

# Merchant Prince

## Chun Afong in Hawai'i, 1849–90

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Robert Paul Dye, “Merchant Prince: Chun Afong in Hawai'i, 1849–90,” *Chinese America: History & Perspectives – The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America with UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2010), pages 23–36.

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

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

Chun Afong was born in 1825. His father, Chun Cheong, a farmer, died when Afong was fourteen. He had two older brothers and four sisters. When he sailed for Hawai'i, he left his wife, Lee Hong, to live with his mother, Tsum Yun.<sup>3</sup> Afong's family life was fictionalized in a famous short story, “Chun Ah Chun,” by Jack London<sup>4</sup> and in a Broadway musical comedy, *Thirteen Daughters*, by Eaton Magoon Jr., a great-grandson of Afong.<sup>5</sup>

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

### BACKGROUND

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

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

Afong made a visit home late in 1850 on the American bark *Sea Breeze*. He travelled with four other Chinese merchants, and between them they carried back five strongboxes said to contain \$9,400.<sup>11</sup> All four of the men were associated with Hungtai & Co. and were in one way or another related to the firm's founders, Chun Hung and Atai. Hungtai & Co. was a successful mercantile, real estate, and agricultural firm and operated one of three Chinese-owned stores in Honolulu.<sup>12</sup> It was located close by the site of an early Chinese enterprise—a public kitchen patronized by sandalwood traders at Honolulu Harbor in 1810.<sup>13</sup> Just when Afong returned to Honolulu is unknown, but in June 1854 he and a partner, Tong Chun, leased a store on the northeast corner of King and Maunakea streets from a Chinese merchant named Aiona for \$1,600.<sup>14</sup>

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

The Chinese population of Hawai'i changed markedly with the introduction of contract laborers from Amoy in 1852.<sup>19</sup> Unlike their entrepreneurial predecessors, the men from Amoy had little in common with members of Honolulu's predominantly Zhongshan community, who spoke a different dialect. But more than language barriers were to separate Hawai'i's Chinese. In Kwangtung there had historically been hostility between the original Cantonese settlers, who alluded to themselves as *bendi* (Punti, or natives), and *Kejia* (Hakkas or "guests"), who were the last to arrive. Daily hostility between the groups resulted from the contemptuous way the *Punti* treated the Hakkas, whom they did not consider to be Han Chinese. In turn, the Hakkas were aloof and proudly clung to their own customs and dialect. More annoying, they were aggressive competitors for land and jobs. Contention finally erupted in communal warfare that took thousands of lives. For thirteen years (1854–67) fighting raged over the southwestern corner of the Pearl River Delta.<sup>20</sup> To escape the conflict many Hakkas shipped to Hawai'i, only to find themselves again settled among *Punti* types. History, it seemed, was about to repeat itself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### AFONG FOUNDS A HAWAI'I FAMILY

A curious legal notice signed by Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, the former missionary doctor, appeared in March 1857. Titled "Julia Fayerweather," it read: "Having eloped or been enticed away from my guardianship, I forbid all persons harboring or trusting her, under penalty of the law."<sup>31</sup> A pretty girl, Julia had been orphaned in 1850.<sup>32</sup> When her first guardian was ruled insane, she was placed under the legal care of Dr. Judd.<sup>33</sup> The reason Judd placed the notice was soon clear. In late May Chun Afong became a naturalized Hawaiian citizen, a requirement for foreigners who wished to wed native Hawaiian women, and a few days later married sixteen-year-old Julia. The ceremony took place at Afong's Nuuanu home and was performed by the Reverend Lowell Smith of Kaumakapili Church.<sup>34</sup> The Reverend Smith, who had also married Julia's parents, had studied sacred theology at Auburn Seminary under Julia's great-uncle, the Reverend Dr. James Richards.<sup>35</sup> That he had now married his theological mentor's niece to a man who was already married and the father of a son in China seemed to cause the minister no ecclesiastical problems. Nor did the situation cause the government that issued the license any legal problems. If they could afford it, Chinese were expected to have wives at home and wives where they sojournd.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In late 1865, Afong and Achuck decided to merge their Honolulu stores and to open one at Hilo. On the first day of the new year the firm of Afong and Achuck was formed by oral agreement. The new firm's land was assessed a year later at \$1,900 and its personal property at \$28,300.<sup>53</sup> Prior to the merger Achuck had been associated with Chung Hoon in labor recruiting, and at the time of the merger he was embroiled in a dispute with Hawaiian immigration authorities over payment of fees. However, the problem was resolved and Achuck was absolved of any wrongdoing.<sup>54</sup> On July 1, 1873, after seven years of successful operations, Afong and Achuck formally incorporated their business for three years,

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

In 1873 Afong spent some time in China with his China wife and fathered another son, Chun Su. His Hawai'i enterprises continued to prosper and when Kaupakuea, one of the sugar plantations he was leasing, became available for purchase in October 1874, he bought it for \$66,000.<sup>55</sup> Within a week of that purchase he began to acquire property on Waikiki Beach for a weekend villa. Social subscription concerts were then in vogue and Chun and Julia, like other prominent couples, took their turn at hosting concerts at their Nuuanu home.

## OPIUM

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

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

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

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

#### AFONG ENTERS POLITICS

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

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

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

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

Achuck, who had been in poor health, never returned to Hawai'i. He died at Nam Long on April 20, 1877. At the close of June, Afong published a notice stating that although the partnership had been dissolved by Achuck's death, he would carry on the business "under the same name and style of Afong and Achuck." In September two other plantations Afong had leased since 1870—Makahalanaloa and Pepeekeo—were placed for sale and Afong bought them at auction for \$11,000.<sup>65</sup> He now owned 9,100 acres on the Hamakua Coast of the Big Island and rented another 300 acres of pasture at Kulimano. He ordered a new schooner, the *Haleakala*, to be built at San Francisco and in the spring added almost two acres of a lovely coconut grove to his residential Waikiki property. In 1878 he headed a drive to raise funds for victims of the famine then sweeping across northern China.

Chun Afong stepped out from behind the political scenes to accept appointments in 1879, first as a privy counsellor to Kalakaua<sup>66</sup> and then as Chinese commercial agent.<sup>67</sup> After sending its first minister abroad in 1876, China established consulates in cities where there was a significant Chinese presence, first in Singapore, then in Yokohama, and shortly thereafter in San Francisco on November 8, 1878.

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

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

think must have a good influence with his countrymen."<sup>69</sup> But the Hawaiian government said Afong's commission was informally drafted and delayed recognizing him until mid-February 1880.<sup>70</sup> This was just the first of the problems Afong was to have with Hawai'i's pro-Western foreign office.

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

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

## THE COOLIE TRADE

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

community. "They decide every question that affects the natives," claimed the editor.<sup>80</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### STRATEGIC HAWAI’I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SETBACKS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

For Afong the past few years had been frustrating and trying, publicly and privately. His eldest daughter, Emmeline, had in June 1879 married a man who, a few days after their grand wedding at St. Andrew’s Cathedral, performed by the Episcopal bishop of Honolulu and attended by King Kalakaua and Princess Liliuokalani, was arrested and later sent to jail for seducing another woman by promise of marriage.<sup>108</sup> Afong was unable to get an annulment, and it took an agonizing thirty months for Emmeline to finalize the divorce. Afong also suffered financial losses when his Honolulu store was gutted by fire in 1878, and when storm and fire struck his Kaupakuea plantation on Chinese New Year’s Day in 1881.<sup>109</sup> It was time to reassess and regroup.

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

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

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

## THE OPIUM BRIBE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## AFONG RETURNS TO CHINA

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

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

With his financial affairs in order and his Hawai'i family well taken care of, Afong transferred his business headquarters to Hong Kong. He sailed from Hawai'i for the last time on October 17, 1890.<sup>130</sup> Afong boarded his ship off the Waimanalo coast. As a farewell salute to an old friend, John Cummins, a cousin of Julia's and prime minister under Queen Liliuokalani, held a party for Afong and invited those men with whom he had lived, worked, and prospered. When the party was over, Afong boarded the little sugar plantation steamer *Kaala*, which chugged beyond the reef to the waiting ship, and from her cane-stained deck the Merchant Prince of Honolulu climbed aboard the luxury liner *S.S. China*.<sup>131</sup> It was a fitting way to say aloha.

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

#### AFONG'S CHILDREN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES

### Abbreviations

AH Archives of Hawai'i  
 HA Honolulu Advertiser  
 FO & Ex Foreign Office and Executive  
 HBC Hawai'i Bureau of Conveyances  
 HJH *Hawaiian Journal of History*  
 HMCS Hawaiian Mission Children's Society  
 HSB *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*  
 PCA *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*  
 UH University of Hawai'i

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

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

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