

A Re-Investigation of the Mystery of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian Birth Certificate

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ON MARCH 14, 1904, in central Honolulu, Mr. A. L. C. Atkinson, the Secretary of the Territory of Hawai'i—the highest civil servant after the Governor of Hawai'i—willingly put his signature and assent upon a Certificate of Hawaiian Birth for an individual called “Sun Yat Sen,” who described himself as a resident of Kula, Maui, Hawaiian Islands. This certificate stated that, from “the evidence submitted by witnesses” and “from his affidavit,” Sun was born in the Hawaiian Islands on March 24, 1870. The certificate has long been considered to be a problematic document, not least because posterity knows full well that the famous Dr. Sun Yatsen, the “Father of Modern China” and First President of the Chinese Republic, was *not* born in Hawai'i, and that he was *not* born in the year 1870. Sun Yatsen's real birth-date was of course on November 12, 1866, and his real birthplace was his ancestral village of Cuiheng, some fifty miles south of Guangzhou (the city of Canton) in the southern province of Guangdong, China.¹ These basic facts were confirmed long ago with confidence among all of Sun Yatsen's reputable biographers and historians, Chinese and Western alike.

Why then did one of Hawai'i's top civil servants put his name to this document? Had he been misled by “the evidence submitted by

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the witnesses” and/or by the evidence of Sun’s own affidavit? Posterity does seem to think that he had, and most likely by both sides. Yet posterity may turn out to be mistaken in this conclusion, for I believe that the Hawaiian Secretary was not misled by any false evidence submitted by the relevant witnesses, or even by Sun himself. Moreover, I believe that Sun Yatsen’s Hawai‘i birth certificate, and the Hawai‘i/USA territorial passport that went with it, are documents whose origins have hitherto been widely misunderstood and misinterpreted. I will try to show here that understood correctly they were not frauds committed by Sun Yatsen against Hawai‘i. Rather, they constitute Hawai‘i’s bounty, bestowed willingly upon Sun Yatsen. Indeed, I believe they were bureaucratic gifts granted freely and knowingly to Sun in gratitude by a tight circle of born-and-bred Honolulu men who worked right at the top of Hawai‘i’s government and political establishment. What these documents, and the legal and travel rights they embodied represented, was the most valuable and practical “thank-you present” this circle was able to offer the 37-year-old Sun Yatsen, whose ideas, character, and revolutionary activities they admired, and whose career and prospects they had followed for a decade. Given that in 1904, Sun was by some distance the Hawaiian Islands’ internationally-most-famous occasional resident, these documents were created and given in recognition for political services this remarkable ‘Honolulu Boy’ had already performed, for the twin causes of advanced republican government and progressive republican ideology.² These cherished causes were shared by the ruling political elite of the annexed Territory of Hawai‘i. This elite saw in Sun Yatsen’s progressive republican modernism a beacon and rallying point for Hawai‘i’s own Native Hawaiian people to reconcile themselves towards the enforced transformation of their country from its status as a sovereign native kingdom, to union with the world’s most advanced republic, the United States of America. The birth certificate and passport were also, I believe, an equally sincere recognition of the political services to republicanism of the leading Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) lawyer, Sun Yatsen’s friend, John Lota Kaulukou. It was Kaulukou and his measured vocal support in the key years 1894–8 for the Republic, and for its future annexation to the USA, who had been one of this circle’s key local political allies in this fraught and twisting journey.³

Fine as these resonant sentiments may all sound in principle, is

there really *any* good evidence to support such a fundamental re-evaluation of a much-scrutinized topic? For on the face of it, Sun's acquisition of these documents in March 1904 looks to be a straightforward and outright bureaucratic fraud on the Hawaiian government—and by, extension, the US government—the perpetration of which many people still believe to this day to be a sinister and black mark against Sun's enduring political reputation and personal character. The vital evidence, I venture to think, has always been hiding in perfectly plain sight, stamped on the relevant documents. It is quite simply in their idiosyncratic and non-linear dates of creation. The wonder of modern digital technology and its opportunities also comes directly to our assistance in this inquiry, when it could not help previous generations of investigators, in the pre-internet era. Thanks to the Library of Congress and to the University of Hawai'i, a growing number of Hawaiian newspapers of the era can now be read online in their entirety and from anywhere in the world, providing illuminating detail about the daily movements and habits of both famous and now wholly obscure Hawaiian individuals.

Before we start to scrutinize the relevant documents and old newspaper in search of clues, let us remind ourselves why Sun Yatsen in the years up to 1904 might wish to acquire a birth certificate and passport other than from China, his country of birth. In October 1895, in the wake of a political plot gone wrong, this virtually unknown native Chinese revolutionary had to flee his homeland for his life as a criminal, rebel and outlaw, pursued by the vengeful Manchus. The Chinese State dedicated increasingly large capital sums in order to capture, mutilate, and execute Sun.⁴ It certainly had no interest in providing him with consular protection; quite the contrary, it wanted to kill him. Manifestly, Sun could not ask, overtly, for any travel documents from the Chinese state to assist him in his travels in political exile around the globe. What then could he do? Initially, at least, he could hope to travel on his reputation as a western-trained medical man. This is how Sun may have entered Japan, possibly for the first time as an adult, on November 12, 1895.⁵

Even in the era of the Hawaiian Republic (1893 to 1898), entry into the Hawaiian Islands was a much simpler bureaucratic hurdle to negotiate for prospective Chinese immigrants and onward travelers than it was to attempt to enter the United States. This was despite the

legal barriers and harassment constantly thrown at and threatened towards the resident *huaqiao* (华侨, overseas Chinese) community by successive Hawaiian government regimes, and by many sections of the local populace. For the overwhelming majority of Chinese in the later 19th century, and indeed as late as 1943, when it was repealed, the massive obstacle to pushing any further eastwards across the Pacific Ocean than landfall in Hawai'i was of course the forbidding and strictly enforced US Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, along with its successive amendments. Sun Yatsen, though a political exile and in flight from China, was as bound by its provisions as any other Chinese traveler. Like every other Chinese traveler, if he wished to prove his eligibility to enter the United States, Sun needed to demonstrate that he was exempt from the Act's wide scope. This was not an easy task for common Chinese people under the very best conditions; desperate circumstances may have made the difference.

Back on October 12, 1894, Sun had arrived from China on his first visit to Hawai'i as an adult, at the age of 27. Chronologically, this was the third visit of his lifetime. Sun disembarked at Honolulu quayside as "Y.S. Sun, a Chinese merchant," one of just two cabin passengers and hence a high-profile visitor, whose presence was by custom announced in that day's local press.⁶ On this occasion, Sun's official designation as a merchant, arriving to stay in Honolulu for some months, had been anticipated and eased by a Hawaiian government-registered "special bond executed by sureties," underwritten that same day by his benevolent and patiently waiting older brother, Sun Mei. This gambit allowed Sun, a Chinese traveler, relatively easy entry to Honolulu on an official "Register of Permits for Chinese Merchants and Travelers."⁷

The Constitution of the Republic of Hawai'i, promulgated on July 4, 1894, was the law by which all persons born or naturalised in the Hawaiian Islands, and subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic, gained citizenship. Annexation took place on August 12, 1898, following which the Hawaiian Islands immediately became subject to US law in theory, if not yet fully embedded in facts upon the ground. A 1900 Act of Congress determined that "all persons who were Citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898, are hereby declared citizens of the United States and citizens of the Territory of Hawaii."

An understanding of this Act illuminates the reasoning for Sun's

determined pursuit of a Hawaiian birth certificate after 1898: if he could provide satisfactory proof of his birth or naturalization in Hawai'i before August 12, 1898, he would immediately acquire joint citizenship of both Hawai'i and the USA. Commentators have usually assumed that it was the US citizenship that was the greater prize in Sun's eyes, but I have not yet seen convincing evidence of this. It was, I believe, specifically acquiring Hawaiian birth credentials, and hence Hawaiian citizenship credentials pre-1898, that motivated Sun. Indeed, such credentials, if successfully obtained, would necessarily point to his birth in Hawai'i inside the *inuqiao* Chinese community there during the era of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, under a Kanaka Maoli sovereign monarchy. And the diplomatic standing of the independent Hawaiian Kingdom throughout the world in the 19th century was high; remarkably, in terms of international legal standing it was higher even than Japan's and China's for many years. For many decades in the 19th century, Hawai'i was considered to be unique as the only non-European, non-Western independent state that conducted its relations on an equal treaty basis of diplomatic and legal recognition with the Big Western Powers. The Reciprocity Treaty signed with the United States in 1875 was a potent, albeit late symbol, of Hawai'i's long-standing recognition on the world-wide stage.⁸ It is likewise apparent that passports issued by the Hawaiian Kingdom during its lifetime (c. 1795 to 1893) were widely recognized and accepted instruments of international safe passage for their bearers. The same appears to have held true for passports issued by the Republic during its five years of existence, notwithstanding that the Republic was not above selling citizenship rights and privileges on easy terms to alien supporters of its embattled regime.

The complicating factor for Sun Yatsen's position after the completion of his fourth visit (from December 6, 1895 to June 3, 1896) was that the annexation of Hawai'i in 1898 necessarily *weakened* his pre-annexation residence rights to continue to visit Hawai'i without any papers, as his revolutionary activities otherwise required him to do from time to time. Sun's last entry into the Hawaiian Islands before annexation was on December 6, 1895, when he arrived in Honolulu from Hong Kong, his journey broken *en route* with 12 days spent in Japan. On that occasion, Sun had rather surprisingly been in possession of an official travel document of the Chinese State, namely an

authentic traveler's Section 6 certificate, which offered exemption from the strictures of the US Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, via his belonging to one of the exempt categories of travelers—students—specified in Section 6 of that Act. This precious certificate had been issued to him clandestinely by a political sympathiser working for the Shanghai city government, probably sometime in the year 1895, as Sun apparently truthfully told US immigration in April 1904: "I came in on [a] Student and Traveler's, Section 6 Certificate which I procured in Shanghai. I came in as a subject of China."⁹

With this document, Sun had then procured a student visa from the US Consul General in Shanghai.¹⁰ Nevertheless, within a year of procuring this Section 6 certificate and an accompanying American student visa, Sun had lost them, as he also admitted to US immigration in 1904.¹¹ They had been deliberately burned in a conflagration of his most important documents by Mabel Cantlie, wife of James Cantlie, in October 1896, while Sun was imprisoned inside the Chinese Legation in London.¹² Mabel had wanted to stop Sun's secret information falling into the wrong hands, in which ambition she certainly succeeded. Sun would later tell the US Bureau of Immigration Officials in April 1904 that, concerning his landings in Honolulu in December 1895 and again in April 1901, "I had no papers, I always go to Honolulu without papers."¹³ And concerning his fourth visit to Hawai'i, on both Sun's arrival and his exit from Honolulu, press-printed passenger lists again name him prominently as "Dr. Y. S. Sun," apparently referencing his western-trained medical background as his primary right of passage.¹⁴

We know from his later testimony that Sun did use the travel documents he obtained in Shanghai to successfully enter and leave the United States in the summer of 1896, entering via San Francisco and exiting via New York, as he headed towards London for the autumn.¹⁵ Great Britain had no Chinese exclusion laws in this era, and upon his first arrival on September 30, 1896, the Section 6 certificate would neither have helped nor hindered Sun's entry onto the British mainland through Liverpool's docks. In fact, British law did not require visas or passports for foreign alien arrivals in this era, all the way up until the outbreak of World War I, in 1914.¹⁶

An extraordinary sequence of events within two weeks of Sun Yat-sen's arrival in Britain would nevertheless bring pressing world-wide

attention to the question of Sun's ethnicity, his nationality, his birthplace, and his legal rights. On October 11, 1896, as we already know well, Sun was successfully distracted to enter the compound of the Chinese Legation in Portland Place, central London, unaware of its true nature. This mistake nearly cost him his life. How Sun miraculously emerged alive 12 days later is not part of this present analysis, yet for several days his bizarre circumstances provoked a veritable press avalanche-cum-sensation across the world of conflicting speculations and hypotheses about Sun's origins and his ensuing legal rights and forfeits. In the days before his release, Sun himself wrote and had smuggled to his friend Dr. James Cantlie several secret notes, one of which read: "I was born in Hong Kong and went back the [*sic*] interior of China about 4 or 5 years of age, as legally a British subject. Can you get me out by that?"¹⁷ Sun kept up the pretence immediately after his release, telling a *Central News* reporter:

I was walking along Portland-place, not knowing that the Chinese Legation was in the neighbourhood, when I was accosted by a Chinaman who asked me whether I was a Japanese or a Chinese and what was my province. I told him my province was Canton, and that I was born at Hong-Kong.¹⁸

This of course was a knowing fiction on Sun's part, made initially in calculated terror to avoid the imminent prospect of torture and certain death at the hands of the Manchus. Yet even the intense press scrutiny of Sun's background and origins as "The Kidnapped Chinaman" over this short period in late October 1896 did not necessarily force the real facts of his birth and origins in China irrevocably into the public realm. In Sun Yatsen's two on-the-record statements to the British Government about his kidnapping, he did not state his Hong Kong birth, though neither did he specifically state his birth in China.¹⁹ Nor did Sun make any definitive statement about his birth origins in his first book, *Kidnapped in London*. One authoritative early chronicler of Sun's life pointed out that, during this episode in London 1896, the first known public claim that Sun was born in Hawai'i was made in a contemporary edition of Hong Kong's *China Mail* newspaper.²⁰ On investigation, this story turns out to be accurate. Curiously, the claim was printed by the Scotsman Thomas H. Reid, the *China Mail's* editor, who was a personal friend of Sun's.²¹ Otherwise, I

am aware of only two occasions before 1904 when Sun himself actively engaged with the Hawaiian state, to attempt to register himself as having formal residence rights there, and/or qualifications of some kind for eligibility to stay.

The first occasion was on June 1, 1896, two days before Sun steamed out of Honolulu to the United States of America for the first time. Formal registration within districts of all males over 15 years old had started in the Republic of Hawai'i in April 1896, motivated by the official desire to regulate and restrict the movements of male Chinese migrant laborers under contract to specific plantations. Of the 15,000 males in Honolulu district required to register, official statistics indicate that only about ten percent had done so within the first six weeks of the introduction of the scheme, making Sun Yatsen's compliance the exception rather than the rule.²² This controversial and unpopular Act was repealed in mid-June 1896, a fortnight after Sun had departed for the USA. For his pains, Sun was issued with a certificate of registration from the Republic of Hawai'i, confirming that Dr. Sun Yat Sen was a resident of Honolulu on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i. Moreover, the certificate confirmed that Sun was married, that he was a professional, that he was 30 years old, that his country of birth was China, and that he had arrived in Hawai'i on December 6, 1895 from Hong Kong. Provocatively, all of this information happened to be true and accurate, given the traditional Chinese practice of assuming the newly born are already one year old upon first arrival.

Two years later, in February 1898, six months before annexation, Sun Yatsen's elder brother Sun Mei suddenly appeared in some desperation in the offices of the *Hawaiian Star* newspaper in downtown Honolulu. A rumor had spread across the Hawaiian Islands, sourced from a cable feed from New York delivered via private letter from a mail ship from San Francisco, that somehow, somewhere, Sun Yatsen had been arrested and had been delivered into the power of the Manchu authorities.²³ It was to all appearances a death sentence, and Sun Mei doubted that he would ever see his little brother alive again. Sun Mei stated that he had last seen Sun Yatsen in Honolulu about two years before, and that "Dr Sen and himself were born in China, and were brought to Hawai'i when they were very young." This interview with Sun Mei was deemed sufficiently important to appear on the front page of the *Hawaiian Star* on February 9, 1898.²⁴ The *Star's*

editor at this time was Alatau Tchimboulou Atkinson (1848–1906).²⁵ Born to British parents in Siberia, the exotically christened Atkinson traveled to and became a naturalized Hawaiian citizen as a young man, eventually graduating to editing newspapers after many years of teaching in Hawaiian schools. Given the *Star's* origins in 1893 as a dedicated press organ for the pro-republican, pro-annexation cause, Atkinson was himself unsurprisingly a zealous pro-annexationist, who led the *Star* from January 1897 to June 1900. It was evidently this veteran pressman who interviewed Sun Mei on this occasion, deciding to run the story prominently on page one.

Sun Yatsen very probably remained unaware of this publicly recorded admission of his origins by his elder brother to the *Star*, the mouthpiece in print of the pro-annexationist establishment. Yet during his as-yet-little-known fifth visit to Hawai'i (April 18 to June 5, 1901),²⁶ Sun Yatsen apparently found himself caught up in a local government residence registration drive on the island of Maui. He told US Bureau of Immigration officials about this in San Francisco in April 1904:

Some time after the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, there was a registration taken of all the residents for the purpose of ascertaining the nationality and birth of such residents. I was registered in the Kula district, in the Island of Maui, as a Hawaiian-born Chinese, about March or April 1901. That is the first thing I did after the annexation of the Islands to show that I still claimed citizenship there.²⁷

A local Hawaiian newspaper interview with Sun Yatsen immediately before the end of his fifth visit—he departed Honolulu on June 5, 1901—contains the first overt public claim by Sun of his Hawai'i birth of which I am aware. Sun told the *Evening Bulletin* that:

This is my third attempt at a revolution in China . . . However, if I fail again, I shall give up for good and return to Hawaii the land of my birth, to settle down for good.²⁸

In fact, at the very beginning of this visit, right at the Honolulu dockside as he disembarked from the Japanese steamer *Nippon Maru* late on the evening of April 18, 1901, Sun had given an interview to the *Hawaiian Star*. That newspaper faithfully reported the conversation the next day, including in its first paragraph the statement that, “Dr. Sun

was born in Hawaii.” This assertion one has little reason to doubt was reported verbatim, direct from its author’s mouth. It’s immediately apparent that, among any number of agendas Sun brought to Hawai‘i in his 1901 visit, one of them was to assert and hopefully establish for good his credentials to Hawaiian birth.

Alatau “Jack” Leonard Charles Atkinson (1871–1927), the Territory of Hawai‘i Secretary who signed and assented to Sun Yatsen’s Hawaiian certificate of birth on March 14, 1904, was the youngest son of Alatau Tchimboulou Atkinson. Born and raised in Hawai‘i, Jack Atkinson trained on the US Mainland as a lawyer in his mid-twenties, returning to Hawai‘i after annexation to work in the top stream of the civil service. In 1903, the Republican politician and Secretary of State, George R. Carter, was promoted by President Theodore Roosevelt to the job of governor of Hawai‘i, succeeding the rather more famous Sanford Ballard Dole as the second individual to occupy that new role. Thereupon, Jack Atkinson took George Carter’s old position, becoming Secretary of the Territory. They would both leave their respective offices in tandem, on the same day, August 15, 1907.²⁹ Some twenty years later, the elderly and ailing Jack Atkinson responded to questions about his long-ago acceptance of Sun Yatsen’s application for a Hawai‘i birth certificate:

What you say about Dr Sun interests me considerably. When I was Secretary I issued to him a birth certificate. I went to a great deal of trouble in getting evidence of his birth. The evidence recorded in the Secretary’s office when the certificate was issued is not by any means all the evidence that I took concerning his birth. I went thoroughly into the matter at the time and I was satisfied from the evidence and issued the certificate.³⁰

We can note that Jack Atkinson’s father, Alatau Tchimboulou Atkinson, who died in 1906, was alive in 1904, when Sun Yatsen’s birth certificate was issued. Did the son consult the father who had written of Sun’s birth origins in China on his newspaper’s front page six years before? Probably not, and why should he? But if by any chance there had been a relevant conversation, it may have surprised the younger Atkinson. And there was also the small matter of Sun’s June 1896 voting residence-registration certificate for O‘ahu—correctly stating

his country of birth as China—already sitting on the official government record in Honolulu. In fact, on closer inspection, one might argue that the younger Atkinson testimony cited above is masterly lawyerly (that is to say, poignantly: cunningly evasive), since he admits nothing about the quality of the evidence, other than that it “satisfied” him. What evidence is there that he was not fully forthcoming and/or transparent in his recall, shortly before his death?

As previously stated, the clue is in the dates of the relevant documents authenticating Sun’s birth certificate, and the order in which they were created. I understand that the original documents are currently held by the United States National Archives, Pacific Region, located in San Bruno, California. These documents are now available to view online via the US National Archives website.³¹ Further copies have made their way online from time to time. One such batch I found and copied in 2011, from a website called “Separate Lives, Broken Dreams: Immigration Documents,” posted at www.asianamericanmedia.org. It has since been taken down, or moved, and I can no longer find it. At the time of writing (late 2017,) many of the same archival documents have now been posted online by the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Hawaii Foundation, based in Honolulu, at: www.sunyatsenhawaii.org. They can be found in the section [Sun Yat-sen’s] “His Six Visits to Hawai‘i.” Strangely, there are three additional relevant documents here which are not available to view online in Sun Yatsen’s online immigration file posted by the US National Archives, for reasons unknown to me. I have made a chronological table of the relevant documents I can access, from which the strangeness of the bureaucratic process employed for issuing this birth certificate begins to emerge: crucial steps do not take place sequentially but seem to come back to front. First comes Sun’s sworn notarized statement from March 8, claiming Hawaiian birth, plus two witness affidavits, sworn and notarized on March 8 and 12, 1904 respectively. These were all subsequently countersigned without a date by the Secretary of Hawai‘i, Jack Atkinson. So far, so good. Yet what comes next strains credulity. For the next document to be created in the chain is a Passport of the United States, Territory of Hawai‘i, for “SUN YAT SEN, a Citizen of the United States” . . . “Given under my hand and the Seal of the Territory of Hawaii, at the City of Honolulu, the 12th day of March in the year 1904 . . . (Signed) G. R. Carter.” Sun’s new Hawai‘i passport,

which also confirms his status as a “Citizen of the United States,” was therefore signed and endorsed by the Governor of Hawai‘i, George Carter, two days *before* Sun’s new Hawai‘i birth certificate was signed and endorsed by the Secretary of Hawai‘i, Jack Atkinson, on March 14, 1904. That is to say, document A, which one might expect to be issued only on the basis of the prior existence of document B, has been created first, and document B afterwards. To outsiders, by their nature, all bureaucracies appear to work in counter-intuitive ways. Yet this instance does seem strange.

Moreover, Sun’s new passport was countersigned by the Governor of Hawai‘i on March 12, that is to say, the very *same* day that Sun’s application for it, in the form of his sworn notarized affidavit, plus two witness statements was submitted. Yes, Sun’s section of the application was notarised on March 8, but Mr. A. Kauhi’s statement, as Sun’s second witness was not notarized until March 12—the same day that George Carter signed the passport! Sun’s application was therefore surely given quite remarkable priority and rapid approval by the most powerful political figure in Hawai‘i, its governor. What comes next is stranger still.

On March 14, 1904, Jack Atkinson writes to Joshua K. Brown, Hawai‘i’s Inspector of Chinese. Atkinson tells Brown that he has just issued a certificate confirming Sun Yatsen’s Hawaiian birth on November 24, 1870, in Waimano, ‘Ewa, O‘ahu, and that he has done so on the basis of the information that Sun has supplied him, plus that of two supporting witness statements. I can only think that Brown would have been mightily puzzled to receive this brief note, as he would have been well aware that he was being presented with a bureaucratic *fait accompli* by his superior. For the investigation of any new application from a Chinese individual for either a US/Hawai‘i passport and/or a Hawai‘i birth certificate, and testing the supporting evidence, was most certainly Brown’s responsibility, not Atkinson’s or Carter’s. Why, he surely wondered, had he been circumvented in this particular case?

The veteran US immigration inspector Joshua K. Brown arrived in Honolulu from California soon after annexation. He was Washington’s pick for the challenging administrative role of policing the large Hawaiian Chinese community’s considerable immigration complexities, now that this community found itself subject to the US 1882 Chi-

nese Exclusion Act.³² Like Victor Hugo's Police Inspector Javert, he quickly acquired a reputation for inflexible ultra-rectitude in his decision-making, not least among the Chinese community.³³ Brown's predictable reaction to having been apparently side-lined in this strange new case was to seek to re-investigate it personally. From the evidence of the affidavits he took down over the next ten days, Brown went to search out both original supporting witnesses for Sun's application, Benjamin Star Kapu and Mr. A. Kauhi. Whether he found and interrogated the latter is not recorded, but he did successfully track down the former. Benjamin Star Kapu repeated in virtually identical language his first account of knowing Sun Yatsen's parents back in 1870; Brown wrote it all down and had Star Kapu sign it. Apparently still unsatisfied, Brown found—or more likely was directed towards—two more witnesses to interview in support of Sun Yatsen: Wong Kwai and Mr. A. Ahlo. Both of these men repeated faithfully enough what they had clearly been drilled to regurgitate, leaving Brown with apparently little option but to drop any further opposition to his locally-bred seniors' plans. The two most obvious further witnesses to examine were relatively far away and probably out of reach in the limited time available to Brown, buried deep inland and off the beaten track on the island of Maui: Sun's elder brother Sun Mei, and Sun's widowed mother, Lady Yang. And it's likely that Brown was already running hard against the clock in the latitude permitted for any further enquiries. Civic time in Honolulu in this era was likewise measured out as much by international steamship timetables as by the sun's position overhead. Moreover, someone sharing this name had a boat to catch. Brown's only meaningful contribution to the case, no doubt to his frustration, was the dutiful writing of a letter on March 26, 1904 to the Chinese Inspector-in-Charge at the Port of San Francisco (possibly an old friend, if not a protégé of Brown's,) Mr. Charles Mehan. The letter, written in a distinct tone of weary resignation, offered no opposition to the details set out in Sun Yatsen's new Hawaiian travel documents which Sun would be presenting upon his prospective arrival in San Francisco via the *SS. Korea*, scheduled to set out from Honolulu on March 31, 1904.

What of Sun Yatsen himself in the meantime? We have seen Sun preparing the ground for his much-desired and knowingly imaginary Hawaiian birth rights since 1901. In late February 1904, when he

was already almost five months into his sixth visit to Hawai'i (October 3, 1903 to March 31, 1904,) these plans were apparently still not far advanced. Sun partly revealed his dilemma in his reaction to an enquiry about his future movements by the *Hawaiian Star*: "My plans were originally to go to the United States, but in the light of events now transpiring in the Far East, it is my purpose to return to China."³⁴ Still not yet in possession of any new travel document capable of getting him into the US, Sun was naturally again looking back westwards across the Pacific. The news of the moment there was the Russo-Japanese war, which had just broken out in Manchuria; Japan was evidently winning.

An update to Sun's travel plans appeared tellingly in the *Evening Bulletin* of March 9, 1904, which broadcast assurances based on the "very best of authority" that "officials high in the government of Japan are lending their moral support to the work of the revolutionary agents" and that Dr. Sun will be given "every protection while in Japan, using that country as a base from which to work."³⁵ Alternatively, the *Bulletin* indicated the island of Formosa (Taiwan) might prove a useful base for Sun's operations. An unnamed spokesman for what may have still just passed as the *Xing Zhong Hui* spoke enthusiastically on the theme of Asia for the Asiatics, citing the natural brotherhood between, for example, China, Japan, and Korea in the face of western encroachments on their sovereign territory. There was as yet no indication that Sun was still contemplating heading eastwards towards the US.

By March 16, 1904, Sun's mounting frustration at Inspector Brown's stalling seeps out in a terse exchange with the *Bulletin*:

Dr. Sun Yat Sen was seen this morning with reference to his future plans but he positively refuses to say anything. Even the date of his departure is now being kept secret. However, it is believed that he will sail for Japan by the next boat to the Orient. When asked for the exact date of his departure he replied: "You will know the date of my departure when you see me go."³⁶

By the time of his departure for San Francisco aboard the *SS. Korea* on March 31, 1904, two weeks later, Sun's serenity was clearly restored, with a spanking new Hawai'i/US territorial passport and Hawai'i birth certificate in hand, along with Brown's confirmatory letter of their authenticity. To the last, he had successfully operated a press-news

embargo on his new travel arrangements and direction. Sun could now enjoy a last-minute conversation with a man from the *Advertiser* from a comfortable and relaxed perch in the *Korea's* smoking room, which was otherwise packed with prominent Japanese travelers.³⁷ Sun allowed that he was still heading for China, but by a new route: via St Louis, Washington, New York, London and the Suez Canal. Sun laid out his renewed general hopes for revolutionary change inside China, possibly coming to a head in the autumn. With determined provocation, clearly fishing for an extra scoop or disclosure, the *Advertiser* threw out the suggestion as bait, "Then some day we may hope to hear of you as the President of the Chinese Republic?" As the final sentence of the *Advertiser's* published account of the conversation the next day recorded, "For answer Dr. Sun shrugged his shoulders and smiled blandly."

Others have written full accounts of Sun's further travails at the hands of the suspicious US immigration authorities upon his arrival in San Francisco on April 6, 1904 via the *S.S. Korea*, including his two weeks of detention confined inside a wooden hut on the docks.³⁸ I have no new information or insights to shed about it. Yet, how had Sun *really* managed to acquire his new travel documents, namely a Hawai'i/US territorial passport and a Hawai'i birth certificate in the face of so much difficulty? What *really* motivated Hawai'i Governor George Carter and Hawai'i Secretary Jack Atkinson to go out on a limb for Sun, as I believe the evidence has already shown convincingly that they both did?

It appears unlikely that we will ever uncover testimonial evidence by either of these individuals in explicit confirmation of their motives. Indeed, we have already encountered Jack Atkinson's account from the late 1920s that "I went thoroughly into the matter at the time and I was satisfied from the evidence and issued the certificate." As I have stated, I do not believe this explanation is tenable or credible. So why did he do it? After all, both men were self-evidently part of the republican pro-American annexationist ruling establishment of Hawai'i that had first seized the reins of power in Hawai'i back in 1887 with the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution. This grouping around the original Hawaiian League (of which the senior Atkinson was a founding member) had consolidated its power in early 1893, with the deposition of the Native Hawaiian monarchy. The Hawai-

ian Republic's Constitution, promulgated on July 4, 1894, had explicitly allowed for the rewarding of alien supporters of their unpopular regime by the discretionary issuing of Hawaiian citizenship and voting rights to Americans and Europeans who had resided in Hawai'i for just two years, via a process of civic registration called denization.³⁹ This practice had ceased by 1900 with the coming of the Hawaiian Organic Act, which enacted American law throughout the Territory. Yet such arbitrary administrative ruses to bolster the recent Republic's power had only ever been deployed against the interests of the *hualiao* Chinese and Native Hawaiian communities, never in their favour. Indeed, annexation's most forceful voice in print, Lorrin Thurston, had made plain in 1898 the hostility of the white ruling annexationists to the prospect of Hawaiian Chinese as potential fellow American citizens, post annexation:

The Chinese . . . are an undesirable population from a political standpoint, because they do not understand American principles of government . . . they are aliens in America and aliens in Hawaii.⁴⁰

Both Atkinson and Carter came from strongly pro-annexation social backgrounds, and were in fact related, by the marriage of Atkinson's sister to a cousin of Carter, and quite possibly by any number of alternative kinship links.⁴¹ In the narrow white American-European social circles of Honolulu of just a few thousands at the turn of the 20th century, this was unremarkable. Honolulu was honeycombed by such familial networks, like any isolated mainland small town. Many of Carter's aunts and uncles had been students at the Punahou School from the 1840s onwards,⁴² and may well have taught or known a young prize-winning English grammar school student who spent several terms there in 1882 and 1883, a certain Tai Chu.⁴³ But again, so what? Proximity in time and space alone in Hawai'i did not forge shared political outlooks any more than it does now. The clue that provides the significant link between Atkinson, Carter and the adult Sun Yatsen in the year 1904, I believe, lies elsewhere: as political animals all, it lies specifically in their shared commitment to republicanism.

It is at this juncture that we need to read one particular newspaper title from among the Honolulu English-language press of the previous decade c. 1893 to 1904, with very particular attention and focus. This was the same paper whose Honolulu offices Sun Mei, Sun

Yatsen's older brother, suddenly invaded in early 1898, in distress at what he understood to be his brother's tragic predicament and looking for its help. Sun Mei's choice was not a coincidence. The paper was the *Hawaiian Star*.

Established in late March 1893 specifically as the official mouth piece in print of the new republican and pro-annexation Provisional Government, the *Star* self-consciously derived its very name from its founders' desire to add Hawai'i as a new star to the Stars and Stripes, the official flag of the republic of the United States of America. From the outset it was a campaigning paper, fanatically pro-annexation, anti-royalist and pro-republican. These preoccupations were its life-blood. How then did it come to take any interest in the activities and ideas of an insignificant occasional *huaqiao* Chinese sojourner upon Hawai'i's shores, Sun Yatsen? How Sun Yatsen first made significant contact with the *Hawaiian Star* I do not know, but the time frame in which it took place can be narrowed easily enough to between October 12, 1894 and January 22, 1895. These were the respective dates of Sun Yatsen's first arrival in Hawai'i as an adult of 27 years, and his departure at the age of 28, the entry and exit dates for his third visit. Ed Towse came on board as editor of the *Star* on December 1, 1894. The incontrovertible evidence of Sun's meaningful contact with the *Star* on this visit is the remarkable reprinting by the *Star* on of the article "China's Reform Party," with the subtitle, "More of the Great Movement About to Begin in the East."⁴⁴ It originated from a long editorial in the *China Mail*, written and published in Hong Kong by the Scottish journalist Thomas H. Reid on March 18, 1895. Reid had penned the editorial in conspicuous support of the reform program so recently put to him on a cold starry evening on the rooftop of the Hung Fa Lau restaurant, on Hong Kong island. These ideas had been put to him by Sun Yatsen in person.⁴⁵ Reid's article had begun thus:

When we referred a few days ago to the storm cloud that threatens to burst at any moment and to overwhelm the present administration at Peking, and perhaps to sweep away all traces of the reign of the Manchus in China, we indicated briefly the scheme that had found favour amongst the leaders in the Reform Party.⁴⁶

Reid went on to outline the rotten nature of Manchu rule and institutions, and the crying need for constitutional reform, as proposed

by the unmentioned newly-minted *Xing Zhong Hui*, albeit without being specific about its final form. The mechanics of how Reid's article ended up in the *Star* newspaper seem simple enough: Sun Yatsen must have sent the *Star's* editor, Ed Towse, a copy of the relevant newspaper by steamship from Hong Kong, along with necessary permission to print.⁴⁷ What is intriguing is that Towse reprinted it verbatim in its entirety, on his front page. Why? The explanation is surely that *Star* readers were implicitly being invited to assume that what they were reading, with the necessary ethnic changes, was an indictment of the venality, brutality and corruption that would naturally ensue from any return to native rule under a native monarchy in Hawai'i. It was a glimpse into a possible alternative dystopian Hawaiian future if annexation was not victorious. Sun Yatsen's name appeared nowhere. Towse was evidently aware that, for the time being, Sun needed the blanket of secrecy for himself, if not for his cause. Beyond reporting 'Dr Sun's return to Honolulu, the *Star* was tight-lipped about Sun's role in his first failed attempted uprising in Guangzhou/Canton in mainland China in late October 1895. When Sun was kidnapped in London one year later, for the first time the *Star* felt able to divulge its real knowledge and sentiments about Sun's revolutionary activities, in the wake of his new found world-wide fame. The *Star's* local pride radiated from its front-page article, "He is a Honolulu Boy, Chinese But A Leader Feared by a Great Government:"

Both last year and this year, Sun Yat Sen visited Hawaii as a member of the highest council of the Revolutionary Society of China, which proposes to oust the Manchu Dynasty, overthrow monarchy and set up a Republic. His mission was known here in Honolulu to the prominent Chinese and to many white men. Among the latter was an attache of The Star, to whom Sun explained the plans chosen by himself and associates to supplant the Chinese Monarchy.⁴⁸

Sun was hailed as a natural democrat in favor of a republic:

The young man was familiar with every form of government existing in the world today. While in Honolulu he gave out the statement that the plans of his new government for China were formed on the lines of Hawaii's government. "Yes," said he, "we prefer a government similar to the one adopted by this Republic. The administration of the Revolutionists will give the great common people of China more consider-

ation than ever dreamed of by them . . . There are a great many other advantages to be obtained under a free government and the Chinamen are rapidly awakening to this fact."⁴⁹

The *Star's* verdict on Sun was summed up in an editorial backslap for Hawai'i, and a slap in the face for Manchu China: "Dr. Sun is a much better Chinaman than China could produce. He learned to think in Hawaii."⁵⁰ Two years later, in 1898, the *Star's* continuing partiality and affection for its endangered "Honolulu Boy" was commented upon sourly and with some incredulity by one of its rivals:

Is it not rather curious, considering their antecedents in the matter of the Hawaiian uprising in 1895, and the bitterness with which they attacked the poor, misguided Hawaiian patriots who rose against their cruel conquerors, that the Government organs should sympathize with the arch-rebel Dr Sun Yat Sen, and encourage him in his rebellion against a friendly power. It should be remembered by the learned editors that . . . They, also, are assisting in piling up evidence of the criminal intent of their friends.⁵¹

In spite of such attacks, the *Star's* support for Sun continued beyond Hawai'i's annexation on August 12, 1898, and its new settlement as a territory of the USA. Its most ringing endorsement of Sun yet came in 1900, with its article "The Eastern Armament:"

Hawaii may claim something in the regeneration of China. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, a man whose career is of world wide notoriety resided here studied here, and imbibed some of the most advanced of his doctrines among our people... He has been, along with many other Chinese, less known, the steady flame of a lamp of reform. One has only to read of conditions in China to see how thoroughly reform must come. It is true that reform [re-]quires men of exceptional fibre for the work, but Dr. Sun has that fibre. No man could have gone round the world with his life in his hand, unless he had been of exceptional power.⁵²

The very simplest explanation of Carter's and Atkinson's exceptional treatment of Sun Yatsen is therefore surely that, like the *Star*, they saw in Sun a fellow republican of exceptional qualities and abilities.

By the turn of the 20th century, Sun Yatsen was by far the most famous occasional resident of Hawai'i, world-wide. I have given elsewhere a

systematic account of Sun's curious amphibious (in the sense of half submerged, half exposed) engagement with the regime of the Hawaiian Republic, and then beyond annexation with its successor state as part of the United States, up until 1912.⁵³ It is my conjecture that, based upon the evidence we have seen, in recognition of their shared political beliefs, Carter and Atkinson spontaneously wanted to offer their help to Sun when they were first approached about the matter of a birth certificate and a passport. These documents represented the most practical form of clandestine help they could offer him in their positions. I doubt if any other government officials were involved overtly or were even needed in this mini-conspiracy, given that Carter and Atkinson occupied first and second places respectively in the pecking order of Hawai'i official rank. Joshua K. Brown admittedly represented a thorn from the mainland, but he could still be managed. Yet who could have dared to approach Carter and Atkinson in the first place, to suggest such an outlandish and underhanded *ex-officio* scheme? I have no information that leads me to think it was Sun Yatsen himself, or that he even knew either of them personally, at least as adults. Back in 1901, Sun had alluded to his public hands-off-cum-arms-length relations with the leading officials of Hawai'i, and his reasons for it:

He [Sun Yatsen] said that he had no intercourse with leading Americans in Honolulu—he had not seen Governor Dole or Federal Judge Estee—as, for obvious reasons he wished to keep his plans and himself as “secret” as possible.⁵⁴

When quizzed further about this: “You see, he explained, I did not wish to make the Chinese Government uncomfortable unnecessarily.”⁵⁵ Many historians have put forward Sun Mei as the most obvious candidate to act as Sun's intercessor for this purpose.⁵⁶ I do not think this is likely, or even credible, not least given Sun Mei's admission to the future Secretary of Hawai'i's father on the front page of the *Hawaiian Star* in 1898, “that Dr Sen and himself were born in China and were brought to Honolulu when they were very little.” Moreover, with substantial local business interests to protect (which were already at risk in 1904) Sun Mei would not have wished to swear any legal affidavit stating contrary information to that he had given publicly in 1898; he was already in enough trouble. Who then may

have acted as intercessor for Sun Yatsen in this delicate, potentially risky matter?

Step forward John Lota Kaulukou, Sun Yatsen's old friend in Honolulu from the mid-1890s.⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, their favorite topic of conversation was politics. Now 52 years old, this much-respected veteran Kanaka Maoli lawyer, part-time judge, parliamentarian and public official had played an active part in Hawaiian public life since 1870, serving Hawai'i successively in its days as a kingdom, then as a republic, and then as a territory of the USA.⁵⁸ In the early 1880s, Kaulukou had been sent by the Hawaiian king to Japan to negotiate the terms of Hawaiian-bound Japanese laborers' contracts. He would later say this episode was the "most important event of his life," for it "broadened his mind," and "laid the foundation for his future success as a judge."⁵⁹ Kaulukou's legal and political tentacles spread from the highest to the lowest in the city. At the junction of King Street and Bethel Street, Kaulukou's long-time law practice in central Honolulu sat minutes away from government headquarters at Ali'iolani Hale. Kaulukou, who was intensely "proud of my race . . . proud of my nationality," had witnessed Hawai'i's revolutions and counter-revolutions in the 1880s and 1890s come and go from his office doorstep, understanding eventually—with genuine grief for the sacrifices it involved for his own Native Hawaiian people—that it was "better to have peace, and I only saw peace, safely, under the American flag."⁶⁰ In recognition of this living monument to old Hawai'i's contributions towards local civic, racial, and ethnic reconciliation, in the last months of its existence the Republic had made Kaulukou Speaker of the House of Representatives, in April 1898.

Back in 1894, one year after regime change, Kaulukou had resigned from a leading position in the oppositionist Native Hawaiian patriotic political league, the Hui Aloha Aina, and had joined the newly-fledged Hawaiian Republican Club for Native Hawaiians.⁶¹ In 1897 he fought an election for its successor organization, the American Union Party. Among his fellow candidates on this Republican slate for districts in Honolulu were George R. Carter, a highly successful locally-born accountant and banker from a long-established missionary family, and Alatau T. Atkinson, incumbent editor of the *Hawaiian Star*. Intriguingly, these three names were again publicly linked together in the 3:30 pm edition of the *Evening Bulletin* of March 8, 1904, when it

was announced that the governor of Hawai‘i had, within the terms of his governor’s powers, formally appointed Kaulukou to a newly vacant official post on the neighboring island of Maui:

Attorney J. L. Kaulukou was yesterday appointed commissioner of private ways and water rights for the Island of Maui by Governor Carter. There is already one case pending before the new commissioner, viz. Territory of Hawaii by Superintendent of Public Instruction Alatau T. Atkinson vs. Pioneer Mill Co.⁶²

Sun Yatsen would surely have been apprehensive to see his friend and present attorney disappear from Honolulu on an inter-island steamer before this pressing matter was fully settled.⁶³ Nevertheless, the closed personal conferences that Kaulukou must have had with Carter in the days immediately preceding the announcement of his new official appointment, with Jack Atkinson presumably in attendance, were surely the means by which Kaulukou first raised Sun’s idiosyncratic petition in person with the governor and his first secretary, to plead Sun’s cause. While there is no knowing ultimately if Carter or Atkinson *really* knew whether or not Sun had been genuinely born in Hawai‘i, I don’t think that’s the point. The patent falsity of the first two witness affidavits Kaulukou had knowingly drawn up from among his contacts and clients in the Kanaka Maoli community, coupled with the remarkable untroubled alacrity with which Sun’s Hawai‘i /US territorial passport and Hawai‘i birth certificate were endorsed by the Hawai‘i born-and-raised pair of Carter and Atkinson, indicate that all three men were essentially of one mind.⁶⁴

Doubtless following his lawyer’s prior instructions, Sun had his affidavit sworn before, and stamped by, a courthouse notary on March 8, along with the affidavit of Benjamin Star Kapu. Perhaps the cautious notary advised one more witness affidavit might be provided, if available, for safety. In any event, A. Kauhi’s affidavit still had to be sworn. This took place on March 12, in the same courthouse, before the same notary. (Somewhat surprisingly, March 12, 1904 turns out to have been a Saturday.) Then, with mysterious rapidity, the complete application made its way to the governor’s desk that very same day—a Saturday—when a new passport was drawn up and quickly signed by George Carter. On Monday, March 14, Jack Atkinson filled out and endorsed for Sun Yatsen a new birth certificate. Yet with nothing tan-

gible in his hand by Wednesday, March 16, one decodes from the brusque response to reasonable enquiries from the *Bulletin* about his travel plans that Sun was growing worried. Perhaps urgent furtive consultations with Attorney Kaulukou on Maui by cable, telephone or even radio took place.⁶⁵ Ten days later, on March 26, Joshua K. Brown completed his letter of authentication, to all appearances at last settling the matter in Hawai'i. Sun was now free to catch the next scheduled steamer heading east for San Francisco. Or was he? For Brown's typed letter actually crosses out by hand the name of the *SS Ventura*, due to sail on March 29, substituting for it, again by hand, the *SS Korea*, sailing on March 31. The Honolulu press confirms the *SS Ventura* arrived late by one day, on March 30, from Sydney Australia, an hour after the *SS Korea* had herself docked in port at 5am that morning, having steamed from Japan.⁶⁶ Brown's corrections may have been hurriedly made that same day.

Sun Yatsen's Hawai'i/USA territorial passport and his Hawai'i birth certificate were issued in Honolulu between March 12 and 14, 1904, based on demonstrably false information. So much is evidentially clear, and incontrovertible. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that these documents also tell, and indeed powerfully symbolize, a remarkable and potent story about Hawai'i itself at the dawn of the twentieth century. For the very fact of their creation and existence shows how skillfully and successfully Sun Yatsen, an exiled itinerant *huaqiao*, was able to draw support for his prospective Chinese revolution equally from the two leading communities in Hawai'i of this era: from a dominant though minority haole establishment on the one hand, and from an oppressed Kanaka Maoli majority on the other. Indeed, the help and support of both of these communities was required. It was therefore surely old Hawai'i itself that, symbolically, gave these gifts to Sun of its own free will, demonstrating that it was still capable of coming together and closing ranks to look after this prized "Honolulu Boy," now as her own adopted son.

NOTES

¹ Harold Z. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968) 10.

- ² “He is a Honolulu Boy,” *Hawaiian Star*, November 21, 1896, 1, cols. 3–5.
- ³ This article is sourced from an appendix to forthcoming book with the working title, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer: Sun Yatsen and a Case Study in Revolutionary Failure: Honolulu and Guangzhou, 1895*. This is a follow-up study to my first book, *The Lost Book of Sun Yatsen and Edwin Collins* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016.) The new book will focus on the adult Sun Yatsen’s dynamic relationship with Hawaiian politics during its most turbulent decade, circa 1887 to 1898, and will offer a radical re-appraisal of Hawai‘i’s influence upon the adult Sun Yatsen, and of the adult Sun Yatsen’s influence upon Hawai‘i. Readers are introduced to the persona and political influence of John Lota Kaulukou at the end of the early chapter, “The five-year lifecycle of the Hawaiian Republic, 1893 to 1898.”
- ⁴ The rewards for Sun’s capture grew in direct proportion to the Manchus’ escalating fear of him. In October 1895, the first known wanted poster for Sun’s capture offered a reward of ten thousand silver dollars. See Yansheng Ma Lum and Raymond Mun Kong Lum, *Sun Yat-sen in Hawai‘i: Activities and Supporters* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999) 11–12. By the time of Sun’s second visit to London in late 1904, the reward was \$50,000: see “Dr Sun Yat Sen. Tells ‘The Star’ of the Huge Price on his Head,” *The (London) Star*, January 10, 1905, 3, col. 3. By 1907, it was \$150,000. See “Sun Yat Sen Badly Wanted”, *Hawaiian Star*, September 9, 1907, 3, col. 4. By the time of the outbreak of the Wuchang rebellion in China in late 1911, a London newspaper related that, “So far as modern history relates, the largest sum ever offered for the arrest of a human being was recently obtainable by anyone who could hand over the body, dead or alive, of Sun Yat Sen, the champion of Young China, to the Chinese Government.” See “Sun Yat Sen in London. Some Weeks Disguised Among Friends. ‘Dr Moon.’ Departure for China Yesterday,” *The Daily Chronicle* (London), November 21, 1911, 1, col. 1.
- ⁵ I have no detailed knowledge or information about Sun’s residence rights inside and/or his means of entry and exit from Japan in the years c. 1895 to 1907, other than to note his connections with many highly placed Japanese politicians during much of this era. See Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).
- ⁶ “Arrival of the S.S. Pekin,” *PCA*, October 13, 1894, 8, col. 3.
- ⁷ See the documents displayed on the website of the “Dr Sun Yat-Sen Hawaii Foundation” for Sun’s Third Visit, October 1894—January 1895, at URL: <http://sunyatsenhawaii.org/2008/10/22/third-visit-october-1894-january-1895>.
- ⁸ “Chapter 2: ‘Reciprocity: The Dream Comes True,’” in R. S. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom, volume III: 1874–1893; The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu; University of Hawai‘i Press, 1967) 17–45.
- ⁹ See the website, “Separate Lives, Broken Dreams,” document 13, at URL: <http://www.asian.americanmedia.org/separatelivesbrokendreams/>, accessed online on February 6, 2011. Sun expanded his explanation of how he came to acquire

these papers in Shanghai in a further statement which he composed inside the Detention Sheds at the Pacific Mail Dock in San Francisco on April 21, 1904. See: "Separate Lives, Broken Dreams," document 15.

- ¹⁰ See the website, "Separate Lives, Broken Dreams," document 4; for the URL, see endnote 9 above.
- ¹¹ See page 2 of 3 of the documents displayed on the website of the "Dr Sun Yat-Sen Hawaii Foundation" for Sun's "Sixth Visit, September 1903 to March 1904." Here, Sun states that, "Yes, I lost them; I do not know where they are; when I was in trouble in London all my papers were burned by my friends;" for the URL, see endnote 7 above.
- ¹² Sun Yatsen, *Kidnapped in London: Being the Story of My Capture by, Detention at, and Release from the Chinese Legation* (London: China Society, reprint of first edition, Bristol & London 1897, with a foreword by Kenneth Cantlie, 1969) 60–61.
- ¹³ See the website, "Separate Lives, Broken Dreams," documents 13 and 14; for the URL, see endnote 9 above.
- ¹⁴ "City of Peking Arrives," *HG*, December 6, 1895, 5, col. 2; and "Shipping Intelligence. Passengers. Departures," *PCA*, June 4, 1896, 8, cols. 2 and 6. For his departure on June 3, 1896, Sun was named as "Dr. Yet Set Sun."
- ¹⁵ And the surviving US Bureau of Immigration records from 1896 confirm this. See document 4 from the website, 'Separate Lives, Broken Dreams'; for the URL, see endnote 9 above.
- ¹⁶ As Baedeker's *Great Britain* (London; third edition, 1894; Introduction, xviii) explained: "Passports. These documents are not necessary in England, though occasionally useful in procuring delivery of registered and poste restante letters. A visa is quite needless."
- ¹⁷ Copy of a "message pencilled on card bearing the name Sun Yat Sen," enclosed in Dr. James Cantlie's letter of October 19, 1896 to the Foreign Office, Document 23, in FO 17/1718, *Chinese Revolutionaries in British Dominions: Sun Yat Sen; Kang Yu Wei &c. (Kidnapping of Sun Yat Sen by Chinese Legation,)* 1896–1905, in British Foreign Office Archives, National Archives, Kew, London.
- ¹⁸ 'Startling Story. Conspirator Kidnapped in London. Imprisoned at the Chinese Embassy. Set Free at Last', *Reynolds's Newspaper* ('Government of the People, by the People, for the People'), October 25, 1896, 1, col. 3. Recalling the same episode in Portland-place, Sun similarly restated his Hong Kong birth to a *Daily Chronicle* correspondent: see 'China in London, Lord Salisbury's Swift Action. Sun at Liberty. He Describes His Experiences. "They Decoyed Me". Celestial Ways and English Freedom', *The Daily Chronicle* (London), October 24, 1896, 5, cols. 4–6, col. 5.
- ¹⁹ "Statement of Sun Yatsen to Inspector F. Jarvis at Scotland Yard," October 23, 1896, Documents 80–83, Document 80, in FO 17/1718, *Chinese Revolutionaries in British Dominions: Sun Yat Sen; Kang Yu Wei &c. (Kidnapping of Sun Yat Sen by Chinese Legation,)* 1896–1905, in British Foreign Office Archives, National Archives, Kew, London; Sun Yatsen's statement at the Treasury, Novem-

- ber 4, 1896, FO 881/6854, printed (unpublished) *Treasury Solicitor's Confidential Report on the Detention of Sun Yatsen in the Chinese Legation*, December 2, 1896, 13–16 in British Foreign Office Archives, National Archives, Kew, London.
- ²⁰ Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen, His Life and its Meaning: A Critical Biography* (New York; John Day, 1934) 79–80.
- ²¹ “The Supposed Chinese Revolutionist,” *China Mail* (Hong Kong), edition of December 3, 1896, as reprinted in Sun Yatsen, *Kidnapped in London* (London, 1969) 113–120, 115: “He was born in Honolulu, and had a good English education.”
- ²² “By Authority. Act 13,” *PCA*, April 21, 1896, 1, col. 5. See also “Registration,” *PCA*, June 1, 1896, 4, col. 2.
- ²³ ‘To Be Killed By Torture’, *Hawaiian Star*, February 3, 1898, 6, col. 3.
- ²⁴ ‘Sorry For His Brother. Ahmi Fears Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s Fate’, *Hawaiian Star*, February 9, 1898, 1, col. 6.
- ²⁵ Atkinson’s father’s relationship with Sun Yatsen and his stint in charge of the *Star* are explored in greater detail in the late Chapter, “Sun Yatsen and the Hawaiian Star,” in the forthcoming book, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*.
- ²⁶ See Appendix One, ‘Sun Yatsen’s unknown fifth visit to Hawai’i, 1901’ in the forthcoming book, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*.
- ²⁷ See the website, ‘Separate Lives, Broken Dreams’, document 15; for the URL, see endnote 9 above.
- ²⁸ “Off to Free His Beloved People,” *EB*, June 6, 1901, 1, cols. 3–4.
- ²⁹ “Old Administration Out, The New One Takes Office. The Transfers of Several Offices,” *Hawaiian Star*, August 15, 1907, 1, cols. 3–4.
- ³⁰ Henry Bond Restarick, *Sun Yat Sen, Liberator of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931).
- ³¹ File: 9995/CABIN, SUN Yat Sen, ARC Identifier 296446; Record Series: Immigration Arrival Investigation Case Files, 1884–1944, ARC Identifier 296445; Agency Office: San Francisco District Office; Record Group: 85—Immigration and Naturalization Service; The National Archives at San Francisco, USA.
- ³² “Hawaii’s Chinese. They Will Not be Allowed to Come to the United States as Laborers,” *San Francisco Call*, November 1, 1898, 2, col. 6.
- ³³ “About Chinese Permits,” *Hawaiian Star*, December 2, 1898, 3, col. 4.
- ³⁴ “Dr. Sun Will Go Back to China,” *Hawaiian Star*, February 27, 1904, 2, cols. 3–4.
- ³⁵ “Dr. Sun is Ready to Begin Operations,” *EB*, March 9, 1904, 1, col. 1.
- ³⁶ “Local and General,” *EB*, March 16, 1904, 5, col. 4.
- ³⁷ “Chinese Revolutionary Departs For the Empire,” *PCA*, April 1, 1904, 6, cols. 2–3.
- ³⁸ Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-Sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, 328–330; and Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen, His Life and its Meaning*, 79–83. See also Neil L. Thomsen, “No Such Sun Yat-sen: An Archival Success Story,” in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, *Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, vol. 11 (1997) 16–26.
- ³⁹ William Adam Russ, Jr. *The Hawaiian Republic (1894–98) and its Struggle to Win Annexation* (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania; Susquehanna University Press, 1961)

- 75–76, and the forthcoming *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*, Chapter Two, “The five-year lifecycle of the Hawaiian Republic, 1893 to 1898.”
- ⁴⁰ Lorrin A. Thurston, *A Hand-Book on the Annexation of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1897) 32.
- ⁴¹ George R. Carter and Mary H. Hopkin, eds., *A Record of the Descendants of Dr. Gerrit P. Judd of Hawaii, March 8, 1829, to April 16, 1922* (Honolulu; Hawaiian Historical Society, 1922) 8.
- ⁴² M.C. Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou, 1841–1941: A History of Punahou School, Honolulu, with Plates* (Honolulu, 1941).
- ⁴³ Tai Chu was one of Sun Yatsen’s childhood names, and was the name he was registered under O’ahu College (later Punahou School); see Irma Tang Soong, “Christianity and Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Schooling in Hawai’i, 1879–83,” in *Chinese America: History & Perspectives; The Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America* (San Francisco, 2010) 85.
- ⁴⁴ “China’s Reform Party.” *Hawaiian Star*, May 8, 1895, 1, col. 2, 4 and 4, col. 2.
- ⁴⁵ Thomas H. Reid (unsigned), editorial, *China Mail* (Hong Kong), March 18, 1895, 2, cols. 6–7 and 3, col. 1. See also Thomas H. Reid (unsigned), “China’s Leader of Rebellion. Personal Sketch of Sun Yat Sen,” *The Daily Chronicle* (London) October 19, 1911, 4, col. 4, para. 2. This latter article was reprinted in the *Hawaiian Star* in 1912, as: “English Sketch of Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s Career; Says He was Born Near Macau,” *Hawaiian Star*, January 2, 1912, second edition, second section p. 9, 12.
- ⁴⁶ “China’s Reform Party.” *Hawaiian Star*, May 8, 1895, 1, col. 2, 4 and 4, col. 2.
- ⁴⁷ I note that the mailship the *SS Gaelic* arrived in Honolulu from Hong Kong on April 29, 1895.
- ⁴⁸ “He is a Honolulu Boy,” *Hawaiian Star*, November 21, 1896, 1, cols. 3–5.
- ⁴⁹ “He is a Honolulu Boy,” *Hawaiian Star*, November 21, 1896, 1, cols. 3–5.
- ⁵⁰ *Hawaiian Star*, November 21, 1896, 4, col. 1.
- ⁵¹ “Topics of the Day,” *Independent*, February 11, 1898, 4, col. 3.
- ⁵² “The Eastern Armament,” *Hawaiian Star*, October 24, 1900, 4, col. 2.
- ⁵³ Chapter, “Sun Yatsen and the Hawaiian Star” in the forthcoming book, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*.
- ⁵⁴ “Dr. Sun in Yokohama,” *EB*, July 9, 1901, 4, col. 2.
- ⁵⁵ “Avoided Dole and Estee,” *Hawaiian Star*, July 10, 1901, 7, col. 4.
- ⁵⁶ Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen*, 79; Schifffrin, *Sun Yat-Sen and the Chinese Revolution*, 327; Lum and Lum, *Sun Yat-sen in Hawaii*, 39.
- ⁵⁷ For the substance of Sun’s and Kaulukou’s friendship, see the Chapter, “Sun Yatsen in Honolulu, 1894 to 1896” in the forthcoming book, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*; see also “The Eastern Armament,” *Hawaiian Star*, October 24, 1900, 4, col. 2.
- ⁵⁸ For a deeper analysis of Kaulukou’s public career and contributions to local politics in the 1890s, see the Chapter, “The five-year lifecycle of the Hawaiian Republic, 1893 to 1898” in the forthcoming book, *Dynamite on the Tropic of Cancer*.

- ⁵⁹ "Prominent Native Son Passes away," *HG*, June 8, 1917, 7, col. 6.
- ⁶⁰ "More Good Interviews," *Hawaiian Star*, July 18, 1898, 1, col. 3.
- ⁶¹ Ernest Andrade Jr., *Unconquerable Rebel: Robert W. Wilcox and Hawaiian Politics, 1880–1904* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996) p. 147–148.
- ⁶² "Kaulukou Commissioner," *EB*, March 8, 1904, 3:30 pm edition, 5, col. 7.
- ⁶³ And it's clear that Kaulukou sailed to Maui from Honolulu on March 8 or 9, because, following his appointment on March 7, he started to issue public notices from his new office in Wailuku on the island of Maui on March 10; see "Further Notice," *The Maui News*, March 12, 1904, 3, col. 3.
- ⁶⁴ Benjamin Star Kapu was a client of Kaulukou's some weeks earlier in 1904, when Kaulukou had represented him in divorce proceedings which reached court. Likewise, Star Kapu appears on Kaulukou's spontaneously written list of potential Kanaka Maoli candidates for inclusion on a grand jury, from 1900.
- ⁶⁵ Or else letters with a typical turn-around time of approximately one week, given the twice weekly sailings by regular steamer between Honolulu and Maui in this era. Hawai'i achieved its first telegraphic cable communication with the rest of the world on Cable Day, January 2, 1903, when a trans-Pacific cable making its way to the Philippines first connected Hawai'i with San Francisco. No inter-island telephone or telegraphic cables were laid successfully in Hawai'i between the islands before 1900. Inter-island radio transmissions began, intermittently, in the years 1900–1. See Robert C. Schmitt, "Some Transportation and Communication Firsts in Hawaii," *HJH*, vol. 13 (1979) 99–123.
- ⁶⁶ "Shipping Intelligence: Arriving," *Hawaiian Star*, March 30, 1904, second edition, 2, col. 2.

APPENDIX ONE

A Chronological Table of Documents Submitted and Generated in Support of the Issuing of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian Birth Certificate and Passport, March 1904

| Date of creation | Document signed by | Document title/description |
|------------------|---|---|
| March 8, 1904 | Sun Yat Sen & Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit & A. L. Atkinson, Secretary of the Territory of Hawai'i | <p>Typed affidavit in support of "The Position of Hawaiian Birth of Sun Yat Sen." Territory of Hawaii, Island of Oahu.</p> <p>"I, SUN YAT SEN, being first duly sworn, depose and say that to the best of my knowledge and belief I was born at Waimano, Ewa, Oahu, on the 24th day of November, A.D., 1870; that I am a physician, practicing at present at Kula, Island of Maui, that I make my home at said Kula; that my father Sun Tet Sung, went to China about 1874 and died there about eight years later; that this affidavit is made for the purpose of identifying myself and as a further proof of Hawaiian birth; that the photograph attached is a good likeness of me at this time." (Signed) Sun Yat Sen.</p> |
| March 8, 1904 | B. Starr Kapu, retired farmer, Honolulu & Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit | <p>"Subscribed and sworn to before me this eighth day of March A.D. 1904. (Signed) Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit." (Notary Stamp.)</p> <p>"This is to certify that I have made a thorough examination of the statements made herein and am satisfied as to their accuracy; that the photograph attached is a good likeness and that the signature was made by the applicant." (Signed) A. L. Atkinson, Secretary of Hawaii.</p> <p>Typed affidavit from the Territory of Hawai'i, Island of O'ahu, in witness support of "The Position of Hawaiian Birth of Sun Yat Sen," dictated and signed by B. S. Kapu. "Subscribed and sworn to before me this eighth day of March A.D. 1904. (Signed) Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit." (Notary Stamp)</p> |

Continued on next page

APPENDIX ONE (continued)

A Chronological Table of Documents Submitted and Generated in Support of the Issuing of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian Birth Certificate and Passport, March 1904

| Date of creation | Document signed by | Document title/description |
|------------------|--|--|
| March 12, 1904 | A. Kauli, farmer from Ewa, O'ahu & Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit | Typed affidavit from the Territory of Hawai'i, Island of O'ahu, in witness support of "The Position of Hawaiian Birth of Sun Yat Sen," dictated and signed by B. S. Kapu. "Subscribed and sworn to before me this twelfth day of March A.D. 1904. (Signed) Kate Kelley, Notary Public First Judicial Circuit." (Notary Stamp) |
| March 12, 1904 | George R. Carter, Governor of Hawai'i & Sun Yat Sen | Passport of the United States, Territory of Hawai'i, for "SUN YAT SEN, a Citizen of the United States." "Given under my hand and the Seal of the Territory of Hawai'i, at the City of Honolulu, the 12th day of March in the year 1904." (Signed) G.R. Carter. |
| March 14, 1904 | A. L. Atkinson, Secretary of the Territory of Hawai'i | (Copy) Certificate of Hawaiian Birth, issued by the Office of the Secretary, Territory of Hawai'i, <p data-bbox="657 256 812 1020">... to certify that Sun Yat Sen now residing at Kula, Maui. T. H. [Territory of Hawai'i], whose signature is attached, has made application No. 25 for a Certificate of Birth'. 'And that it appears from his affidavit and the evidence submitted by witnesses that he was born in the Hawaiian Islands on the 24th day of November, A.D. 1870, and that the photograph attached is a good likeness of him at this time."</p> |
| March 14, 1904 | A. L. Atkinson, Secretary of the Territory of Hawai'i | In testimony whereof, the Secretary of the Territory has hereunto subscribed his name and caused the seal of the Territory of Hawai'i to be affixed." (Signed) A.L. Atkinson. Letter to J.K. Brown, Chinese Inspector in charge of immigration, Honolulu, informing him that |

'I have this day issued Certificate of Hawaiian birth, Adult No. 25, to SUN YAT SEN, Chinese, upon his application and the testimony of the following witnesses: B. Starr Kapu, full Hawaiian, Citizen of the United States, formerly a farmer—now retired; lives at Ewa, Oahu; A. Kauti, full Hawaiian, farmer, lives at Ewa, Oahu. The said SUN YAT SEN was born at Waimano, Ewa, Oahu on the 24th. Day of November, A.D. 1870.

(Signed) A.L. Atkinson Secretary of Hawaii.

| | | |
|----------------|--|--|
| March 21, 1904 | Benjamin Star Kapu, retired farmer from Ewa, O'ahu & Joshua K. Brown, Hawai'i's Inspector of Chinese | Affidavit in witness support of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian birth in 1870 at Waimano/Ewa from Benjamin Star Kapu, a 47-year-old Kanaka Maoli retired farmer from Ewa, O'ahu. Interviewed and statement transcribed by hand by Joshua K. Brown, Inspector of Chinese. |
| March 21, 1904 | Wong Kwai, Chinese from O'ahu & Joshua K. Brown, Hawai'i's Inspector of Chinese | Affidavit in witness support of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian birth at Waimano/Ewa, O'ahu, from Wong Kwai, Chinese, from O'ahu. Interviewed and statement transcribed by hand by Joshua K. Brown, Inspector of Chinese. |
| March 22, 1904 | A. Ahlo, ex-farmer, O'ahu & Joshua K. Brown, Hawai'i's Inspector of Chinese | Affidavit in witness support of Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian birth at Waimano, O'ahu, from A. Ahlo, an ex-rice farmer from O'ahu. Interviewed and statement transcribed by hand by Joshua K. Brown, Inspector of Chinese. |
| March 26, 1904 | Joshua K. Brown, Hawai'i's Inspector of Chinese | Letter of authentication for Sun Yatsen's Hawaiian Certificate of Birth, and Hawai'i/US passport from Joshua K. Brown, Hawai'i's Inspector of Chinese, to his counterpart in the US Port of San Francisco, Charles Mehan, Chinese Inspector in Charge (through Commissioner of Immigration). |
