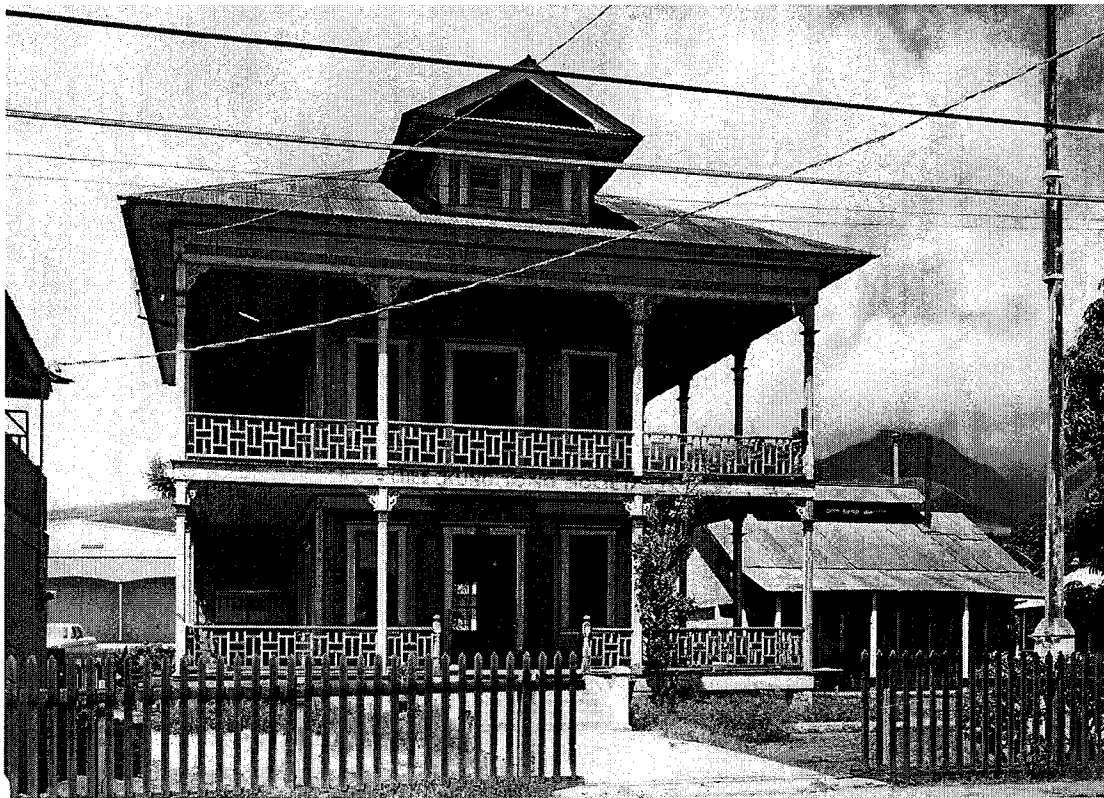


Figure 37. Wo Hing Society Hall, looking southeast, as photographed by Jack Boucher for the Historic American Building Survey in 1966.

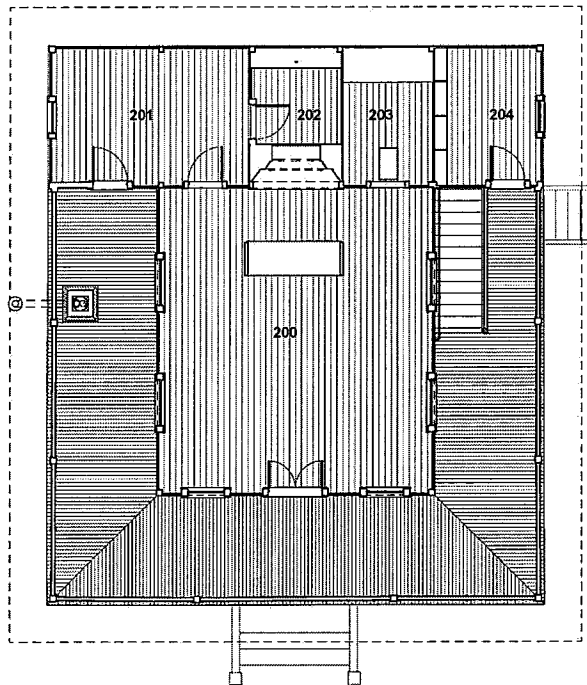


Figure 38. Second Floor Plan of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

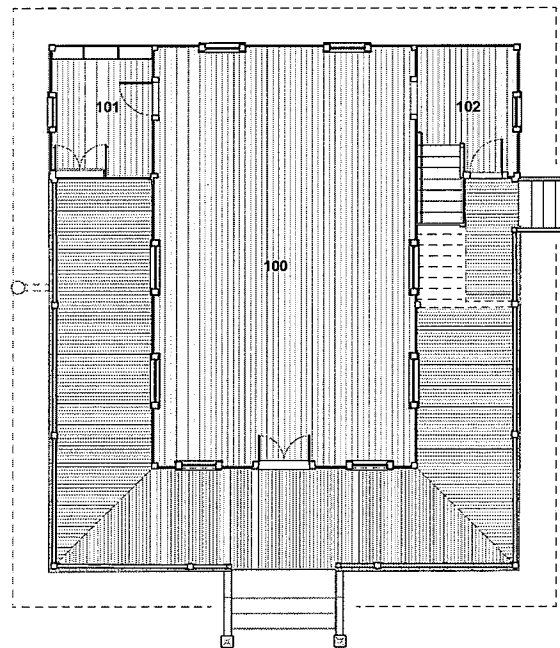


Figure 39. First Floor Plan of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

Beyond these features, however, the buildings were simply clad in vertical tongue-and-groove boards and trimmed with plain corner boards. The interiors were simply finished with wood baseboards, and lacked cove, crown, or



Figure 40. West Façade of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

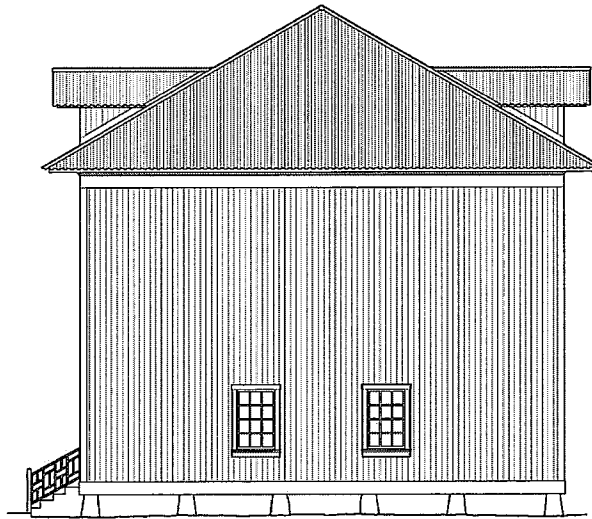


Figure 41. East Façade of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

composite moldings and wood trim. They were starkly utilitarian when compared to their rather flamboyant facades.

The Wo Hing society building, following its renovation in 1905 and a new imposing hipped roof, was as American in appearance as the Sze Yup building in Honolulu and even sported wood shutters (Figures 36-37). Its distinct Chinese identity, formerly communicated through the use of overtly ethnic elements, was reduced to Chinese-inspired wood railings and polychrome wood plaques and couplets which adorned the first and second floors. Photographs, floor plans, elevations, and building sections have been included (Figures 38-45).

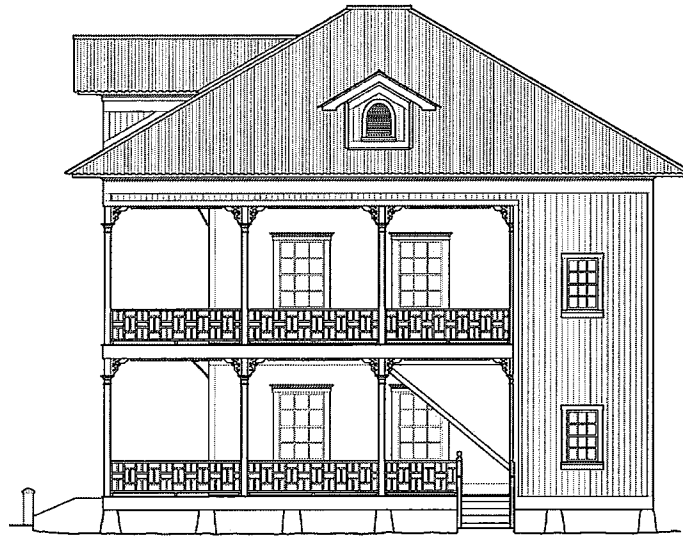


Figure 42. South Facade of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

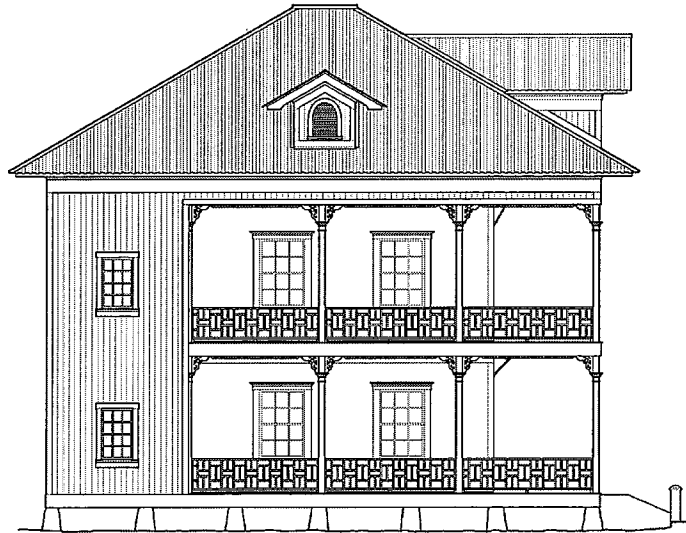


Figure 43. North Facade of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

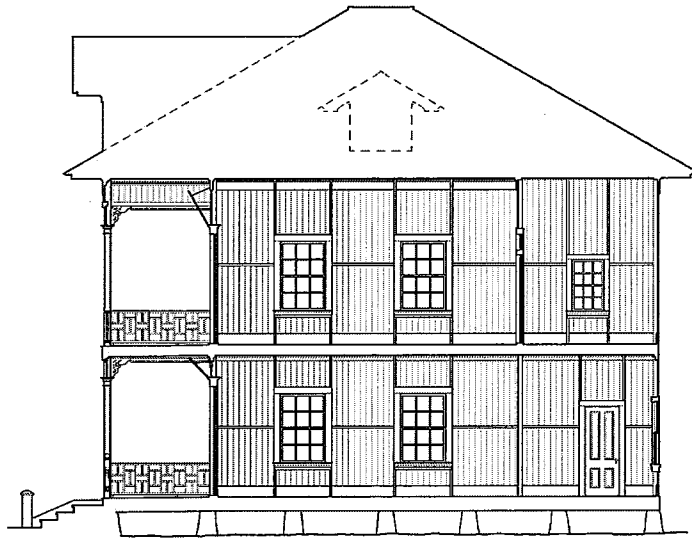


Figure 44. Longitudinal Section of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*



Figure 45. Longitudinal Section of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*



Figure 46. Interior of the first floor, looking east, of the second Wo Hing Society Hall, photographed by Jack Boucher for the Historic American Building Survey in 1966. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

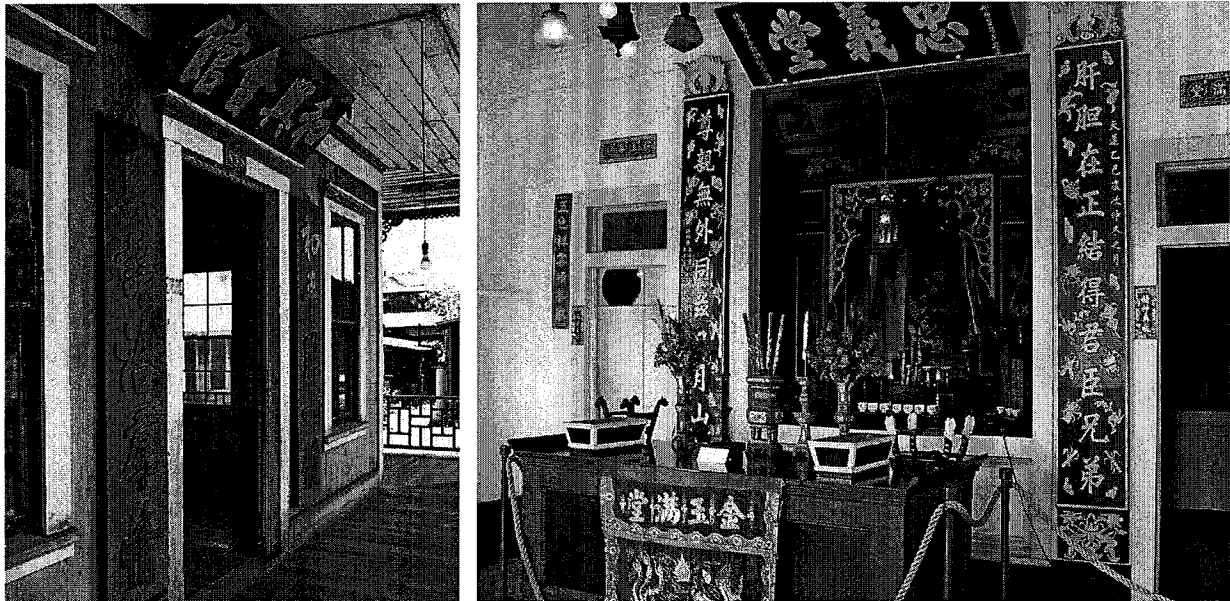


Figure 47. Second Floor Entry to Chung Yi Hall with plaque and couplets in 1966 and altar with plaque and couplets in 2008. *Courtesy Library of Congress and Lahaina Restoration Foundation.*

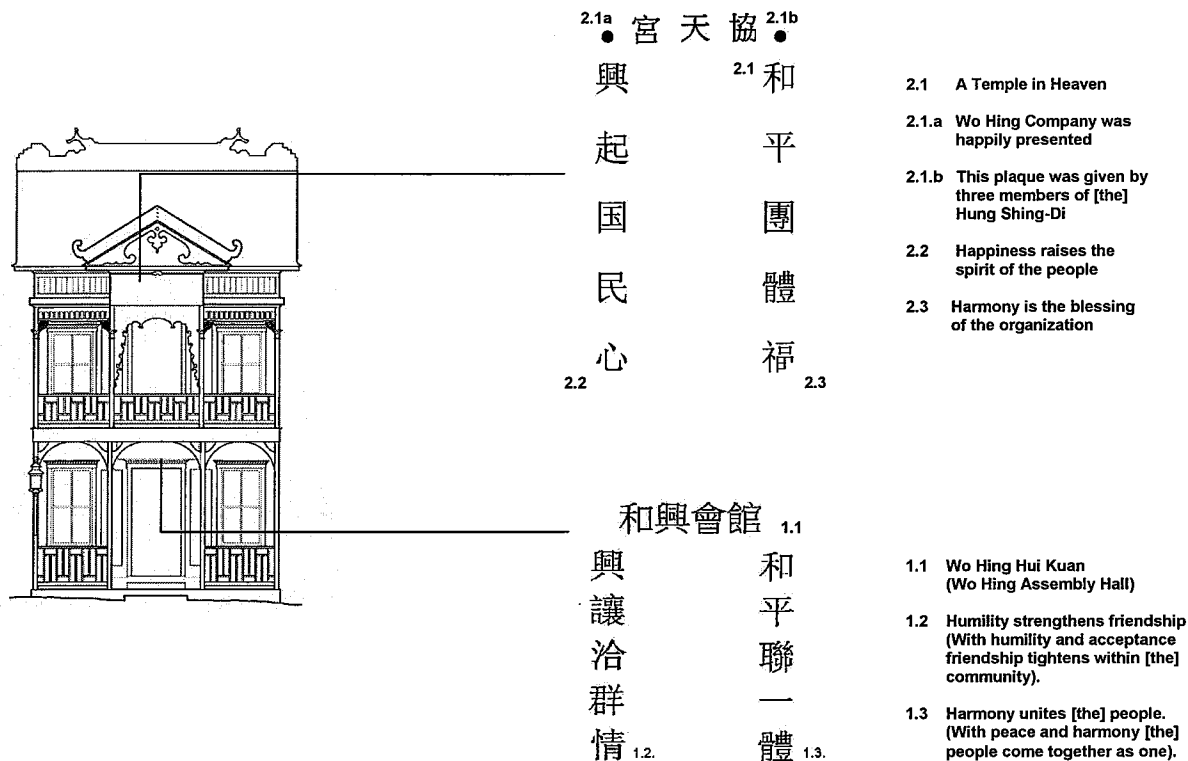


Figure 48. Transliterations of plaques and couplets which were located on the first and second floors of the first Wo Hing Society hall of 1900. Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.

館會興和

PLAQUES AND COUPLETS

The use of wood plaques and couplets to mark the entrances of buildings has been a tradition in China since at least the First Century. It remains unknown when the practice first acquired common usage, but it accompanied the outward migration of Chinese to overseas communities across the globe and is found on buildings that were erected in those communities as well as in mainland China (Knapp 2009: personal communication). A plaque is typically a horizontal sign with Chinese ideograms that is positioned above the lintel of an entry and is read from left to right. Couplets are vertical signs with Chinese ideograms that are located on either side of entrances, next to the left and right door jambs and are read from top to bottom. A plaque usually provides the name of the building's occupant, while couplets provide commemorative or other ancillary information. Plaques and couplets are most often carved in wood and painted, although they can also be carved in stone. Temporary commemorative plaques and couplets which are produced during festivals may be made of paper and attached to lintels and door jambs with adhesive. The commemorative aspect of plaques and couplets causes them to be offered as gifts which are often embellished

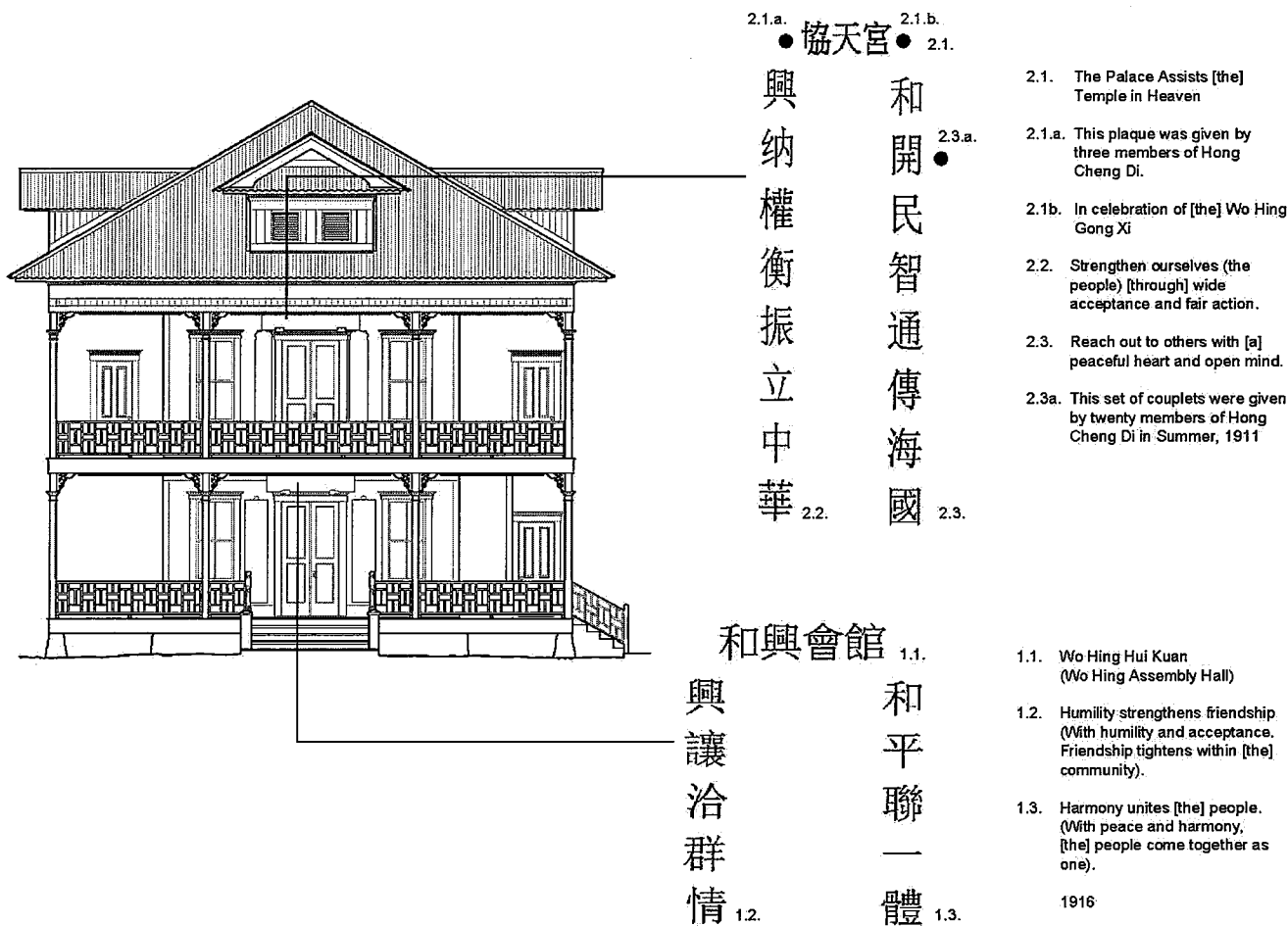


Figure 49. Transliterations of plaques and couplets located on the first and second floors of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. They date from 1911 and 1916, respectively. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

with the names of the givers and the dates when they were manufactured, providing a record that memorializes the construction or dedication of a new building and other important occasions such as anniversaries or changes in ownership that may be associated with an edifice or its occupants.

PLAQUES AND COUPLETS OF THE WO HING HUI KUAN AND WO HING KUNG SEE

The plaques and couplets of the Wo Hing Society (Hui Kuan) and Company (Kung See) are carved in wood either in relief or incised and painted. They range in size from 7'-7 ¾" in length to 12'-0" and are 18" to 24" in width. Their thicknesses range from 1 ¾" to 2". Body colors include red, black, and brown with calligraphy that has been painted in gold, black, or covered in gold leaf.

There are thirty (30) wooden plaques and couplets associated with the Wo Hing Hui Kuan and Wo Hing Kung See which date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the second quarter of the twentieth century. They have been digitized in a data base containing eighty-two (82) files. English transliterations were produced for six (6) sets of plaques and couplets which were located on the front facade of the Wo Hing Society building and recorded in photographs in 1900, 1914, 1966, and 2008.

The first group consists of one plaque and two couplets which was located at the front door on the first floor of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Hall and recorded in a photograph that was taken in 1905 (Figure 27, 48). The plaque provided the name of the society, while the couplets which were hung on either side of the main entrance, included inspirational epitaphs.

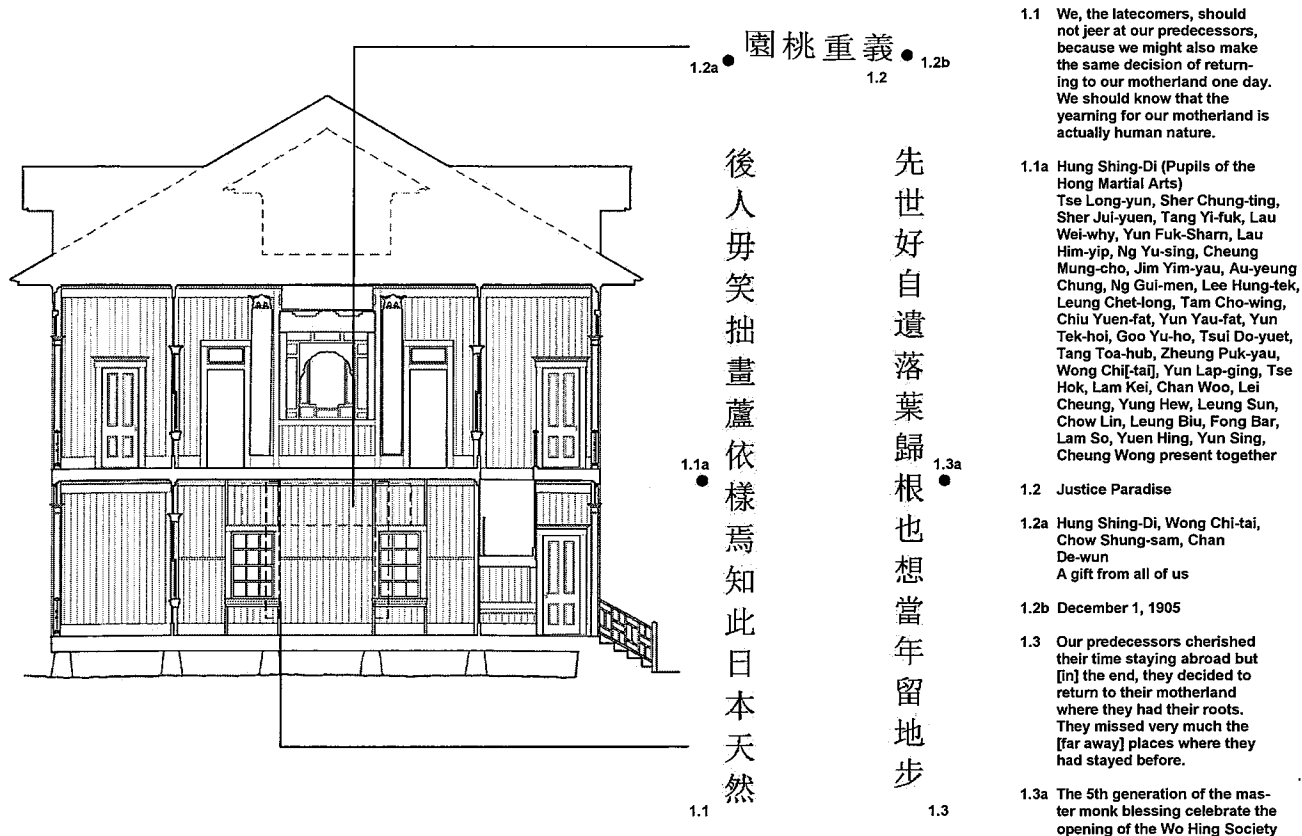


Figure 50. Transliterations of plaque and couplets which were located on the first floor of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905 and recorded in photographs which were taken in 1914 and 1966. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

The second group consists of one plaque which was suspended from the portico and second floor *lanai* (Figure 49; and two couplets (Figure 49) which were located at the front door on the second floor entry of the Kuan Gong Temple and recorded in the same photograph (Figures 27, 36-37). The plaque provides the name of the temple, while the couplets which were hung on either side of the doorway, provide inspirational epitaphs.

The third group consists of one plaque and two couplets (Figures 27, 36-37) which was located at the front door on the first floor of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Hall and recorded in a photograph that was taken in 1914. The plaque provided the name of the society, while the couplets which were hung on either side of the main entrance, provided inspirational epitaphs.

The fourth group consists of a pair of couplets (Figure 50) which were located against the rear (east) wall of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Hall and also recorded in a photograph that was taken in 1914. The plaque is carved in relief with the characters, "Justice Paradise," inscribed with "Hing Shing-Di... a gift from all of us, and the date, "December 1, 1905." The couplets, like the plaque, were donated to the organization by thirty-seven members of the Hung Shing-Di, a martial arts organization, and are presumed to date from the same year, although a date has not been inscribed. The incised text on the couplets is poetic prose and also includes the names of the donors.

The fifth group consists of a plaque and couplets (Figure 51) which were located on the second floor at the doorway to the Kuan-Gong temple in 1914 and recorded in a photograph that was taken in that year (Figures 36-37). The plaque was located above the doorway lintel, and is carved with, "Xie Tian Temple," in relief, meaning the "Temple of Kuan Gong." This set was made in celebration of Wo Hing Kung See.

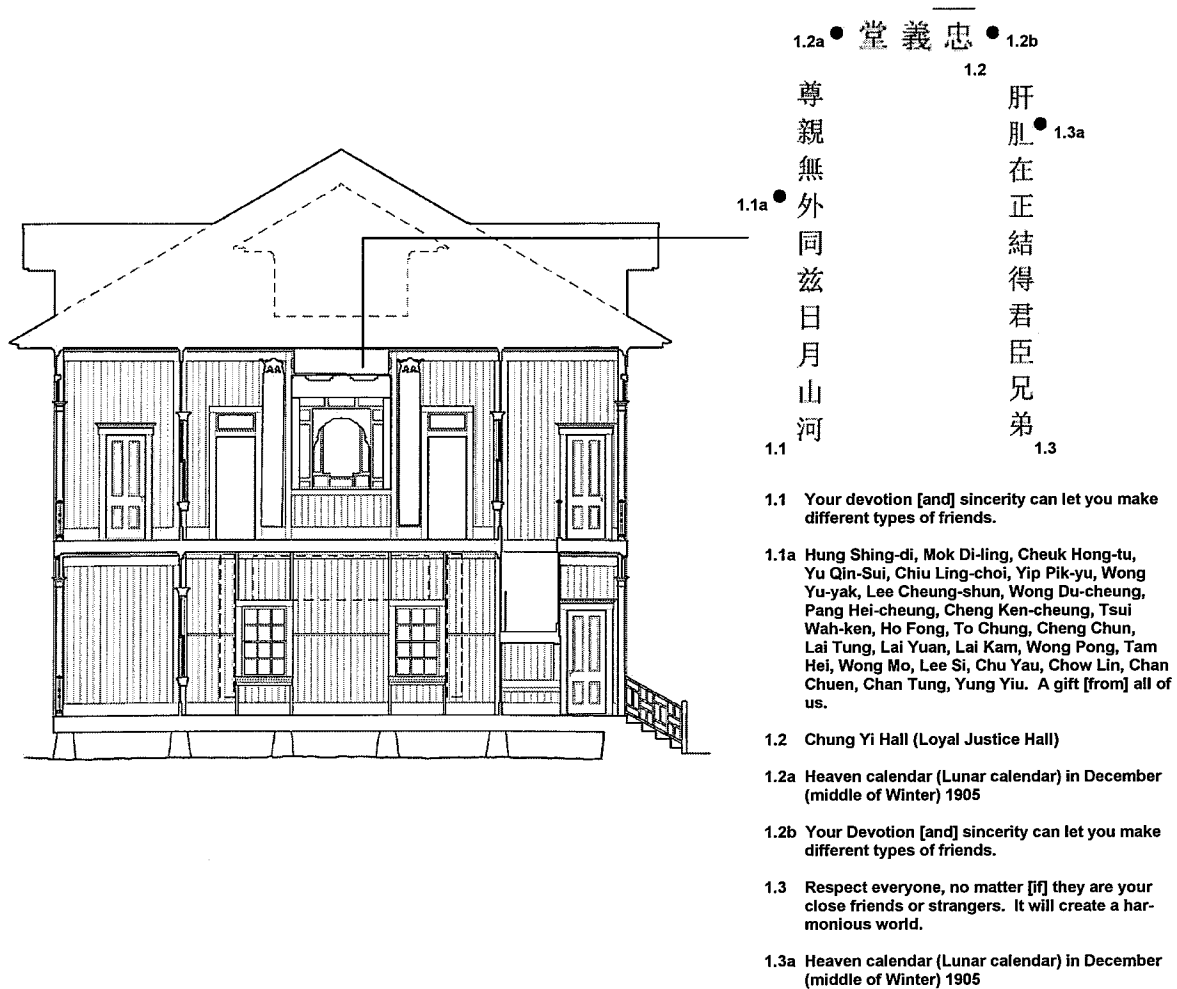


Figure 51. Transliterations of plaques and couplets which are located on the second floor of the second Wo Hing Society hall of 1905. *Courtesy Conway Carter, UH School of Architecture.*

The two couplets hang on either side of the left and right door jambs, also provide inspirational epitaphs, along with the names of donors.

The sixth group consists of one plaque and two couplets which was located at the front door on the first floor of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Hall in 2008. The plaque provides the name of the society, while the couplets which hang on either side of the main entrance, provide inspirational epitaphs.

和興會館

RECORDS

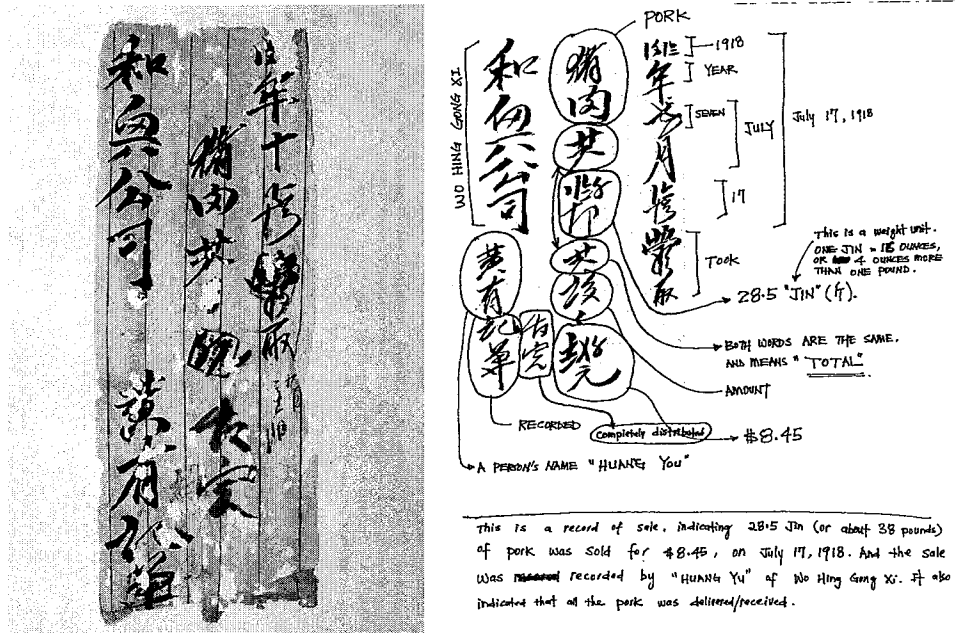


Figure 52. Receipt for purchase of 16 oz. of pork by Huang You for the Wo Hing Gong Xi from an unidentified Chinese merchant in Lahaina on July 17, 1918 and translator's record. Ink on ruled rice paper.

The Wo Hing collection is substantial and consists of some 2000 documents, including 103 booklets. There are also thirty wooden plaques and couplets, as well as numerous photographs related to the Wo Hing Hui Quan (Society) and artifacts that are directly related to Wo Hing Gong Xi (ca.1900). All records have been written in traditional (pre-1949) Chinese.

METHODOLOGY

The size and condition of the collection necessitated that it be organized into basic categories or record groups and that initial translations for this document would be limited to a representative sample (one or two items) from each record group with the exception of plaques and couplets. Documents selected for translation were chosen based upon legibility and ability to represent a record group, then translated into Modern Chinese and English.

DESCRIPTION

The Wo Hing Hui Kuan (society) and the Wo Hing Kung See (company) records span the years 1906-1990 and can be organized into four primary record groups. They include:

- Special Booklets
- Cultural Events
- Receipts of Wo Hing Society (Wo Hing Hui Kuan) and Wo Hing Company (Wo Hing Kung See)
- Plaques, Photos, and Artifacts at the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Hall, Temple and Cook house

Despite the size of the collection, the record groups are incomplete because there are gaps in the chronology and some records are absent.

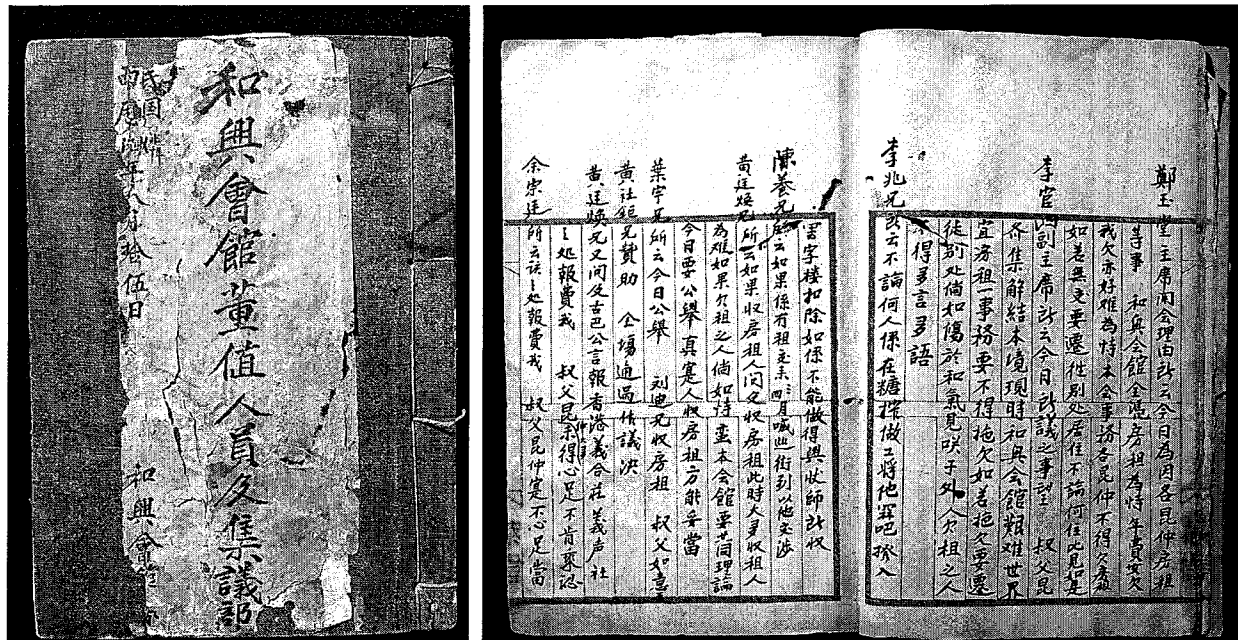


Figure 53. Special Booklet Record Group, Book 1, containing meeting records of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Board of Directors, beginning August 15, 1934 through 1935 (84 pages). Cloth cover with paper label, hand-bound with twine, ink on ruled paper.

SPECIAL BOOKLETS

There are 45 items, over 800 files (pages), in the special booklets record group. They have been organized into six sections:

- 1.1. Wo Hing Hui Kuan meeting, minutes, financial and donation records
- 1.2. Wan Fu Tang Association (cemetery caretaker organization)
- 1.3. Booklets related to Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
- 1.4. Booklets related to the celebration for the leaders and teachers of Hung Men. (Chee Kung Tong)
- 1.5. Small notebooks of financial and donation records of some members, Wo Hing Kung See (1908-1949)
- 1.6. Funeral booklets for three members of Wo Hing Hui Kuan:
 - Uncle (Ah) Tam Qu (1954),
 - Uncle (Ah) Deng Ren- Kuen (n.d.)
 - Uncle (Ah) Huang Ting Huan (1990)

- 1.1 Wo Hing Society meeting, minutes, financial and donations record
 - Book 1. Meeting Records of the Wo Hing Hui Kuan Board of Directors, Beginning August 15, 1934, and 1925 (84 pages)
 - Book 2. Wo Hing Hui Kuan Donation Booklet, n.d. (47 pages)
 - Book 3. Wo Hing Hui Kuan Financial records, 1906-1907, 1909 (54 pages)
 - Book 3. Wo Hing Hui Kuan Financial records 1943 (126 pages)
 - Book 4. Wo Hing Hui Kuan Donation Booklet 1914 (20 pages)
 - Book 5. Maui-Wailuku Second Town Chinese Brotherhood, Island Wide Donation Records Book, Nov. 24, 1916 distributed by Wo Hing Hui Kuan (45 pages)

1.2 Man Fuk Tong Association records

The Man Fuk Tong was an organization that worked closely with the Wo Hing Hui Kuan to maintain the cemetery and ancestors' graves at three cemeteries in Lahaina.

Book 1. Man Fuk Tong (Man Fuk Association) Meeting Record Book, 1953-1954 (6 pages). This booklet contains a record of the organization's expenses and also a list of members who were deceased.

Book 2. Minutes of Meetings of the Man Fuk Tong for the year 1953-1954, 1962 (12 pages)

At the meetings, it is noted that "since the old overseas Chinese migrated here, it has been a long time since the last gathering. The people in charge of the association in the past have gone back to China or moved to other towns, therefore, a group of new people should be selected to take care of the Wan Fu Tang and our first ancestors' tomb. Taking care of the ancestors' graves is very important. It is pointed out those names on wooden grave boards [have] bec[o]me illegible and need replacement with cement boards in order to preserve their names forever.

1.3. Items related to Dr. Sun Yat-sen

1.3.1 Speeches of The President (1930), Published by Overseas Division of Kuomintang, Printed by Southwest Printing & Publishing Co., Hong Kong.

Volumes 1-3 (missing)

Volume 4

Chapter 7- Speech on the Japanese Invasion and rebuilding the Country (384 pages)

Chapter 8- Miscellaneous (56 pages)

1.3.2 Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) and Farmer's Personal Endorsement by Lu Ying (180 pages)

1.4. Booklets related to the celebration for the leaders and teachers of the Hung Men.

1.4.1 Master Chen Jin-nam (CJN)-6 booklets

Book #65-#69 and #91 (1918-1961)

1.4.2 Master Wan Yun Long (WYL or NWL) - 2 booklets

Book #74 (1959)

Book #75 (unknown year)

1.4.3 Five Ancestors ceremony – 5 booklets

Book #8 (1928)

Book #76 (1916)

Book #77 (1956)

Book #78 (1959)

Book #89 (1918)

1.4.4 Guang Ti (GT) ceremony -7 booklets

Book #8 (1928)

Book #16 (1960)

Book #70 (1958)

Book #71 (1957)

Book #72 (1956)

Book #73 (1959)

Book #82 (1916)

1.4.5 Funeral - 3 booklets

Book #79 Uncle (Ah) Tam Qu (TL) (1954)

Book #80-Uncle (Ah) Deng Ren-kuen (TSF) (unknown year)

Book #81-Uncle (Ah) Huang Ting Huan (WTH) (1990)

1.4.6 Small Note Book (NB)

There are seven (7) small notebooks related to the financial records of individual members and the Wo Hing Hui Kuan (1908-1949).

THE WO HING HUI KUAN CULTURAL EVENTS

Digital data for cultural events includes sixty (60) items, over 400 files which span the years 1906-1962. Of the total of 56 years, only 19 years have recorded cultural events and ceremonial activities.

From research conducted with the documents, there are eight (8) Cultural Events which were celebrated by the Wo Hing membership and they were associated with the lunar calendar. They included: Chinese New Year, Moon Festival, Ching-Ming, Chong Yang (Ancestors Day), as well as Summer, Autumn, Winter and Spring Festivals.

1962 - 5 booklets
1961 - 5 booklets
1960 - 9 booklets
1959 - 4 booklets
1958 - 2 booklets
1957 - 1 booklet
1956 - 3 booklets
1955 - 1 booklet
1954 - 1 booklet
1949 - 5 booklets
1948 - 2 booklets
1947 - 3 booklets
1946 - 3 booklets
1944 - 1 booklet
1943 - 1 booklet
1942 - 4 booklets
1918 - 9 booklets
1917 - 3 booklets
1916 - 3 booklets
1913 - 1 booklet

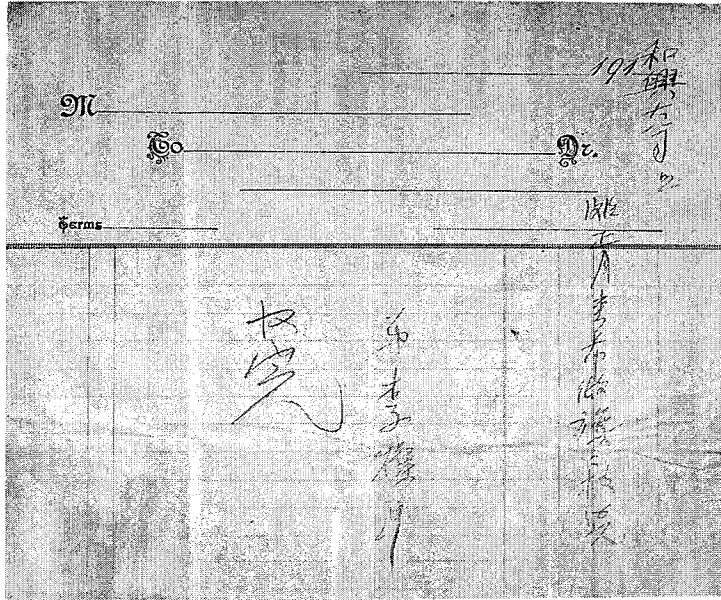


Figure 54. Printed Receipt, pencil on paper (1912).

RECEIPTS AND MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS OF WO HING HUI KUAN AND WO HING KUNG SEE

The receipts and records of the Wo Hing Society, both in English and Chinese, are organized into two boxes, and total over 700 individual pieces. Box #8 contains 71 items and Box #9 has 86 items.

Three (3) receipts have been translated into English. One is from the Wo Hing Kung See, another is from the Wo Hing Hui Kuan, and a third is for a plaque and couplets, dated "1916," and is also a record associated with Wo Hing Gong Xi. It provided the name of the Chinese sign maker in Honolulu who made the plaque and couplets in 1916 as well as the price paid by the society.

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