# A Century of Chinese Christians

## A Case Study on Cultural Integration in Hawai'i

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#### INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

#### CHINESE IN HAWAI'I

There were only a few Chinese entrepreneurs in Hawai'i in the middle of the nineteenth century. The sugar industry, followed by rice farming, completely changed the island economically and politically. The first sugar mill was introduced to Hawai'i by a Chinese in 1802. To be commercially profitable, it had to import foreign laborers, for the native population had diminished from 300,000 in 1775 to 130,131 in 1832 and 71,019 in 1853. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, which was founded in 1850, began to bring workers to sugar plantations in 1852, first from Fuchien Province and later from Kuangtung, Hong Kong, and Macau. These people spoke two dialects: Punti and Hakka. The Punti speakers were from Chungshan county; the "Sam yap" were from the

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counties of Pengyu, Shunte, and Nanhai and the "See yup" from the counties of Taishan, Enping, Kaiping, and Hsinhui. The Hakka were from the counties of Paoan, Huahsien, Weichou, Tungkuan, and Meishien.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the migrant laborers left their families behind and came willingly (though often in response to deception), and all dreamed about some day making enough money to return home with wealth. When they arrived they were quarantined and fumigated<sup>4</sup> and forced to sign five-year contracts at three dollars (1853) to fifteen dollars a month for ten hours a day, six days a week.<sup>5</sup>

The plantations offered neither family life nor recreational facilities. Lonely and frustrated by the hard work and low pay, some of the migrant laborers sought excitement in gambling<sup>6</sup> and some found escape in opium smoking.<sup>7</sup> Almost all of them left the fields and looked for other employment after fulfilling their contract obligations.

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

### EARLY CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN HAWAI'I

Two mission boards—the Hawaiian Evangelical Association<sup>10</sup> and the Episcopal—have supported most of the Protestant work among the Chinese people of Hawai'i.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### CHINESE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association

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

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

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

Rev. Samuel Damon and his son and daughter-in-law were devoted friends of the early Chinese Christians in Hawai'i. This was especially true of the son, Frank Damon, who was born in Hawai'i, toured the world with Henry Carter, and married Mary Happer, a missionary's daughter, who had been born and reared in Kuangzhou, China, and spoke fluent Cantonese. Frank Damon was appointed by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association as the superintendent of Chinese work in 1881. He founded the Mills School, which later moved to Manoa and joined the Kawaiahao Girl's Seminary to become the Mid-Pacific Institute, originally a boarding school for Chinese and Japanese boys. <sup>19</sup>

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

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

William Kwai Fong Yap (1873–1935), son of Yap Ten Siau, one of the founders of the Chinese YMCA and the First Chinese Church, continued as a leader in those two organizations. He helped Dr. Sun Yat-sen, an Iolani schoolmate, form the Hsin Chung Hui (Revive China Society, later the Kuomintang Nationalist Party) in 1894 in Honolulu. He also served as English secretary of the United Chinese Society and as a member of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Yap initiated and supported the expansion of the Agricultural College into the University of Hawai'i. He also founded the Chung Wah School and the Chinese of Hawaii Overseas Penman Club, and supported the Palolo Chinese Home in 1919.<sup>21</sup>

Chung Kun Ai (1879–1958), another classmate of Dr. Sun's and member of the Hsin Chung Hui, president of the United Chinese Society, and supporter of the Wai Wah Hospital and the Palolo Home, was the president of the trustees and standing committee of the First Chinese Church and a major contributor to the construction of the church building on South King Street in 1929.<sup>22</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Episcopal Mission

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

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

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

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

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

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

As the mission grew, it needed room to expand. The present church building was made possible by the generous donations of two individuals in 1904. Luke Aseu was the lay worker assisting the canon, the Reverend William E. Potwine, as teacher and interpreter. Two Chinese students from Miss Drant's night school became Episcopal ministers. A Christian worker at Kula, Maui, was ordained as their vicar. It was a proud moment for the Episcopal churches when Waion Shim, son of the Reverend Yin Chin Shim, was ordained as the vicar of St. Elizabeth's Church in 1935. For the congregation to be able to support its own church was an important landmark of growth in 1937.<sup>27</sup>

#### The Outer Islands

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

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

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

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

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

that there were about one hundred Chinese rice farmers in Waimea. There were three church schools at Waimea, Hanalei, and Hanapepe, all established by Frank Damon about 1884. Another observer, the Reverend Charles Kwock, wrote about the difficulty for Chinese Christians in these areas. A minister had to serve all three places, and the only organized church—Waimea Chinese Christian Church—had only about fifty members (including infants, children, and youth), who lived far apart. It was almost impossible to plan and organize. 1

The Episcopal Mission began its work among Chinese on the outer islands as early as 1882, starting to organize St. Paul's at Kohala and St. John's at Kula, Maui. Mr. Shim Yin Chin, a Lutheran minister from China, taught Chinese and Christianity among the Chinese in Kula. Bishop Restarick was so impressed with Mr. Shim's earnestness and devotion that he recommended the mission ordain him as deacon in 1905 and priest in 1907.<sup>32</sup>

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

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

# UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF CHINESE CHURCHES

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

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

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

From 1950 to 1964 about one hundred Chinese arrived annually from Hong Kong and Taiwan. After enactment of the new immigration law in 1965, the figure was tripled; ten years later, it was quadrupled. By 1984 over eight hundred Chinese came annually. In the following two years, the number of new arrivals leveled off at 799 in 1985 and 724 in 1986.<sup>34</sup> The new immigrants are mostly from the urban environments of Hong Kong and Taiwan. Most of them are well educated, with a good command of the English language. They are either professionals or investors in business. They prefer to live in suburban or city areas, but away from Chinatown. The new immigrants came with their families and intend to stay.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### NOTES

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

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

- 11. Kuykendall and Day, 76.
- 12. Tin-Yuke Char, "S. P. Aheong, Hawaii's First Chinese Christian Evangelist," in *Journal of History*, VII, 1977, 69–79.
- 13. Herman Schlyter, Karl Guetzlaff, Lung: Hakan Ohlssons Boytryckeri, 1946, 296, 297.
- 14. George Ziegler, "Der Basler Mission in China," *Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, February 1906, 12.
- 15. Charles Kwock, ed., Souvenir of 90th Anniversary Commemoration, Honolulu, 1969, 7.
- 16. In Chinese, a person's family name comes first, followed by the given name. In the nineteenth century some Chinese, fresh off the boat after a voyage of fifty-some days, answered the first question put to them at a strange place, in a strange language, by giving the most familiar names they were called and adding an "A," the sound that is most common in Cantonese and Fujienese and usually used to address a family member or close friends. In Luke Aseu's case, Young Seu was his given name. "A" plus the last syllable was what his family and friends called him; therefore, he answered "Aseu," without the slightest idea that in English "name" includes both first and last names.
- 17. Kwock, Souvenir, 9, 10
- 18. Li Ling-Ai, Life Is for a Long Time: A Chinese Hawaiian Memoir, New York: Hastings House, 1972, 4.
- 19. Kwock, Souvenir, 11 and 19.
- 20. Friend, August 1892, 63-64.
- 21. Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1929, 184. In Chinese.

- 22. Chung Kun Ai, My Seventy Nine Years in Hawaii, Hong Kong: Cosmorama Pictorial Publisher, 1960.
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- 24. Chinese Congregational Church, 20th Anniversary, Honolulu, 1935. In Chinese.
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