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The Chinese in Hawai'i: A Historical and Demographic Perspective

INTRODUCTION

DURING THE PAST 200 YEARS, since Hawai'i was opened to the world by Captain James Cook's 1778 exploratory expedition in the Pacific, the Chinese have become an important segment of the growing population of the Islands. The involvement of persons of Chinese ancestry in Hawai'i parallels the history of the development of the Islands from a relatively isolated mid-Pacific Polynesian culture to a modern metropolis serving as a center for east-west interchange of economic, social, cultural, and educational activities.

I. THE PERIOD OF CASUAL ENCOUNTER: 1788 TO 1852

Information about the "Sandwich Islands" may have been given to persons in China who had contact with Cook's crew when they stopped at Macao in December 1779, near the conclusion of the third voyage. It was Cook's journals and navigational charts,

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however, published by the British Admiralty in 1784, that alerted mariners to the presence of islands that could serve as an important stop for Pacific Northwest-East Asia commercial trading.¹ Merchantmen, whalers, and fur traders from many countries used the Islands for replenishment of water and food supplies, as well as for rest, recreation, and refreshment. Crewmen from China were employed as cooks, carpenters, and artisans, and Chinese businessmen sailed as passengers to America. Some of these men disembarked in Hawai'i and remained as new settlers.²

In 1788, British Captain John Meares commanded two vessels, the *Iphigenia* and the *Felice*, with crews of Europeans and 50 Chinese.³ In 1790, the American schooner *Eleanora*, with Simon Metcalf as master, reached Maui from Macao using a crew of 10 Americans and 45 Chinese.⁴ Upon his visit to the Sandwich Islands in 1794, Captain George Vancouver reported the presence of a Chinese resident, and he attributed the use of firearms by King Kamehameha to the importation of armaments from China (see the article on Vancouver elsewhere in this issue).⁵

With the development of sandalwood trade in the Chinese market, Americans from the Atlantic coast brought British cottons, broadcloth, and hardware to barter for sandalwood with Native Hawaiians. Kamehameha I endorsed this effort to enhance the economic status of his Kingdom of Hawai'i, and he encouraged his subjects to go to the mountain forests to gather the fragrant wood for shipment to China. The sandalwood trade continued for half a century, from 1792 to about 1843, until depletion of the forests.⁶ Hawai'i became known to the people of China as "*Tan Heung Shan*," or "the sandalwood mountains."⁷

Chinese pioneered the development of the sugar industry in Hawai'i. Sugar cane had been brought to the Islands by early Polynesian settlers, but its use was limited to local consumption. In 1802, Wong Tze-Chun, a Chinese entrepreneur, brought a mill and boilers to Hawai'i aboard a sandalwood trading ship and established on Lāna'i the first commercial effort toward sugar production.⁸ Two men, Ahung and Atai, introduced a sugar mill on Maui in 1828, and some other new Chinese residents manufactured sugar on Kaua'i in the mid 1830s and on the island of

Hawai'i in the 1840s. By 1838, between 30 and 40 Chinese were counted among the 400 foreigners residing in Honolulu.⁹ Energetic in commercial endeavors, they initiated business enterprises in general merchandizing, rice farming, restaurants, bakeries, and the sale of liquors and wines. In cooperation with other foreigners to Hawai'i, they recognized opportunities of trade and recruited more Chinese to come to the Islands.¹⁰ By the 1850s, sugar had become the major export crop for the Islands, and the Kingdom, looking to outside sources for cheap agricultural labor, arranged the shipping of the first contract laborers from China in 1852.¹¹

The Act for the Government of Masters and Servants, passed by the Kingdom of Hawai'i on June 21, 1850, authorized the importation of laborers to serve as apprenticed plantation workers for terms not to exceed five years.¹² Male immigrants were recruited from the two provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien in southeastern mainland China. Since their homeland was in turmoil from political and economic unrest, laborers responded willingly to the opportunity for adventure and financial gain in the legendary *Tan Heung Shan* of Hawai'i.

In 1852, Captain John Cass of the British bark *Thetis* was commissioned by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society to obtain a supply of workers for sugar plantation employment. He returned from China with 175 field hands and 20 domestic servants.¹³ In exchange for a five-year contract for work on a sugar plantation in Hawai'i, they were given free passage, wages of three dollars a month, clothing, and food and housing.¹⁴ The next year Captain Cass delivered 98 more Chinese workers to the Islands.

In contrast to earlier Chinese immigrants who worked freely as merchants and shopkeepers, the contract "coolie" laborers were constrained under provisions of a law for "masters and servants." Margaret Young, a Chinese historian, described the arrival and difficult conditions endured by some of the imported workers:

When they [Chinese contract laborers] reached Honolulu, they were kept in the quarantine station for about two weeks. They were

made to clean themselves in a tank and have their clothes fumigated. Planters looked them over and picked them for work in much the same way a horse was looked at before he was bought. These Chinese were taken to the plantations. There they lived in grass houses or unpainted wooden buildings with dirt floors. Sometimes as many as forty men were put into one room. They slept on wooden boards about two feet wide and about three feet from the floor. Every morning at five, their bosses, called *lunas*, marched them to the fields. There they cut the sugarcane and hauled it on their backs to ox drawn carts which took the cane to the mill to be made into sugar. While they worked, they were not allowed to talk or smoke. They could rest only at times okayed by the *lunas*. If the men slowed down in their work or showed signs of not working, for whatever reason, the *lunas* whipped them with black snake whips.¹⁵

The Chinese were reported to be willing, able, and cooperative workers, and they quickly learned the Hawaiian language. Upon describing Chinese residing in the Sandwich Islands in 1856, Reverend William Speer said: "One of the amusing sights I have seen on the islands has been 'Canton' men and 'Amoy' men resorting to the dialect of the Hawaiians as the only medium of ready communication with each other."¹⁶

II. THE PERIOD OF EARLY IMMIGRATION: 1852 TO 1886

The deliberate introduction of persons of Chinese ancestry into Island life was influenced by economic and political events that shaped U.S. history in the mid 19th century. The discovery of gold in California stimulated commercial activities and growth in Hawai'i. The Civil War in the United States resulted in an increased demand by the northern states for Hawaiian sugar when Louisiana sugar became scarce.

The sugar industry increased from 10 plantations in 1858 to 22 plantations operating in 1861, and sugar farmers continued to request additions to the labor force. Since Captain Cass's expedition to China in 1852, only some 700 Chinese had immigrated to

Hawai'i by 1864. At that time, King Kamehameha V recommended the establishment of a Board of Immigration to promote and to control more closely the importation of foreign labor. With sensitivity to criticism of "slave labor" and "coolie trade," the Hawaiian Government asserted its position that immigration was promoted for the primary purpose of population reinforcement. It recognized the recent trends of high mortality and depopulation in the Islands and the need for replenishment of the labor force.

Dr. William Hillebrand was commissioned by the Kingdom of Hawai'i's Board of Immigration to obtain 500 additional workers from China. The effect of the imbalanced number of Chinese male immigrants on the composition of the population, with reports of prostitution and sexual perversion, concerned the legislators in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hillebrand explained: "The fault has been in great measure with ourselves, inasmuch as no females were imported at the time, and no organization existed to control and direct the course of those who had served out their time."¹⁷ He was encouraged by the Hawaiian Government to try to entice wives and families to accompany the men moving to Hawai'i.¹⁸

In 1865, Dr. Hillebrand returned from China with 473 male laborers and 52 wives. The shortage of women prevented the establishment of Chinese family and clan life. Some men married Hawaiian women and initiated the trend toward intermarriage and development of part Hawaiian families.

The first permanent Chinese community included free immigrants and plantation laborers who had completed their contracts. The majority were Cantonese, or Punti, from the Chungshan district in the lower part of the Pearl River Delta. A significant group, speaking variants of the Southern Min dialect, also originated from areas in Chungshan. About one-fourth were Hakkas, mostly from districts on both sides of the Pearl River estuary. There were also smaller numbers from the Sze Yap and other districts. Some intergroup antagonisms arose, especially between the Punti and Hakka. Hostility and sometimes open violence marked their relations during the early period of settlement.¹⁹

Health authorities attributed the introduction of smallpox,

leprosy, and opium addiction to Chinese workers. The expansion of health care services in the Islands was related to the public health needs of immigrants from China. In 1855, King Kamehameha IV recommended the establishment of public hospitals and focused on the need to prevent the introduction of foreign diseases.²⁰ The Board of Health, established in 1850, was alerted by Dr. Hillebrand to the rapid spread of leprosy, called *ma'i pake* or Chinese disease, at its first official discussion on December 28, 1863.²¹

Upon completion of their period of contract labor where they received low pay and had little opportunity for promotion, most of the Chinese left the sugar plantations to seek economic gain in other endeavors.²² At first these people accepted minimal wages, working in unskilled jobs as domestic laborers, farm hands for small fruit and vegetable stands, and restaurant and laundry helpers. In downtown Honolulu, in an area known as Chinatown, successful Chinese businesses were established that included merchants, traders, carpenters, shoemakers, and professionals. Other Chinese remained in rural areas to work in small industries, including private Chinese-owned sugar mills, and in the production of rice, bananas, coffee, and vegetables.

The demand for plantation labor increased with the passage of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1876 which allowed Hawaiian sugar and rice to be imported to the United States free of duty.²³ Sugar production increased from 26 million pounds in 1876 to 142 million pounds in 1884.²⁴ Funds were appropriated by the legislature of the Kingdom of Hawai'i to assist more laborers and their families to move to the Islands, and wages were raised to \$12 to \$14 per month excluding board.²⁵ After the passage of the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, some Chinese immigrants, originally recruited to the United States to work in the gold mines or on the railroads, migrated to the Islands from the West Coast. Chinese workers aboard ships on their way to California changed their destination to disembark in the Islands and become residents of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

Between 1852 and 1884, the population of Chinese in Hawai'i increased from 364 to 18,254, to become almost a quarter of the

population of the Kingdom (Table 1).²⁶ There was only one Chinese woman for every 17 men. Reports of abuses in policies of recruiting and transporting laborers and of some mistreatment and exploitation of Chinese plantation workers were made to the government of China which in 1881 prohibited further emigration to Hawai'i. The colonial office in London also issued a directive that emigration from Hong Kong to the Hawaiian Islands should be stopped.

TABLE I.
THE CHINESE POPULATION IN HAWAI'I, 1853-1986

Year	Number		Percentage		Average Annual Growth Rate ^b		Median Age	
	Chinese	Total ^a	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total
Dec. 26, 1853	364	73,138	0.5	100.0	—	—	N.A.	N.A.
Dec. 24, 1860	816	69,800	1.2	100.0	8.1	-0.5		
Dec. 7, 1866	1,306	62,959	2.1	100.0	4.7	-1.0		
Dec. 27, 1872	2,038	56,897	3.5	100.0	4.4	-1.7		
Dec. 27, 1878	6,045	57,985	10.4	100.0	10.9	0.2		
Dec. 27, 1884	18,254	80,578	22.7	100.0	11.1	3.3		
Dec. 28, 1890	16,752	89,990	18.6	100.0	-0.9	1.8		
Sept. 27, 1896	21,616	109,020	19.8	100.0	2.5	1.1		
June 1, 1900	25,767	154,001	16.7	100.0	1.8	9.4	30.8	26.9
Apr. 15, 1910	21,674	191,909	11.3	100.0	-1.7	2.2	31.6	26.4
Jan. 1, 1920	23,507	255,912	9.2	100.0	0.8	3.0	28.9	23.3
Apr. 1, 1930	27,179	368,336	7.4	100.0	1.4	3.6	22.4	21.7
Apr. 1, 1940	28,774	423,330	6.8	100.0	0.6	1.4	25.5	23.2
Apr. 1, 1950	32,376	499,769	6.5	100.0	1.2	1.7	26.9	24.9
Apr. 1, 1960	38,197	632,772	6.0	100.0	1.7	2.4	28.8	24.3
Apr. 1, 1970	52,375	768,559	6.8	100.0	3.2	2.0	28.5	25.0
Apr. 1, 1980	56,285	964,691	5.8	100.0	0.7	2.3	33.2	28.4
1970-1986, using Hawai'i Department of Health definitions of ethnicity ^c								
1970	29,966	773,632	3.9	100.0				
1980	47,275	930,271	5.1	100.0				
1986	48,727	1,022,751	4.8	100.0				

TABLE I.—*Cont'd*

SOURCE: Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933), Table 1.

Hawai'i (State) Department of Planning and Economic Development, *Statistical Report* 180, Table 2; *Data Book*, 1972, Table 12; 1981, Table 14; 1987, Table 24.

Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1989), Table 3-1; Table 4-11.

Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1968), Tables 1, 26.

United States, Bureau of the Census 1961, *Census of population, 1960: general characteristics, Hawaii*. Final report PC(1)-13D, Table 15, 1972, *Census of population, 1970: detailed statistics*. Final report PC(1)-D13, Hawaii, Table 139; 1982, *General population characteristics, Hawaii*, PC80-B13, Table 15; and 1982, *General social and economic characteristics, Hawaii*, PC80-1-C-13, Table 58.

NOTE: Differences in racial classification affect trend totals. The 1853-1890 Chinese totals did not identify Hawai'i-born children of foreigners by race. Census data for 1853-1960 are not directly comparable to 1970-1980, because of changed definitions of race. Before 1970, persons of mixed background, other than part Hawaiian, were counted by race of the non-White parent if part White or by race of father if non-White. In 1970 and 1980, the U.S. census classified by self-identification of race or by race of father; in 1980, for persons who could not provide a single response to the race question, the race of the person's mother was used. In 1970, many Chinese-Hawaiians and all part-Chinese with a Chinese father were included as Chinese; in 1980, Chinese totals included many Chinese-Hawaiians plus part-Chinese with a Chinese mother.

N.A. = Not available.

^a Total population refers to the resident population that includes the civilian population and members of the armed forces with their dependents; visitors (over 10 percent of Hawai'i's daily total population) are excluded.

^b Computed by the formula $r = 100 \log (P_2/P_1)/t$; period of calculation spans preceding decade.

^c United States census data on race are not comparable to the Hawai'i State Department of Health figures (derived from a sample survey of the Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program) owing to different definitional and procedural counting methods.

III. PERIOD OF STABILIZATION: 1886 TO 1898

The Chinese were the first of the immigrant labor groups in Hawai'i (figs. 1, 2, and 3) to leave the plantations and to urbanize

(fig. 4). Sociologist Andrew W. Lind reported: "In 1884, the outlines of the emerging industrialized agriculture of the Kingdom could be traced by the areas or districts in which a sizeable proportion of Chinese and Portuguese were reported in the census."²⁷ By that time, almost 30 percent of all the Chinese in the Islands were living in Honolulu, compared to only 6 percent of the Portuguese and 25 percent of the total population. The stronger commercial tradition of the Chinese enabled a more rapid upward mobility in the economic life of Hawai'i.

The growth of the Chinese population was restrained by a series of laws directed to reduce the inflow of new persons from China. In 1883, the Hawaiian Cabinet Council, concerned that the Chinese had secured too strong a representation in the labor market, passed a resolution to restrict Chinese immigration to 2,400 men a year and to require Chinese leaving the Islands to obtain a passport to prove previous residence if they expected to return. In 1885, harsher regulations limited passports to Chinese who had been in trade or who had conducted business for at least one year of residence, and no return passports were to be issued to departing laborers. Further government regulations introduced between 1886 to 1892 virtually ended Chinese contract labor immigration by restricting passports to business people who had resided in the Islands, to Chinese women and children, and to a few persons in China who were specifically invited by the minister of foreign affairs, such as clergy, teachers, and some businessmen. A limited number of Chinese laborers were permitted to enter Hawai'i under conditional work permits for agricultural purposes, provided that they left the Islands after five years.²⁸

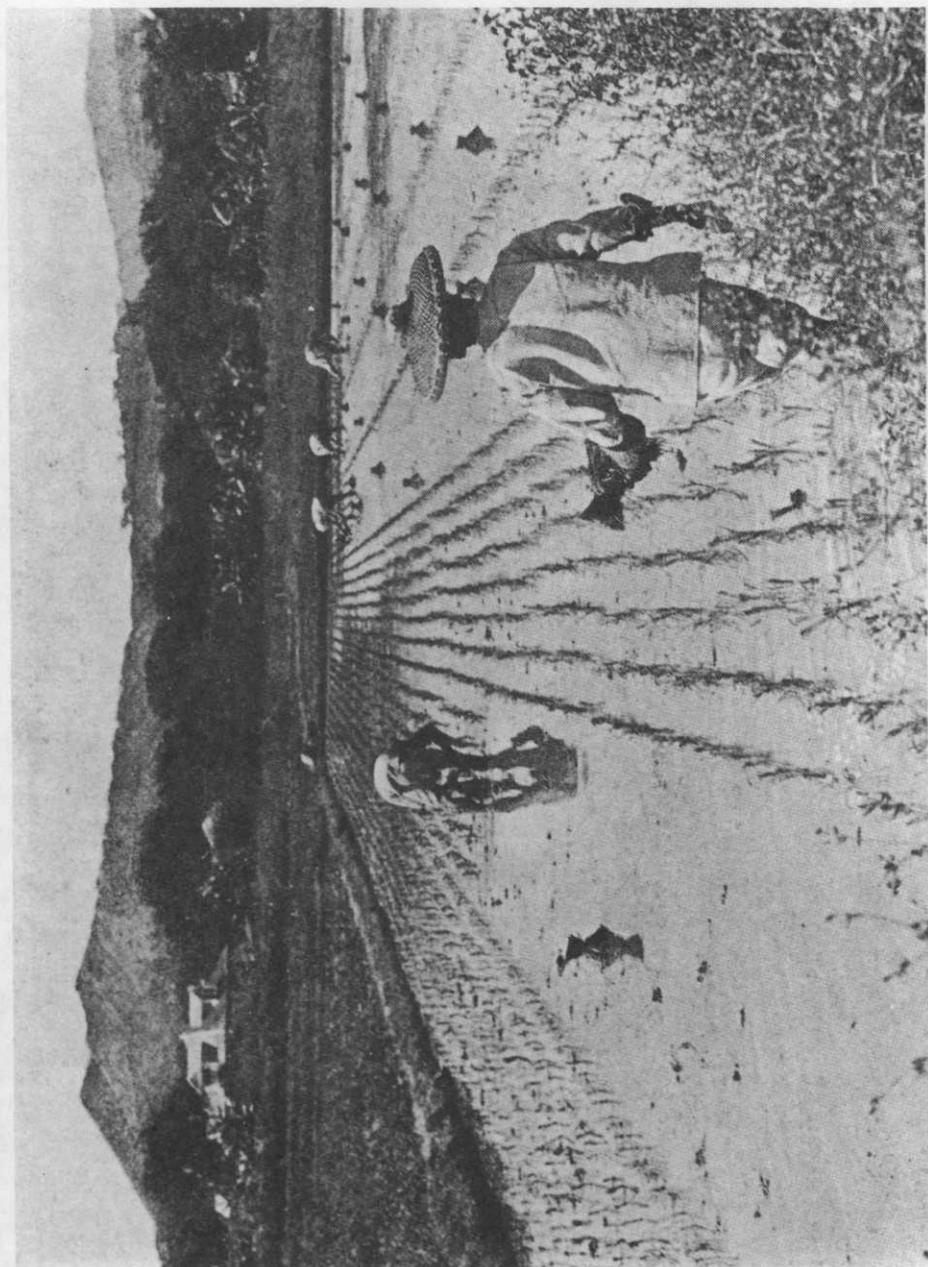
FIG. 1. Chinese steerage passengers, on board the *S. S. China en route to Hawai'i* in 1901, ate their meals on deck. (HA photo collection.)

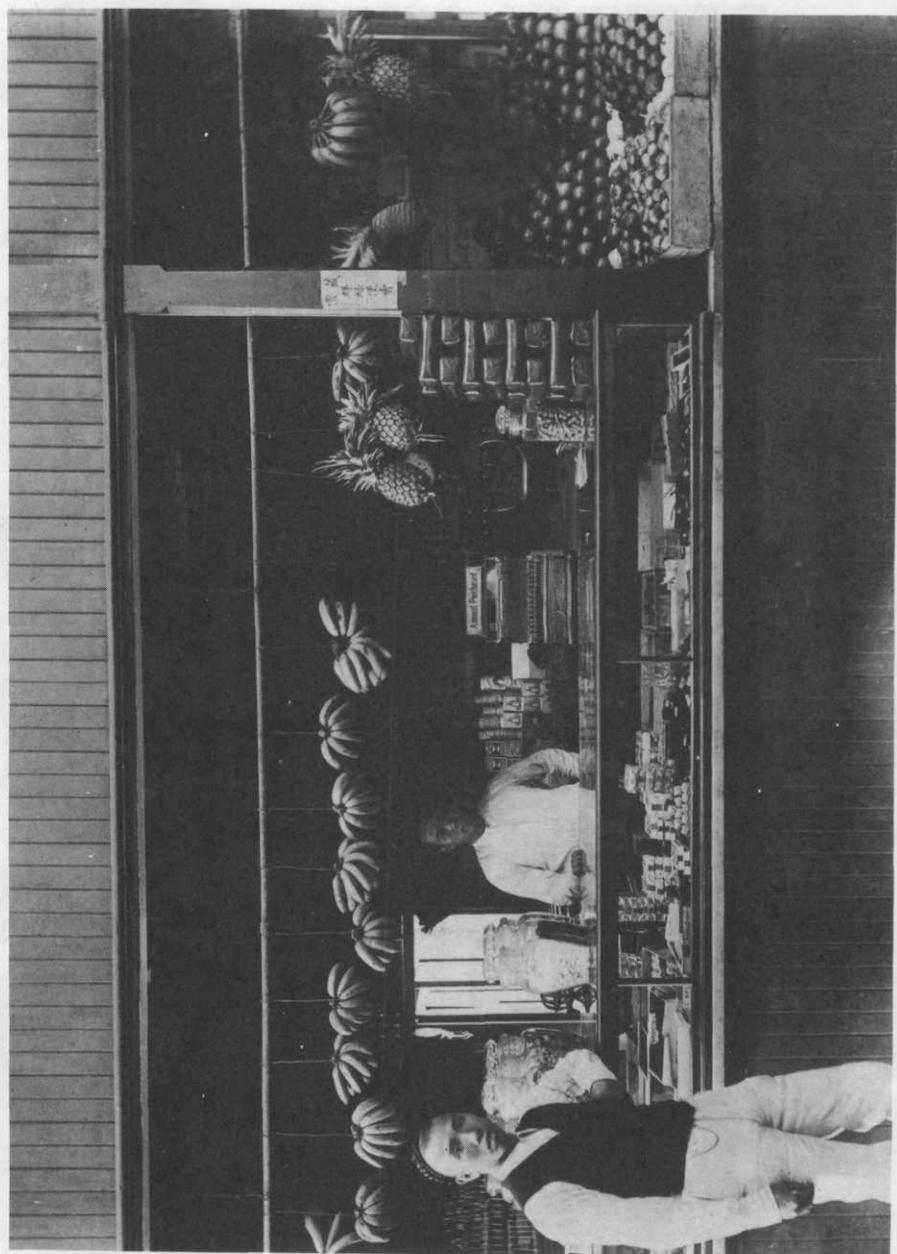
FIG. 2. (*inside left*) Chinese contract laborers on a sugar plantation worked from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. six days a week in late 19th century Hawai'i. (HA photo collection.)

FIG. 3. (*inside right*) Chinese worked in the rice fields beneath Punchbowl Crater, Honolulu, in 1900. (HA photo collection.)









An effort to stabilize the Chinese population was made by a Hawaiian government policy that curtailed Chinese immigration so that the number of arrivals would not exceed departures.²⁹ While 5,727 Chinese were employed on sugar plantations in 1888, only 2,617 were reported in that occupation by 1892. Many of these workers migrated to the cities to obtain higher-paying jobs, but some laborers returned to their homeland. Between 1884 and 1890, the Chinese population declined from 18,254 to 16,752 persons.

The Chinese in Honolulu, and to a lesser extent in smaller cities such as Hilo, participated in a number of organizations to unify their group and to provide a cohesive social milieu for the immigrants. These societies served the largely male population, providing fellowship and a measure of social control, arbitrating disputes, and lending aid and protection. The local associations played a particularly large role in the lives of newcomers; the clan associations allowed permanent settlers and Hawaiian-born Chinese to expand their affiliations. The first Chinese organization in Hawai'i was the Liu Yee Wu Burial Society, established in 1854 to ensure a proper burial for any Chinese person dying in the Islands. The United Chinese Society was organized in 1884.³⁰ Economic interests were protected by trade and craftsman's guilds and organizations such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1911.

IV. PERIOD OF MATURATION: 1898 TO 1988

By the end of the 19th century, the Chinese in Hawai'i had modified their social and religious customs and practices to adjust to the constraints of a new land (fig. 5).³¹ The annexation of the Republic of Hawai'i to the United States in 1898 initiated a shift in the legal framework for immigration laws; with the 1900 passage of the Organic Act, the legislation that made Hawai'i a Territory of the United States, all U.S. laws were extended to the Islands.

FIG. 4. Upon completing their sugar contracts, the Chinese moved to town and to new occupations, such as merchandising. (HA photo collection.)

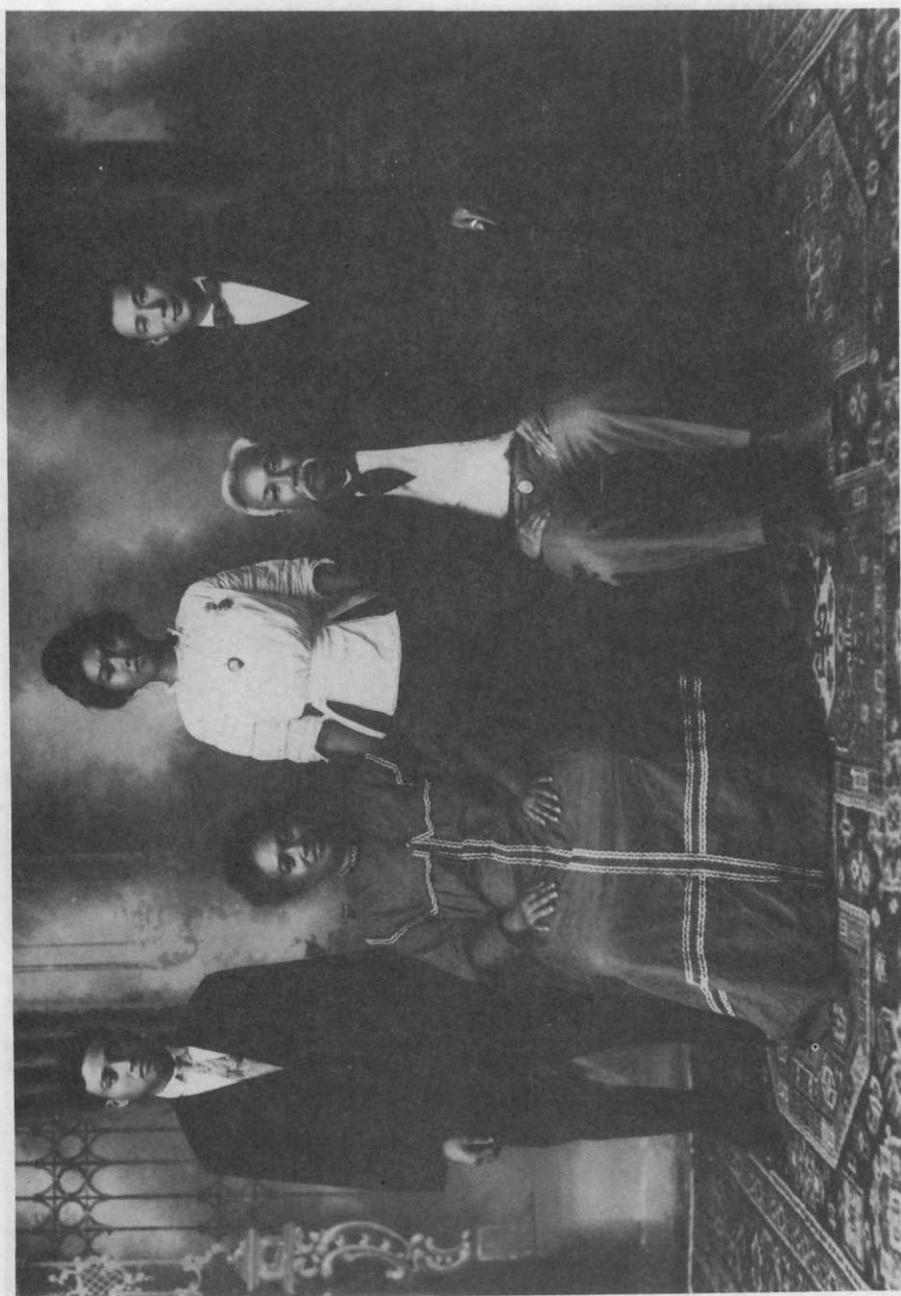
The U.S. Chinese exclusion laws closed further immigration of persons of Chinese ancestry to Hawai'i, except for the few individuals who could qualify for an exempt status (fig. 6). Under the Immigration Act of 1924 and until its repeal in 1943, China and other Asian countries were subject to this "Oriental Exclusion Act" that did not permit a quota for foreign aliens.³²

The total number of Chinese who emigrated to Hawai'i during the past two centuries has been estimated at 40,000 to 50,000 persons (Table 2). The restrictive laws enacted between 1878 and 1924 were responsible for a severe decline in numbers of Chinese, with estimates of a loss of about 27,000 persons of this group who left the Islands between 1886 and 1903. The United States Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, resulting in a liberalization of immigration quotas and a significant increase of Chinese immigration to Hawai'i from the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Since the end of World War II in 1945, Chinese immigration has been expanded by several congressional legislative measures, including the War Brides Act of 1946, the Walter-McCarran Act of 1948, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, the Refugee Escape Act of 1957, and the amended Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.³³ From 1981 to 1985, Chinese represented more than 9 per cent of the total migration from abroad to Hawai'i, or about 800 annual new residents.

In 1980, the U.S. census reported 56,285 Chinese residents in Hawai'i, or 5.8 percent of the total state population, with about 94 percent of this group residing in Honolulu County on O'ahu (fig. 7). The Chinese were the fifth largest ethnic group in the Islands, ranking behind Whites (331,925), Japanese (239,734), Filipinos (132,075), and Hawaiians (118,251).

The unbalanced sex ratio that occurred in the late 19th century owing to in-migration of excess numbers of males had been

FIG. 5. The intermarriage of Hawaiians and Chinese is observed in this family photo, taken in the early 1920s, of Ualani Kala and her husband Keong Lee, with their son, daughter, and Chinese son-in-law. (Bishop Museum photo collection.)



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花旗公司謹啟

Subscribed and sworn to before me,
this 14 day of March, A. D. 1910.

M. J. Hap
Notary Public, 1st Jud. Circuit,
Territory



eliminated by the 1980s, with the presence of 27,871 males and 28,414 females (Table 3). The sex ratio differential is evident in the Chinese population pyramids that demonstrate an aging population through the 1900–1940 decades with a balanced group during 1950–1980 (fig. 8). Although the number of Chinese in the total population has been comparatively small, the increase in their numbers during the 20th century is observed in the expansion of the pyramids among persons over age 5. The 1980 pyramid indicates a limitation of fertility, immigration of Chinese from abroad, perhaps some absorption of persons as Chinese who may have been classified in previous censuses with another ethnic group, such as White or Hawaiian, and an aging population. In 1980, the relatively high median age of 33.2 years for the Chinese population contrasted with the state median age of 28.4 years.

Chinese fertility rates in 1980 were comparatively low, with a crude birth rate of only 12.5 births per 1,000 Chinese total population and a general fertility rate of 53.7 children per 1,000 Chinese women of childbearing age (Table 4). The ratio of 240 children per 1,000 Chinese women was far below the State average of 339 children, and the total fertility rate fell from 8.4 average number of children in 1930 to 1.5 in 1980. Age-specific fertility rates show a high fertility level among Chinese women in 1930 and a depressed rate at all ages among this group 50 years later. In the 1980s, Chinese women practiced methods of family planning and delayed child-bearing to ages 25–34.

Only about 22 percent of the Chinese in Hawaii in 1980 were foreign-born.³⁴ Chinese have participated in a high rate of intermarriage. In 1920–1930, about 20 percent of Chinese marriages involved non-Chinese or part-Chinese spouses; by 1960, the numbers increased to more than half.³⁵ By 1985, almost 62 percent of Chinese grooms and over 66 percent of Chinese brides married persons of another race.³⁶

FIG. 6. U. S. exclusion laws required Chinese to prove residency in Hawaii before they could travel outside of the Islands, or, as in the case of Loo Chow, before his wife Chock Shee could enter from China in 1912. (National Archives photo collection.)

TABLE 2.
ARRIVALS OF CHINESE IN HAWAII, 1852-1899

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Arrivals</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Arrivals</i>
1852	293	1876	1,283
1853	64	1877	557
1854	12	1878	2,464
1855	61	1879	3,812
1856	23	1880	2,505
1857	14	1881	3,924
1858	13	1882	1,362
1859	171	1883	4,243
1860	21	1884	2,708
1861	2	1885	3,108
1862	13	1886	1,766
1863	8	1887	1,546
1864	9	1888	1,526
1865	615	1889	439
1866	117	1890	654
1867	210	1891	1,386
1868	51	1892	1,802
1869	78	1893	981
1870	305	1894	1,459
1871	223	1895	2,734
1872	61	1896	5,280
1873	48	1897	4,481
1874	62	1898	3,100
1875	151	1899	975
			Total 56,720

NOTE: Several thousand duplications are included in the number of arrivals owing to the re-entry of migrants who had temporarily left the islands.

SOURCE: Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers, Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1980) 12.

NOTE: These figures differ considerably from official figures cited in Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1977), Table 3.6, 97-8.

Life expectancy for Chinese in Hawai'i in 1980 is tabulated among the longest in the world, at 78.4 years for men and 81.7 years for women (Table 5). This combined rate of 80.2 years exceeds by three years the combined rate of 77.0 years for the State population and was 15 years longer than life expectancy in mainland China at that time.

In 1980, the U.S. census showed that the majority of Chinese students pursued higher education. According to a 1988 report on Chinese immigration by the Research Department of the First Hawaiian Bank, "... it was not unusual that many Chinese

TABLE 3.
CHINESE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX, HAWAII, 1900-1980

Age	Age and Sex								
	1900 ^a	1910	1920 ^a	1930 ^a	1940 ^a	1950	1960	1970	1980
Males									
0-4	722	859	1,450	1,753	1,116	2,042	2,169	2,181	1,613
5-9	839	999	1,281	1,808	1,388	1,586	2,263	2,708	1,625
10-14	438	856	1,052	1,547	1,840	1,184	2,126	2,865	1,964
15-19	1,240	650	1,002	1,354	1,809	1,315	1,500	2,566	2,507
20-24	2,337	405	828	1,078	1,520	1,377	858	2,015	2,542
25-29	3,968	790	667	1,076	1,267	1,531	1,023	1,594	2,443
30-34	3,362	1,828	426	1,139	975	1,471	1,430	1,321	2,373
35-39	2,912	2,714	719	792	1,081	1,323	1,612	1,568	1,673
40-44	2,467	2,299	1,592	437	1,056	1,017	1,478	1,792	1,333
45-49	1,442	2,040	2,110	567	739	1,017	1,239	1,890	1,532
50-54	989	1,399	1,693	1,172	351	936	929	1,622	1,783
55-59	644	870	1,417	1,331	403	585	997	1,353	1,823
60-64	645	872	945	962	734	296	834	881	1,548
65-69	134	368	470	704	880	249	487	893	1,182
70-74	55	152	402	438	467	398	207	731	808
75-79	11	30	90	252	299	402	154	290	1,122 ^b
80-84	3	7	26	86	121	193	168	117	^b
85+	1	5	17	57	78	121	135	85	^b
Unknown	87	5	10	8	7	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	22,296	17,148	16,197	16,561	16,131	17,043	19,609	26,472	27,871

TABLE 3.—*Cont'd*

Age	<i>Age and sex</i>								
	1900 ^a	1910	1920 ^a	1930 ^a	1940 ^a	1950	1960	1970	1980
Females									
0-4	626	759	1,429	1,619	1,052	1,930	2,029	1,964	1,531
5-9	740	898	1,239	1,759	1,397	1,485	2,104	2,385	1,450
10-14	302	765	924	1,563	1,734	1,170	2,069	2,761	1,872
15-19	352	450	898	1,218	1,741	1,350	1,436	2,464	2,345
20-24	366	294	745	938	528	1,563	911	2,143	2,583
25-29	352	329	503	877	1,150	1,638	1,139	1,461	2,544
30-34	288	269	346	741	906	1,485	1,571	1,445	2,463
35-39	182	282	363	527	893	1,114	1,590	1,520	1,739
40-44	118	184	284	352	669	861	1,466	1,870	1,437
45-49	54	117	234	322	480	838	1,076	2,003	1,599
50-54	39	86	140	237	312	668	879	1,661	1,894
55-59	23	42	87	219	268	418	840	1,217	1,863
60-64	12	22	63	114	185	275	611	919	1,624
65-69	6	15	29	59	183	219	375	872	1,222
70-74	3	8	16	40	77	125	205	638	832
75-79	2	3	5	16	34	107	150	296	1,416 ^b
80-84	1	2	3	11	21	64	72	175	^b
85+	0	1	1	4	8	23	65	109	^b
Unknown	5	0	1	2	5	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	3,471	4,526	7,310	10,618	12,643	15,333	18,588	25,903	28,414
Total	25,767	21,674	23,507	27,179	28,774	32,376	38,197	52,375	56,285

SOURCES: See Table 1.

^a Age adjustments 1900, ages 0-9, above age 25; 1920, above age 35; 1930, above age 35; 1940, above age 75.

^b Includes age 75+.

NOTE: Census data for 1900-1960 are not comparable to those for 1970-1980. See Note, Table 1.

TABLE 4.
 FERTILITY AND MIGRATION OF CHINESE AND TOTAL RESIDENT
 POPULATIONS, HAWAII, 1900-1985

Year	Fertility							
	Crude Birth Rate ^a		General Fertility Rate ^b		Total Fertility Rate ^c		Child Woman Ratio ^d	
	Chinese	Total ^e	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total
1900: June 1	6.2	6.7	96.5	39.1	N.A.	N.A.	813.0	575.2
1910: Apr. 15	21.0	22.4	252.2	124.6	N.A.	N.A.	894.9	697.0
1920: Jan. 1	28.1	38.2	210.6	245.7	N.A.	7,070.5	917.2	780.6
1930: Apr. 1	26.4	29.4	154.1	185.0	4,820.0	5,542.5	724.7	767.3
1940: Apr. 1	17.9	22.6	74.8	112.1	2,298.0	3,205.0	314.8	454.9
1950: Apr. 1	25.9	28.2	104.9	125.2	N.A.	3,321.0	495.8	569.1
1960: Apr. 1	18.7	26.8	88.3	128.0	2,946.5	3,886.5	517.4	602.8
1970: Apr. 1	10.5	21.3	50.4	96.4	1,636.0	2,728.5	380.2	414.3
1980: Apr. 1	12.5	18.8	53.7	78.8	1,463.0	2,090.5	239.8	338.6

Ages	Age-Specific Fertility Rates ^f				Migration from Abroad			
	Chinese		Total		Year	Chinese Total ^g		Chinese Migration as Percent of Total
	1960	1980	1960	1980		Chinese	Total ^g	
15-19	23.0	9.8	75.5	51.2	1901-10	2,874	98,074	2.9
20-24	169.0	44.9	284.3	125.6	1911-20	1,167	40,030	2.9
25-29	203.7	103.4	221.0	122.3	1921-30	1,228	12,639	9.7
30-34	130.5	96.6	125.1	83.0	1931-40	N.A.	1,029	N.A.
35-39	52.2	31.6	54.8	30.4	1941-50	N.A.	2,991	N.A.
40-44	10.9	6.3	15.8	5.5	1951-60	N.A.	10,494	N.A.
45-49	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.3	1961-70	2,240	34,721	6.5
					1971-80	4,408 ^h	68,855 ^h	6.4
					1981-85	2,950 ^h	32,524 ^h	9.1

SOURCE: Hawaii Department of Health, *Statistical Report, Annual*.
 Nordyke, 1989, Tables 3-6, 3-7, 3-8, 4-6, 4-15.
 United States, Bureau of the Census 1982, *General population characteristics, Hawaii*, PC 80-1-B13, Tables 19, 22.

N.A. = Not available.

NOTE: Figures for 1970 and 1980 are not directly comparable with other years because of changed definitions of ethnic groups.

TABLE 4.—*Cont'd*

- a* The number of live births per year per 1,000 mid-period population.
b The number of live births per year per 1,000 females of ages 15-44.
c The number of children per 1,000 women who complete their childbearing years and experience a given set of age-specific fertility rates.
d The number of children under age 5 per 1,000 women ages 15-49.
e Total includes resident and military populations and their dependents in Hawai'i and excludes visitors.
f The number of live births occurring each year per 1,000 women of a specified five-year age group.
g Filipinos, who were U.S. nationals until 1946, were not included in the total count for immigrants from abroad until 1961.
h Figures for 1980 and 1981 migration from abroad are not available.

TABLE 5.
 MORTALITY AND LIFE EXPECTANCY OF CHINESE AND TOTAL
 RESIDENT POPULATIONS, HAWAII, 1930-1980

Year	Mortality		Life Expectancy					
	Crude Death Rate ^a		Chinese			Total ^b		
	Chinese	Total ^b	Males	Females	Combined	Males	Females	Combined
1920	15.5	17.6	55.9	57.1	54.8	47.0	46.8	46.9
1930	11.8	10.5	58.0	64.1	59.6	53.7	56.5	54.8
1940	9.4	7.2	64.1	67.8	65.1	60.9	66.1	62.8
1950	8.0	5.9	69.1	70.9	69.8	68.0	71.9	69.6
1960	6.9	5.6	71.8	76.4	73.8	70.4	74.8	72.3
1970	4.3	5.1	74.8	77.6	76.1	72.0	76.4	74.0
1980	5.8	5.1	78.4	81.7	80.2	74.1	80.3	77.0

SOURCE: Hawai'i Department of Health, *Statistical Report Annual*.
 Robert W. Gardner "Ethnic Differentials in Mortality in Hawaii, 1920-1970", *Hawaii Medical Journal*, 39:9, Sept. 1980, p. 222; *Life Tables by Ethnic Group for Hawaii, 1980*, Hawaii State Department of Health Research and Statistics Report No. 47, Mar. 1984.

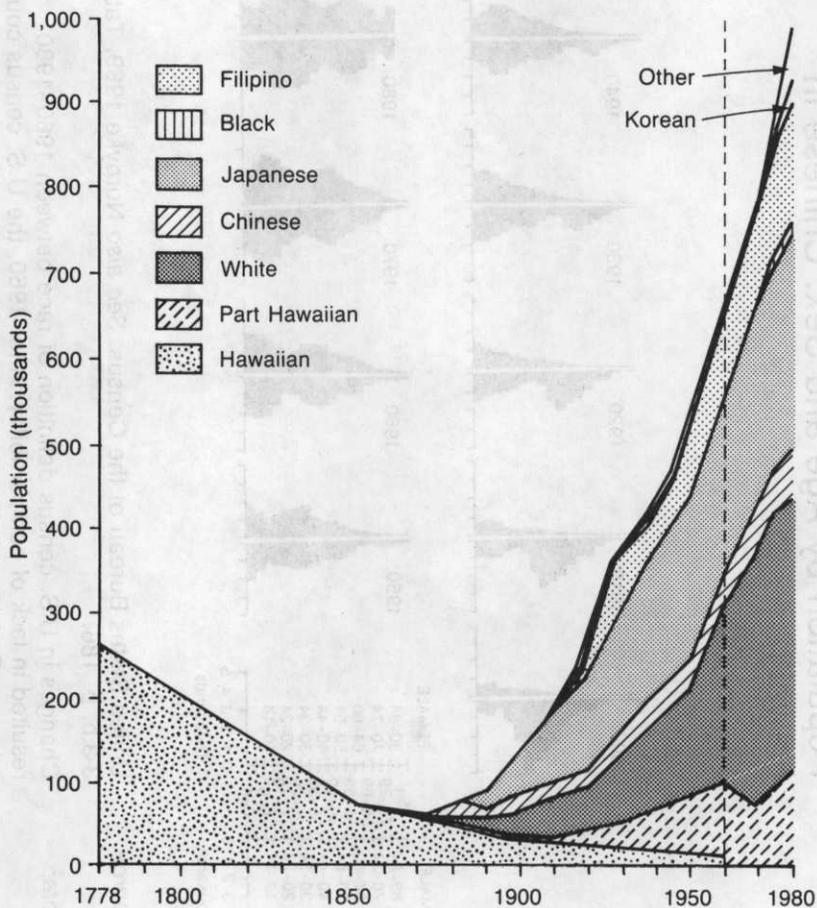
- ^a The number of deaths per 1,000 population.
^b Total includes resident and military populations and their dependents in Hawai'i, and it excludes visitors present in the Islands.

FIG. 7. Resident Population by Ethnicity Hawai'i, 1778-1980.

FIG. 8. (*inside left*) Population by Age and Sex: Chinese in Hawai'i.

FIG. 9. (*inside right*) Ko Yee Lee proudly holds the U. S. flag at the ceremony in which she became a naturalized citizen. (Terry Luke photo, HSB.)

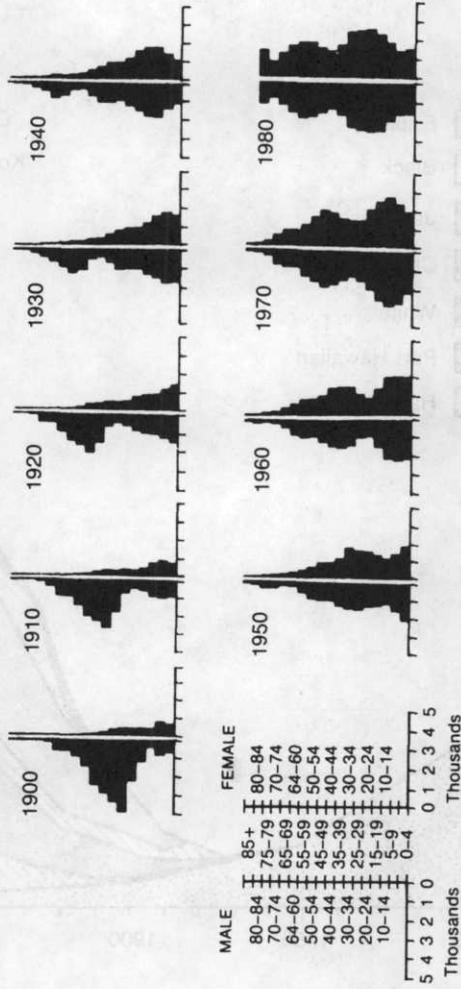
Resident Population by Ethnicity Hawai'i, 1778-1980



Source: Data are from censuses of the missionaries and the Kingdom of Hawaii (1778-1896), and the United States Bureau of the Census (1900-1980). See also Nordyke 1989, Table 3-1, p. 178.

Note: The dotted line (---) represents changes in definition of race by the U.S. census in 1970 and 1980 that resulted in figures that are not directly comparable with earlier years. See Note, Table 1.

Population by Age and Sex: Chinese in Hawaii



Source: United States Bureau of the Census. See also Nordyke 1989, Table 3-3.b, p. 186.

Note: Changes in U.S. census definition of race between 1960-1980 resulted in lack of comparability. After 1960, the U.S. census counted some Part Hawaiians with Chinese. See Note, Table 1.





looked to education as the road to success. Families worked hard to send their children to mainland colleges, and many came back to take their place in the growing island community.³⁷ Chinese median household income in 1979 was \$24,880, second only to Japanese, and significantly higher than the \$19,561 median household income of Chinese in the total United States.³⁸ Sixty-five percent of the more than 28,000 Chinese in Hawai'i's labor force were employed in professional, administrative, managerial, technical, and sales occupations.

In the late twentieth century, the Chinese in Hawai'i are a blend of descendants of 19th century immigrants and newly arrived immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, the Mainland United States, and other areas of the world (figs. 9 and 10).³⁹ They represent an older population, with 11.7 percent over age 65 in 1980.

CONCLUSION

The story of the migration and settlement of people of Chinese ancestry to "the land of fragrant sandalwood mountains" provides an important aspect in the history of the growth and development of Hawai'i. In the past 200 years, this group has made valuable contributions to the economic, social, and political fabric of life in the Islands.

Except for the few Chinese adventurers who remained in Hawai'i from the ships of whalers, fur traders, and merchants, their numbers did not have a significant impact upon the society of the small Hawaiian kingdom until the deliberate importation from China of male laborers in successive waves during the last half of the 19th century. This planned immigration had a strong influence on the growth, size, and composition of the population as well as on sociological change in the young Territory of Hawai'i at the turn of the century.

FIG. 10. A Chinese-American family gathered for a family picture on Maui in 1988. (Richard K. C. Lee photo collection.)

Restrictive immigration laws curtailed free movement from Asia to Hawai'i and to the United States. These laws stimulated the development of Chinese organizations to provide social and economic support for the persons of Chinese ancestry who chose to remain in the Islands to become permanent residents. According to Arlene Lum,

Life was never easy for our ancestors in the new home of Hawaii; yet, despite the difficulties, the ways of the Old World—the reverence and pursuit of education, sacrifice without question for the common good, tireless labor and perseverance—have made all the difference in assimilating in the New World the utilization of the old to facilitate integration into the new.⁴⁰

The Chinese in Hawai'i in 1989 are an integral part of the cosmopolitan society of the Islands. During the past 100 years, they have assumed roles of leadership in all facets of life, including business, medicine, dentistry, law, politics, and education. Their heritage and history provide a rich contribution to the culture of the state of Hawai'i.

NOTES

- ¹ J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *Voyage of the Resolution and the Discovery 1776-1780*, (London: Cambridge UP 1967), 712-714.
- ² HAA, 1905 44-5.
- ³ C. H. Lowe, *The Chinese in Hawaii: A Bibliographic Survey*, (Taipei: China Printing, 1972) 21.
- ⁴ Bernice Judd, *Voyages to Hawaii Before 1860*, (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i for HMCS, 1974) 4.
- ⁵ Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* (London, 1801) 112-3.
- ⁶ Tin-Yuke Char, *The Sandalwood Mountains*, (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i, 1975) 209.
- ⁷ Char 37.
- ⁸ Char 54.
- ⁹ *SIG*, 19 May 1838. Other non natives included 75 to 100 Englishmen, 200 to 250 Americans, and a few persons from France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries.

- ¹⁰ Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center and UP of Hawai'i, 1980) 3-4.
- ¹¹ Char 59-61.
- ¹² Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1938) 329.
- ¹³ Char 16, 60-1.
- ¹⁴ Kingdom of Hawaii, Bureau of Immigration, *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly*, (Honolulu, 1886) 5.
- ¹⁵ Margaret Young, *Hawaii's People from China*, (Honolulu: Hogarth Press, 1974) 17-9.
- ¹⁶ *F* May 1856: 36.
- ¹⁷ William Hillebrand, "Chinese Immigration: A Letter to the Board of Immigration, 1865," *HJH* 6 (1972) 142-55.
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- ¹⁹ Arthur Yuh Chao Yu, "Chinese Organizations in Hawaii with Special Reference to Assimilation Trends," Working Paper 3, East-West Culture Learning Institute, May 1971.
- ²⁰ Kuykendall 2:69.
- ²¹ A. Mouritz, *A Brief World History of Leprosy*, (Honolulu: A. Mouritz, 1943) 13.
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- ²³ Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time*, (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i, 1968) 201-06.
- ²⁴ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 1874-1893: *The Kalakaua Dynasty*, (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1967) 83.
- ²⁵ United States Department of Commerce and Labor, *Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii* (Washington, D.C., 1902) 81.
- ²⁶ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i, 1977) 25.
- ²⁷ Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 4th ed. (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i, 1980) 58.
- ²⁸ Kingdom of Hawai'i, Bureau of Immigration, 1886: 66, 199, 212-13; HAA 1894: 75-8.
- ²⁹ Glick 20.
- ³⁰ Stephen Thernstrom, ed., "Chinese", *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard Press, 1980), 231-34.
- ³¹ Glick 182.
- ³² Private correspondence from James M. Debates, Senior Information Examiner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, letter to Thomas K. Hitch, economist, 2 Sept. 1988.
- ³³ C. H. Lowe, *The Chinese in Hawaii: A Bibliographic Survey*, (Taipei: China Printing, 1972) 25; Glick 21-2.

- ³⁴ Hong-Chin Tsai and Robert W. Gardner, "The Demography of Chinese in Hawaii, the 1980s," Paper presented at the conference Lucky Come Hawaii: The Chinese in Hawaii, Honolulu 16 May 1988: 3.
- ³⁵ Walter F. Char, Wen-Shing Tseng, Kwong-Yen Lum and Jing Hsu, "The Chinese," in John F. McDermott Jr., Wen-Shing Tseng, and Thomas W. Maretzki eds., *People and Cultures of Hawaii: A Psychocultural Profile* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1980) 218.
- ³⁶ Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i*, 2nd Ed. (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1989) Table 3-10.
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- ³⁸ Tsai and Gardner 50.
- ³⁹ Walter F. Char et al, 52-72.
- ⁴⁰ Arlene Lum, *Sailing for the Sun, The Chinese in Hawaii 1789-1989* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Center for Chinese Studies, 1988) 7.