

# Christianity and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Schooling in Hawai'i, 1879–83

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In Dr. Sun Yat-sen's four years, 1879–83, as a sojourner in Hawai'i, he is said to have attended three Christian educational institutions: Iolani College, St. Louis College, and Oahu College. His three years at Iolani are well authenticated. Whether he ever attended St. Louis cannot be substantiated by any school records, but the possibility exists. As for Oahu College, evidence points to that claim, though the time period spent by him there is not altogether clear. This paper delves into the religious backgrounds of these three schools, their beginnings, their locations, and their curricula, to document the indelible imprinting of a nineteenth-century Christian environment on the mind and heart of a young revolutionist.

Much has been made of the Christian influence of his years at Iolani that led him to seek baptism and thus incur the wrath of his brother and provider, Sun Mei, who cut short his Hawai'i education and sent him back to their native village of Cuiheng in Zhongshan, Guangdong Province, for rehabilitation.

Was there any Christian influence in Sun's life before his departure for Hawai'i? It is doubtful that he ever saw a Christian missionary or evangelist while a youth in his village. In 1884, when the Reverend Frank Damon visited Zhongshan county, he found a chapel in Shiqi, the district seat, and "a little company of native Christians, under the charge of the English Church Mission." As far as he knew, it was "the only Christian Station in all this populous region."<sup>1</sup>

## EARLIEST CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES

Sun probably first heard of Christianity through the tales of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–66) recounted to him by a veteran who had returned home from the wars. All agree that Sun was entranced by these accounts, which stirred his imag-

ination as the old classical rote studies he abhorred could not do. This first introduction to Christianity was a powerful stimulus for continued revolution, and when he was propelled into a Christian environment in Hawai'i, his desire to learn about the religion was satisfied in four intensive years of study in Christian schools.

Jen Yu-wen states, "It is one of the ironies of history that the very year the Manchus finally extinguished the greatest eruption of revolutionary nationalism during their reign, the seed of a new nationalist movement emerged with the birth on November 12, 1866 of its future leader, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen."<sup>2</sup> Jen observes: "It is probably more than coincidence that Hung Hsiu-ch'uan [Hong Xiuquan] and Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, successive revolutionary leaders of modern China, were Christians."<sup>3</sup> Jen further emphasizes Hong's influence on Sun's revolutionary career in his assessment of the historical relationship between the two movements: "Our expanding grasp of the aspirations and accomplishments of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement has brought even more light to its evolutionary relationship with the National Revolution and heightened our perception of direct historical links. Perhaps the most symbolic instance of this continuity occurred at the transfer of power on January 1, 1912 which ended 267 years of Manchu rule. The abdication of Emperor Puyi was accepted by Provisional President Sun Yat-Sen, who had as a boy cherished the nickname 'Hung Hsiu-ch'uan the Second.'"<sup>4</sup>

In Hawai'i's Christian schools, Sun was to learn why Hong mandated "strict observance of the Ten Commandments and attendance at daily worship" by the Taiping Army.<sup>5</sup> "To the end of their lives Hung Hsiu-ch'uan and his fellow leaders held fast to the Christian faith."<sup>6</sup> Sun too would, despite all odds, cling to his faith to the very end.

## EMIGRATION TO HAWAI'I

In 1879 when Sun boarded the *Grannoch* in Hong Kong for his sea voyage to the Sandalwood Mountains, as the Chinese called Hawai'i, he was impressed by the wonder of a mechanically propelled ship of massive proportions and the superiority of the foreigner in respect to technology. However, he

was at the same time appalled at the simple burial at sea of one of the English sailors. Instead of the elaborate ceremony due to the dead and necessary to the fortune of the family, the laws of *feng shui* (geomancy) and other practices were disregarded. Only a bell toll and the reading of a book by the ship's captain before the flag-draped casket was lowered into the waters sent the deceased into the next world.<sup>7</sup> Although he did not know it at that time, the book was the *Book of Common Prayer* that he himself would be using in his Sunday service at the procathedral in Honolulu.

Working with his brother Sun Mei in the latter's plantation and store acquainted him with the goals of most of the Chinese immigrants—to make a living and, if possible, to acquire enough gold pieces to retire to their native villages rich and crowned with respect. He observed them to be very quick to learn conversational Hawaiian. Many also married or cohabited with native women, thereby further adjusting themselves to a unique environment where a Hawaiian king ruled, flanked by American and European advisors. Few of his compatriots were literate in their own Chinese language. Those rare ones who could speak and read English as well were high-ranked interpreters and translators to whom the non-English speakers appealed when communicative skills were needed.

### CHOICE OF SCHOOLS

Sun Mei could see that if he were to rise in the financial world, he would have to have access to a knowledge of the systems of law that the Americans had managed to establish in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The better educated in the English language his assistant was, the faster he would be able to transact his business dealings. What choice of schools did young Sun have?

#### *Public schools*

In 1879 education in the Hawaiian language, but not in English, was almost universal. Missionaries of the American Board of Christian Foreign Missionaries (ABCFM) had arrived in 1820 and by January 1822 had worked out an alphabet and orthography of the Hawaiian language in order to spread the gospel through the written word.<sup>8</sup> In less than twenty years the first public schools for the Hawaiians had been established, and by 1840 the government had assumed responsibility for teachers' wages and the maintenance of buildings. In 1849 Lahainaluna Seminary, a high school on Maui, was founded to train young native Hawaiians for the ministry. The chief reading text in the schools was the Bible, which had been translated into Hawaiian from Greek or Hebrew. In 1839, as the result of almost twenty years of painstaking labor, a copy had been printed just in time to be deposited in the cornerstone of the Kawaiahaeo Church.

The original church, a thatched structure, was built in 1821 by the Congregationalist missionaries and was the first organized Christian church on the Islands.<sup>9</sup>

The common school system, though somewhat shaky, was by the early thirties serving fifty thousand students, most of them adults, enrolled in about 1,100 schools.<sup>10</sup> Four out of every ten Hawaiians were learning to read through Christian textbooks written in the Hawaiian language. In 1840, "the high tide for the Sandwich Islands Mission, 10,000 newcomers partook of baptism and communion."<sup>11</sup> It is said that by 1843 Hawai'i had become a Christian nation in one generation, though not an English-speaking one.

#### *Educational opportunities*

The great task of Christianizing the Hawaiian nation and educating its royalty in the intricacies of government organization and administration lay mainly on the shoulders of the American missionaries and other foreigners whom the Hawaiian rulers relied upon. In education, both government and religious affiliations did their part to bring about amazing progress.<sup>12</sup> In 1840 the kingdom had its first written constitution. In 1841 the government supported the public school system. The Congregationalists (ABCFM missionaries) opened Punahou (later called Oahu College) that same year to provide a secondary college-preparatory education for their own children. In 1846 the Department of Public Instruction was established with William Richards as its first minister of instruction. In 1855 Punahou was opened to students of Hawaiian blood. In 1859 Sacred Hearts Academy, a Catholic school, was founded for girls. In 1862 Bishop Stately arrived to establish the first Anglican schools. In 1867 St. Andrew's Priory, an Anglican school for girls, was founded. In 1872 Bishop Wills arrived and founded Iolani College, another Anglican institution.

By 1879 there were not only public and private schools but also English classes for Chinese adults. One near Chinatown was run by the Reverend Samuel C. Damon at his Bethel Mission.<sup>13</sup> But Sun would not want just to go to classes in English when his brother could afford the best Western education that money could provide.

#### *The final choice*

What choice then did Sun have?

While there were small private schools scattered throughout the Islands, only two of significance existed then in Honolulu. The more prestigious was Punahou, then named Oahu College, which had been founded by Congregationalists to prepare their children for colleges on the mainland. Sending them to preparatory schools on the mainland would have meant being separated from them by many miles of sea and continent at a time when transportation was very slow and communication difficult. Punahou was situated about

two miles from Chinatown on a hillside below Manoa Valley. Most of the students were boarders from the neighbor islands.<sup>14</sup> In 1872, day students were transported to school from Nuuanu and other parts of town by two omnibuses drawn by horses. The college's reputation for high standards was so forbidding that no immigrant boy without a good command of English would dare hope to be admitted. Principally because he would not have qualified, Sun did not go to Oahu College in 1879.

The only other private school of repute was Iolani, which was situated less than a mile above Chinatown on Bates Street (a block below Judd Street) in Nuuanu. It was a small boarding school establishing by Anglicans for Hawaiian boys and open to Chinese students as well.

### *Education vs. prejudice*

Why was Sun Mei, with his intense Chinese ethnocentric pride, willing to send his brother to a Christian school? Was it not run by “white devils” whom the Chinese considered barbarians? The probable answer is that his Chinese respect for scholarship and for its usefulness, no matter what the cost, overcame deep-seated reservations about the wisdom of allowing an impressionable youth to receive learning under the tutelage of zealous, proselytizing missionaries. Most important of all, to learn the English language was extremely practical, for skill in its use would provide opportunities for rising economically in a society dominated by British and American residents.

In 1881, only five hundred of the fourteen thousand Chinese in Hawai'i were Christians.<sup>15</sup> Most of these were Hakkas, in contrast to the Puntis, who were on the whole non-Christian. Sun Mei, however, was a Puntis, one of the multitude of immigrants from the Zhongshan district and other areas of Guangdong who felt themselves superior to the Hakkas. The Hakka Christians, on the other hand, felt superior in religion to these “heathens,” who worshipped idols and ancestors in their ignorance of biblical truth.

### HAKKAS VS. PUNTIS IN CHINA AND CHRISTIAN CONVERSIONS

The early cleavage between the Hakkas and the Puntis had arisen from conflicts in the old country. The Puntis considered themselves the natives of Guangdong Province. They were a mixed race of the original tribes in Guangdong and the people from North China who had originally migrated to central China, then to southeastern coastal Guangdong, where they themselves became “natives.” The Hakkas had migrated to Guangdong from northern and central China during later periods. Thus they were known as latecomers or “guests.”<sup>16</sup> The inroads of the Hakkas into lands occupied by the Puntis, along with differences in speech, created rivalry

and even a very violent Hakka-Puntis War in Guangdong. Their conflicts reached a climax in 1856 and were not finally resolved until September 1866, when a new governor arrived who sent eight thousand troops under the grain intendant of Canton to the western districts to compel the Hakkas to give up their arms and disperse.<sup>17</sup>

It has been noted that Zhongshan county had been little touched by European evangelists. Most of the Hakka Christians, on the other hand, had come from areas near Hong Kong (Kowloon and the New Territories) and towns in the coastal area, such as Lilong, or from Mei-xian (Jiayingzhou) or Hua-xian. Their parents had been converted by Basel and Berlin missionaries, who first came to Guangdong in 1847.<sup>18</sup> These Lutheran missionaries, along with those of the Barmen Mission, evangelized in the port cities of Guangdong and penetrated into the rural areas and small towns further inland.<sup>19</sup> The Berlin Mission's most noted convert was a Puntis from Foshan, the Honorable Woo Set An, a scholar-official who resigned his position to become a Lutheran minister. His son, Woo Yee Bew, was called to Kohala on the Big Island to become the first Chinese minister of an Anglican church but did not arrive in Hawai'i until 1883.<sup>20</sup>

The work of the Basel Mission was begun in 1847 by a Swede named Hamberg and a German, Rudolf Lechler, who was the spiritual father of many Chinese who immigrated to Hawai'i in 1870–80. The converts were primarily Hakkas.<sup>21</sup> Basel catechists who were herbalists were more successful as evangelists, perhaps because they also learned simple medical practices from their Western teachers.<sup>22</sup> The mission put heavy emphasis on Christian education. Besides Bible study, the main subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, world history, and choir. For girls, home economics—training in domestic duties and household work—was emphasized.<sup>23</sup> A manuscript by Dennis A. Kastens (see note 18) documents a middle school and a seminary at Lilong that trained future pastors and teachers.

### CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN HAWAI'I

The first Basel-trained pastor to serve in Hawai'i arrived in 1872. He was sent to Kohala to work for the Congregational Church under the direction of the Reverend Elias Bond. Kong Tet Yin had worked in Australia and was therefore a pastor at one time or another of three Christian denominations—the Lutheran, the Anglican, and the Congregationalist.<sup>24</sup> The Chinese churches in Hawai'i can be said to be the fruits of the early labor of the Lutheran missions, mainly the Basel Mission Society, for many of the pastors in the years that followed were trained in the seminary at Lilong.

These Lutheran missions owed much of their success to a revolutionary step. They turned their many illiterate disciples into literate readers of the Bible by creating a romanized script of the Hakka dialect called Hakka *shuk-wa*, so that

all Hakka Christians could not only read the Old and New Testaments, the liturgy, the Bible stories, and the hymns but also correspond with each other without knowing a single Chinese character.<sup>25</sup> These missions also founded foundling homes where basket babies and orphans grew up in a purely Christian environment. Many once-unwanted girls became deaconesses, teachers, and good Christian wives and mothers of Christian families.<sup>26</sup>

During Sun Yat-sen's Iolani days, the Congregationalist Hawai'i Evangelical Association (HEA) continued to welcome Chinese Christians of Lutheran backgrounds and to evangelize among the sojourning non-Christians. Already, in 1877, young Christians had formed the Chinese YMCA (later the Christian Association of Hawai'i), which was granted a charter by the Hawaiian government.<sup>27</sup> In 1879, the year Sun entered Iolani, the Chinese Christian Church was founded and received a charter of incorporation from the Hawaiian government. In 1881 the church, with more than one hundred members, dedicated a two-story building of its own on Fort Street near Beretania.<sup>28</sup> This was just one block away (toward the Ewa District) from Emma Street, where Sun and his fellow Iolani students attended Sunday service at the pro-cathedral of the Anglican Church. In that same year, the Reverend Francis M. Damon, who was to play a supporting role in Sun's conflict with Sun Mei on his second trip to Hawai'i in 1885, was made superintendent of the HEA's work among the Chinese.<sup>29</sup>

Although the number of Chinese Christians was small in 1881, their presence was very significant. They were a force to be contended with, for they represented the "enlightened" ones who mixed well with the "white devils," learned English quickly, were not hesitant to send their daughters to school, did not bind their daughters' feet, and were in time to rise up to positions in American and British firms and serve as bridges between the local Chinese and haole residents.

#### CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD IN PRACTICE

Serving on the church's board were self-made Chinese, such as Goo Kim Fui, and earnest Caucasians, who helped to "manage the property, raise funds for repair and improvement, and provide for an expansion of the work." Represented among the latter were Charles M. Hyde and members of the Davies, Atherton, Damon, and Waterhouse families.<sup>30</sup>

The cordial relations of the Chinese with the haoles were very evident in the help given them in raising funds to build the Chinese Christian Church of Honolulu at its Fort Street location. The Caucasians even lent the church parlors of their older Fort Street Church for a bazaar, and at the dedication of the new church building on January 2, 1881, the women brightened the indoors and outdoors with lanterns, brocades, tapestry, and other glittering attractions. The royalty,

too, graced the affair with their presence. Likelike, sister of King Kalakaua, who was away on his world tour, represented him. Also in attendance were clergymen, government dignitaries, and their families.<sup>31</sup>

Surely Sun Yat-sen must have known about this important event held in the vicinity where he studied and resided. These White people were not like the ones who started the Opium Wars and pointed their guns at China's ports to open the way for further exploitation. These were a different breed: Christians with whom he had become acquainted while at Iolani. Furthermore, while prejudice against the Chinese took various forms, both legal and vocal, the HEA persisted in believing that "Christian brotherhood held the best, perhaps the only answer" to the vexing questions of racial conflicts.<sup>32</sup> To have White people cooperate so amicably with his own countrymen and believe in their goodness must have nurtured a faith that was to sustain Sun in the years when European nations failed to support his cause.

With such a history of progress, one would suppose that the HEA would have opened a boarding or English-language school with an academic curriculum for Chinese boys. However, that was not done, and English classes for immigrants held at the church did not meet Sun's yearning for the best Western education possible.

#### IOLANI: AN ANGLICAN SCHOOL

Iolani, then, was the school for him. It was Anglican, a mission school administered under the auspices of the Church of England, from which the Congregationalists (Calvinist Protestants) had fled to settle in New England early in America's history. Anglicans were far less puritanical in their religious and secular beliefs. Their initial role in Honolulu was not so much to evangelize as to satisfy King Alexander Liholiho's dislike of the American mission where he had been educated and to establish church practices patterned after those of the English.<sup>33</sup> While in London he had met royalty and found in the English hierarchical system and splendor a model to emulate. Furthermore, he loved the ritual of the Anglican service, with its chanting, its liturgy, and the rich, elegant robes of the clergy, all set in beautiful cathedrals with stained-glass windows.

In 1861 the king offered to donate a site for an Anglican church in Honolulu and \$1,000 a year for a clergyman's services. With the aid of several prominent English churchmen, Manley Hopkins, the Hawaii consul at London, formed a missionary bishopric with the Reverend Thomas Nettleship Staley as its head. Bishop Staley arrived on October 11, 1862. Queen Emma was baptized two weeks later, and the royal couple were confirmed as members of the newly chartered Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church. In December the high chief Kalakaua was confirmed. With the addition of key Anglican leaders in the kingdom and Staley's position in the

Privy Council, the political power of the American missionaries was visibly threatened.<sup>34</sup>

King Alexander Liholiho himself translated the *Book of Common Prayer* into Hawaiian. Staley, to the disgust and dismay of the puritanical Congregationalists, encouraged the revival of hula dancing and chanting at the funerals of chiefs. The theatricality, the chanted liturgy, the rich vestments of the clergy, as well as pictures on the walls of the church were said to have satisfied the native Hawaiians' inhibited desire for celebration and pageantry.<sup>35</sup>

When King Alexander Liholiho died on November 30, 1863, at the age of twenty-nine, and again when Princess Victoria Kamamalu died in 1866, their respective funerals were sufficiently elaborate and loud with the laments of natives to please the most traditional Hawaiian.<sup>36</sup>

However, Bishop Staley was not able to please the White members of his congregation in matters of doctrine and practice. In May 1870 he resigned. The clergy in England, his superiors, considered turning the mission over to the American Episcopalians (Anglicans before the American Revolution of 1776). Queen Emma fought the move and won.<sup>37</sup>

#### *The first Anglican schools*

It was Bishop Staley who opened separate church schools for boys and girls at the request of King Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho) and Queen Emma to train young Hawaiians for leadership roles in the government. They desired that the schools should provide their young ones with "the highest English culture and religious training from childhood; otherwise they cannot take their share in their own government and uphold the ideals therein as the king desires. At present there are no Hawaiians occupying high office in the government of the country."<sup>38</sup>

Both schools were conducted in English. The king contributed \$4,000 for the erection of a building for the Female Industrial Boarding School at Kaalaa at the entrance of Pauoa Valley. Under the patronage of Queen Emma, the school was advertised in the *Polynesian* on November 8, 1862, as a family boarding and industrial school that emphasized the domestic arts and offered French, German, music, dancing, and embroidery at extra cost. The tuition was \$25 a term for girls under twelve. Mrs. George Mason was its head.

The boys' school, St. Alban's College, was opened on January 12, 1863, under the charge of Father George Mason. The king donated \$1,100 for its buildings.<sup>39</sup> Its offerings included "Latin, Greek, Euclid, algebra, and the usual branches of an English education, at the tuition rate of twelve dollars a quarter." In 1863 it had twenty boarding and several day students and was doing so well that a schoolmaster from England was sent for to assist Father Mason.

In that same year Father Mason was sent to Lahaina, Maui, to build up a school named Luaehu, started in 1863 by the Reverend William R. Scott, who had returned to Eng-

land because of failing health. Iolani School recognizes the establishment of Luaehu School by Reverend Scott as the beginning of Iolani School.<sup>40</sup> Luaehu School was popularly referred to as the Reverend George Mason's School.<sup>41</sup> At St. Alban's in Honolulu, changes were taking place in the meantime. In 1864 Mr. Edmund Ibbotson, who had been in charge of the Cathedral Grammar School, a charity school for "poor, outcast Hawaiian boys," became the head of St. Alban's. He remained in that capacity until 1866, when Mr. Turner succeeded him. St. Alban's must have encountered difficulties, for in 1868 it had only sixteen scholars while Luaehu had eighteen. In March 1868 the stronger Luaehu was merged with St. Alban's.<sup>42</sup>

#### *The role of Bishop Alfred Willis*

In 1872, Bishop Alfred Willis arrived to take charge of the mission, which was renamed the Anglican Church of Hawaii. (It was not until 1902 that the American Episcopal Church assumed jurisdiction over the Anglican Church in Hawai'i.) He stayed thirty years and was the bishop who established Iolani School. Upon his arrival, Bishop Willis promptly purchased land on Bates Street in Nuuanu Valley for the school. He considered it a continuation of the combined schools at Pauoa and named it Iolani College, a name that King Kamehameha V had already applied to St. Alban's.<sup>43</sup>

St. Alban's had been intended for haole (White) boys, but Iolani College was intended for Hawaiians and part Hawaiians. In 1876 St. Alban's had thirty-four boys and one girl; Iolani also had thirty-five students. In 1887 St. Alban's closed.<sup>44</sup> By 1878 Iolani had only fifty-eight boys. With Bishop Willis as the headmaster, assisted by several instructors from England, this private school grew slowly, as it was suffering from dissension within the church and competition with Oahu College. To enlarge its enrollment, it admitted Chinese boys, among them Sun Yat-sen, all of whom had little or no previous schooling in the English language.

#### *School life on Bates Street*

In September 1879, when Sun entered Iolani, known then as Bishop's School, he was one of ten Chinese boys there.<sup>45</sup> The first two who registered were Tong Phong, son of Tong Ching, one of four partners of the wealthy Sing Chong Company, and Lee Butt, brother-in-law of Chun Afong, the most notable Chinese in the early history of the Chinese in Hawai'i (see article by Robert Paul Dye in this volume). Two weeks after school opened, Sun Tai Cheong (Di Xiang), as Sun was familiarly known to his schoolmates, was enrolled under the name Tai Chu.<sup>46</sup> Already Chung Kun Ai had registered by himself. Admitted later were John Akana, Chun Mun-Him, Lee Kam-Lung, Leong Neg, Leong Bun, and Look Lee.

Chung Kun Ai describes the difficult adjustment for those who understood neither English nor Hawaiian well.

They were hard pressed to keep up. Mr. Merrill, their spelling teacher, would spank them on the palm three times with his ivory ruler when they missed three words. The punishment was more severe for five mistakes or more. In the study hall at night, no one dared to make a noise. Once in bed, no one spoke. Bishop Willis visited the dormitory at unexpected hours of the night and very paternally covered the boys with a blanket if it had been kicked off.<sup>47</sup>

The six boarders had their fun, swimming at Kapena Falls, staying there two or three hours; eating mangoes fallen from the property next door; and enjoying food sent by doting parents. They had chores to do, too, like planting vegetables and lugging water for indoor use.

A more detailed description of school life on the Bates Street campus between 1872 and 1902 is given in the *Hawaiian Church Chronicle* of September 1912.<sup>48</sup>

A Day at Iolani began at 5:30 o'clock A.M. with the ringing of a bell, to this duty a boy was assigned for a week. After an early rising the boys walked up to Alekoki or Kapena for a morning plunge. This was before we got water from the government main. At 6:30 the boys were lined up on the verandah of the dormitory and there each name was called out; afterwards the boys filed into the chapel; then after chapel for half an hour the boys were detailed to clean up the different places, to which a number of boys were assigned. Breakfast followed at 7:30. 8:15 to 9 A.M. drill was held on Mondays and Fridays, from 8:15 to 9 A.M. singing lessons on Tuesdays and Thursdays; from 9 to 11:45 A.M. was taken up with our studies. Lunch at 12; school again from 1 till 2; from 3:45 till 4 P.M. each day was set aside for manual labor consisting of gardening, working in the printing office, carpenter shop and general cleaning up of the premises. At 4:15 the bell rang again to discontinue work and go up to Kapena to bathe.

We sat down to supper at 5:30, chapel again at 6:30. Then study from 7 till 9, when everyone retired and lights were ordered out by 9:20.

The buildings consisted of the bishop's house, dormitory, schoolhouse, carpenter shop, dining hall, chapel, hospital, printing office, bathhouse, and three cottages. The printing office turned out a good deal of the church and school printing. The first hymn books and Hawaiian catechism and other religious publications were printed at Iolani. Mr. Meheula was quite prominent in the printing office.

Since Iolani was primarily a religious institution, it was natural that the religious education of its students was the church's main concern. "Daily attendance at morning and evening prayer was a required routine. . . . The Bishop concerned himself with the instruction of his pupils in Christian doctrine. He inculcated in them a critical attitude toward superstition and idolatry. . . . Every reasonable persuasion was brought to bear on the boys to present themselves for baptism."<sup>49</sup>

Chung Kun Ai tells about the bishop's hiring of a young Chinese evangelist, Wong Shak-Yen, for six dollars a month, plus the chance to study English as a day student, to teach the boarders the Bible in the afternoon on the school verandah. However, Wong evidently bored them to the point

where he had to give up evangelizing and keep their attention by telling them Chinese stories instead.<sup>50</sup>

All boarders were required to go to church on Sunday.<sup>51</sup> The services were held in the procathedral, a temporary wooden structure that would not be replaced with the present magnificent St. Andrew's Cathedral until 1886. The boys marched from Bates Street down Nuuanu Street to Beretania, turned left to Fort Street, then walked on to Emma Street, where the procathedral was located. An earlier service was held in Hawaiian followed by the English service at 11:00, which the boys attended. They sat in assigned pews to the right of the aisle. After the service they marched back to Bates Street.

Sun was a conscientious student and on July 27, 1882, was presented upon his graduation with the second prize for excellence in English grammar by King Kalakaua himself. The prize was an English book about China. Queen Emma and Princess Liliuokalani were also present.<sup>52</sup>

Sun Yat-sen's three years at Iolani introduced him to Western learning. They also "led him to want more western education—more than that required to assist in his brother's business," comments biographer Harold Schiffrin.<sup>53</sup> By this time Sun was also seeking his brother's permission to become baptized. Sun Mei, being a traditionalist, refused.

#### ST. LOUIS COLLEGE: A CATHOLIC INSTITUTION

Where was the younger Sun, with his strong Christian predilection, to go to continue his studies?

In 1882 two other private Christian schools existed, St. Louis College and Oahu College. Two questions plague the historian: Did Sun attend both, or just Oahu College, or neither? What substantiation is there of his studies at either school?

Jen Yu-wen, in a short statement—"Then, he transferred to the St. Louis College (of high standing)"—seems to accept his attendance there as an established fact.<sup>54</sup> Paul Linebarger's study of Sun contains a more credible statement based on his personal interviews: "After graduation from the Bishop's School with first honors, he attended to the business affairs of his brother for a half year, after which he attended a higher school in Honolulu called St. Louis School. Here he studied for a term, finally pursuing his studies in the Hawaii College."<sup>55</sup> By "Hawaii College" Linebarger no doubt meant Oahu College. John C. H. Wu also claims that Sun "was permitted in the winter of 1882, to enter St. Louis College in Honolulu, where he studied for a semester."<sup>56</sup>

Records of the early history of St. Louis College are lacking. No mention of Sun's presence there can be found. The question of whether Sun actually matriculated at St. Louis is tied to the question of when he subsequently attended Oahu College. It is also related to other questions: Were the

Chinese in Hawai'i early converts to Catholicism? How was Catholicism regarded in the Hawaiian Kingdom? Were Catholic schools successful in proselytizing through their offer of educational opportunities?

#### *Catholicism in Hawai'i*

Catholicism was the target of a series of religious conflicts with political ramifications. The arrival of the first French missionaries to Honolulu in July 1827 exacerbated an already volatile political situation.<sup>57</sup> They were not welcome as no one had cleared the way for their presence. They landed without permission and Governor Boki ordered that they be put back on board their ship, but in his absence they were later left ashore.

The Congregationalists were visibly upset by the intrusion of the very establishment from whose authority the Protestant revolt had freed them. The Catholics were accused of idolatry because of their statuary, but Hawaiians and Chinese found no difference between one *kii* (idol) and another, be it heathen or Catholic.<sup>58</sup> Hence, despite opposition, the Catholic Church attracted members. Under the constitution established in 1840, which guaranteed freedom of religion, all sides managed to coexist, though not without controversy.

The 1840s were good years for both Congregationalists and Catholics. In 1841, as has been stated, the Congregationalists voted funds for the establishment of Oahu College. In 1842 the fifth Kawaiahaeo Church, its present edifice, was completed. In 1843 the Catholics built their beautiful Lady of Peace Cathedral, the only church building in central downtown Honolulu easily accessible to Chinatown residents for both personal and corporate worship. In 1846 the Catholics organized Ahuimanu, a school in Ahuimanu Valley on the windward side of Oahu. In its best years, 1864–65, it had fifty students.<sup>59</sup>

Like other Christians, the Catholics sought to evangelize through formal educational institutions. In 1880 Father W. J. Larkin, an Irish priest, arrived in Hawai'i and was given \$10,000 to start St. Louis, taking over Ahuimanu as a boys' school.<sup>60</sup> The school was named in honor of the patron saint of Bishop Louis Maigret, head of the Catholic Church in the Islands.

#### *St. Louis College at the Stonehouse*

St. Louis College began in the Stonehouse at 91 Beretania Street, the site at three separate periods for the three schools that Sun was said to have attended. It was a coral house situated next to Washington Place and had been erected in 1846 on land belonging to the king as a residence for the Reverend William Richards, who had been appointed to the newly created office of minister of public instruction. He lived there until he died in November 1847. The Reverend Richard Armstrong was appointed as his successor on June 10, 1848.

He made arrangements to purchase the house, agreeing to pay for it in seven years.

In 1843, when the Armstrongs were living in the parsonage, an adobe house on the premises of Kawaiahaeo Church, Admiral Sir Richard Thomas, who came to restore the independence of the kingdom wrested from the Hawaiians by British Consul Richard Charlton and his supporters, was a frequent guest. He was fond of their children and sent them "many pleasant tokens of his remembrance." On Restoration Day, July 31, 1848, Reverend Armstrong named the coral building "Stonehouse" after the residence of Admiral Thomas in England.<sup>61</sup>

The lot extended from Beretania Street *mauka* (mountainward) through a portion sold by Mrs. Armstrong in 1867 to the Sisters of Holy Trinity when they founded St. Andrew's Priory. In 1880 Mrs. Armstrong sold the Stonehouse property to the Roman Catholics to be used as a boys' school; Ahuimanu on the windward side of the island was probably too far away to attract students.

In that year Father Larkin placed an announcement in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* that "the College of St. Louis, an Hawaiian Commercial and Business Academy, offering Classical, Scientific and Commercial courses," also offered courses in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, and Italian. Moreover, an evening session offered adults "theoretical and practical knowledge of commercial and business transactions."<sup>62</sup> Sun Yat-sen was still attending Iolani at Bates Street when St. Louis opened at the Stonehouse. Since Iolani offered no courses in business, Sun Mei might have considered the practicality of his brother's continuing to study subjects beneficial to his own expanding interests by entering St. Louis after graduation.

The school opened on January 20, 1881, with twenty-five students enrolled.<sup>63</sup> Father Larkin was assisted by two professors, Messrs. Nichols and Popovich. However, his tenure was brief, for he was forced to leave because a structure he had built on the premises caught on fire and a young Hawaiian was killed. Besides, the father of the mission distrusted him, as he seemed to be "aspiring to become Vicar Apostolic of Hawaii through the influence of King Kalakaua; who, on his tour around the world, was to visit the Holy See."<sup>64</sup>

Father Clement Evard succeeded him. As the need for a fresh start was evident, an effort was made to secure the aid of some religious teaching order. Father Leonard Fouresnel, the vice provincial of the mission, left on March 13, 1882, for the mainland and was able to secure the services of the Brothers of Mary, or Marianists.<sup>65</sup>

#### *The Nuuanu Stream site*

The mission bought a lot on the Ewa (west) side of Nuuanu Stream in June 1882 and laid the cornerstone of the new St. Louis College on July 3. On September 18, Father Clement opened the school with its new buildings. He was assisted

by Father Hubert Stappers, the last director of Ahuimanu College, and two lay professors, Messrs. Donnelly and Richard Stewart.

It is very possible that Sun may have entered St. Louis that September. It has been said that he spent half a year with his brother in Kula and studied a semester in the winter of 1882 at St. Louis. I doubt that he could have lived six months in Kula without becoming bored and in constant conflict with his brother over his Christian leanings. However, he may have entered St. Louis after September.

Since the new St. Louis College was situated across the river from the busy heart of Chinatown with prospects for study in both commercial and academic subjects, it must have been attractive to young Chinese who could afford to attend. Very appealing also was the news that eight brothers of the Society of Mary would be arriving in 1883, three of them to take charge of St. Anthony's School in Wailuku, Maui, and five to teach at St. Louis. Their arrival did increase the enrollment dramatically. Over a hundred enrolled on September 19, 1883. In two weeks, fifty more were added. By 1885 there were 283 day scholars and 47 boarders.<sup>66</sup> However, it must be noted that this rapid growth occurred after Sun had returned to China.

Therefore, if Sun did attend St. Louis for a term or a semester in 1882, he probably found the many academic offerings mere statements of hope, for the standard of the new students was no doubt very low. Chanting, kneeling, genuflecting, and making the sign of the cross would have reminded him of the Anglican church. At Iolani he had learned at least to read the English liturgy in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but the Latin of the missal was totally foreign to him. And what would he have made of the statues of the saints? Were they not a form of idols? Probably, like most Chinese, Sun would have respected the Marianist brothers for their monastic life, for in that respect they seemed much like the Buddhist and Taoist monks in China. All in all, though, he needed more challenge to stimulate his eager mind, which may have sought, even at his young age, to learn of Western attributes that would help his country and people.

#### OAHU COLLEGE AND ITS EXPANSION

Fortunately for Sun, he was finally given the opportunity to attend the school of his choice, the prestigious Oahu College (Punahou School). Su De-Yong cites Dr. Sun's own words of pride when he entered Oahu College after three years at Iolani: "It was the island's most advanced institution of learning."<sup>67</sup> The school was first named Punahou as it was situated on a slope of a hill where Ka Punahou, the New Spring, bubbled forth into a pool. In 1859 the name was officially changed to Oahu College.<sup>68</sup>

By a stroke of fortune, when St. Louis decided to move in 1882 the trustees of Oahu College were looking for a site

to expand their preparatory department. They found the Stonehouse property perfectly suited to their purposes. This location suited Sun too. It was near Chinatown and close to the procathedral where he had attended Sunday services for three years.

His schooling at Iolani had served him well. He was adequately prepared for the entrance examination. Also fortunately for him, Punahou, which had been established in 1841 for the children of ABCFM missionaries, was opened in 1853 to scholars from the whole community. In 1855, the ABCFM began to withdraw its direct support of Oahu College.<sup>69</sup> The control of the school's estate was transferred to the local board of trustees. It was no longer a missionary institution. It became an endowed private school that included a secondary curriculum. The school attracted more and more students from the community with its very high standards for college preparation.

In 1881, at the fortieth-anniversary celebration of the school, a public appeal was made to provide for a professorship of natural science and for new buildings.<sup>70</sup> President William L. Jones expressed the need for Punahou to meet the changing times in a speech. His appeal was so successful that the trustees moved to purchase the Armstrong premises at the head of Richards Street from the Roman Catholic Mission for the Punahou preparatory school.

On December 1, 1882, a two-column article in the *Friend* stated the purpose and plans for the preparatory school and announced the purchase and cost of the property.<sup>71</sup>

The Trustees have long been prospecting for a suitable site upon which to erect a preparatory school building in the city, which would accommodate valley as well as town. They have finally secured the Armstrong premises, with the design of commencing a department preparatory to the college. Their desire is to raise the grade of the college, and for this purpose to be more strict in regard to the terms of admission. Other objects they also have in view to meet the wants of the increasing foreign population of the islands. In former years our education standard has been higher and better than that of schools in many parts of the world. If our young people go abroad we are determined, the reason shall not be, that they cannot obtain a good and finished education in the islands.

The article reported on the very sound financial condition of the college. It had an endowment of \$19,000 invested in the United States, another endowment of \$21,642 invested in Hawai'i, a building fund of \$14,382, and the sum of \$21,400 realized from the sale of pastureland. The decision was made to transfer \$10,000 from the \$21,400 for the purchase of the Armstrong premises.

The property included the Stonehouse, or Stone Hall. It was a very pleasant area, with a garden in front where a rubber tree grew among tall shade trees. A traveler's palm stood near a fern grotto built by the Catholics to enshrine a statue of the Madonna. Maidenhair fern lined it and drooped down the sides of the grotto's cool fountain. There the girls sat and ate their lunches.

The open backyard was the boys' playground. At the farther end was a fenced-off paddock for the saddle horses of students who rode to school. For exercise there were gymnastic bars and rings. Sounds of hula music and drumming emanated from Washington Place, home of Liliuokalani, next door to the school.<sup>72</sup>

#### *The preparatory school*

On January 15, 1883, the preparatory school opened, and Sun, registered as Tai Chu, is believed to have been one of the fifty students who were lined up in front of the two-story building to march upstairs into the two classrooms.<sup>73</sup> Sun was probably as excited as the other students, most of whom "were entering school for the first time." The textbooks for the first-year students were "Robinson's *Practical Arithmetic*, Cornell's *Geography*, and *English Grammar*, and Barne's *History of the United States*."<sup>74</sup>

Their principal was Miss Lulu Moore. Her assistant was a Miss Storrs, "bonny, rose-cheeked," whom the children must have loved and who won the heart of a Mr. F. J. Lowrey, who courted her at noon recess. She taught for only a year. On the faculty were also three other female teachers, Augusta Berger (Mrs. W. M. Graham), May Baldwin (Mrs. D. B. Murdock), and Mary Alexander. They walked home after school, the first two to Makiki Street and the other to Punahou Street, along Beretania Street, with its lovely homes and gardens to enjoy on the way. The children left too, Sun probably to Chinatown and the others to mansions in Nuuanu and other residential areas of the well-to-do.

To be in a coeducational school and be taught by cheerful but strict females must have been an eye-opening experience for Sun. In 1914, three years after the success of the Revolution, his decision to divorce his village wife to marry Song Qingling must have been influenced to some degree by this brief encounter with American girls and women. They may have left an indelible impression of the delight in their company that was missing in his Cuiheng village school.

Sun's studies must have kept him on his toes. For admission to the first-year preparatory course, he had been examined in "Arithmetic, as far as Fractions; in Geography, on North America, and to read with ease in Wilson's Fourth Reader."<sup>75</sup> He no doubt passed with ease and so was placed in the course with thirty others. Listed as Tai Chu, he was one of three Chinese students, the others being Chung Lee and Hong Tong.

The preparatory course was made up of first- and second-year students.<sup>76</sup> After completing this course, a student would be admitted to academic courses—junior, junior-middle, senior-middle, and senior—and finally permitted to take the classical courses, which ranged from the first year to the fourth. To advance, "candidates for admission to the Academic Course must have finished all the studies in the Preparatory Course." There was, however, great flexibility and

adjustment to individual progress. Besides the prescribed courses of study, preparatory students also had "General Exercises," that is, "Reading, Spelling, Penmanship, Composition, Declamations, Class Instruction in Drawing and Vocal Music throughout the Course."<sup>77</sup>

As further evidence of the high standards of Oahu College, the *Punahou School Directory* shows that although the institution first opened its doors for instruction on July 11, 1841 there were only six graduates by 1878. From that date on, no class received graduation diplomas until 1881, when six graduated. In 1882, another six graduated. In 1883, the year Sun was there, only three received diplomas.<sup>78</sup>

The school year was divided into three terms: fall from September to December, with a vacation of two weeks; winter from January to March, with a vacation of two weeks; and summer from April to June, with graduation exercises in July. At the end of the first and second terms examinations were held. The final examination of the school year took three days.

#### *Evidence of Sun's enrollment*

If Sun entered in January, he was in Oahu College for the winter and summer terms of the school year 1882–83. The only other evidence of his presence under the name Tai Chu is found in the treasury ledger under the date June 19, 1883. It was for payment of \$55.00 "to Sundries . . . By Cash." Tuition was \$1.00 a week, or \$12.00 for a twelve-week term. Sun must have paid about \$24.00 for his two terms in the college.<sup>79</sup>

It is strange that he is not listed as Tai Chu in any of the directories or catalogues, but as Tai Chock, a name that cannot so far be substantiated by other sources, although like all Chinese, Sun had several names and took on a variety of pseudonyms after he began his revolutionary activities. Since Tai Chu is not in any official listing and Tai Chock was not listed among the first-year preparatory course students, it is assumed that they are one and the same person. In the catalog of 1891 and the lists of 1841–1906, he is listed as "Tai Chock China" for the school year of 1882–83. In the college directories of 1841–1916 and 1841–1935 and the Punahou directory of 1841–1961, he is also listed as "Tai Chock 1882–3."<sup>80</sup>

In three instances, the letter "a" listed after his name meant that he was a student at the academy. This suggests the possibility that he had advanced so quickly that he was promoted to academic courses. Another explanation hinges on the fact that the preparatory department was not open until January 1883 and all students before the school year of 1883–84 were still listed as "academy" students. The letter "o" stood for Oahu College and applied to all students of all departments until 1934, when the school's name was legally changed to Punahou School.<sup>81</sup> Sun was so listed in the directory of 1841–1935.

All in all, Sun Yat-sen must have found his two terms at Oahu College stimulating and enjoyable. He was freer as a day student than as a boarder in a strict Christian environment. Although he was again in a Christian institution, the emphasis was primarily on academic preparation for study at the best universities on the East Coast. He must have been amazed at the brilliance of the girls, who could match the boys in intellectual achievement. The three graduates in 1883 were all girls.

Sun must also have observed that the Americans were generous in sharing with him fine examples of Christian love and democracy at work. His own ideals were strongly reinforced by the discipline required of him. In the "Rules and Regulations of Oahu as amended on September 17, 1867," Christian character training was not neglected: "The exercise of the Institution shall be opened daily by the reading of the Scriptures and prayer. . . . There shall be a Biblical recitation once a week throughout the course. . . . No student habitually guilty of using profane or obscene language, or of lying, stealing or other openly immoral conduct, or of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall continue a member of the Institution."<sup>82</sup>

In 1901, the preparatory school was moved to the Punahou campus. The Beretania Street property was rented in 1902 to Iolani School, which began negotiations for its purchase in 1903.<sup>83</sup>

What would have happened if Sun had not pressed to be baptized and if Sun Mei had been willing to support him through Oahu College? Would Sun Mei have been willing to forego his brother's assistance in building up his wealth and allow him to purchase higher education at an eastern school, such as Harvard or Yale?

Speculation aside, Sun Yat-sen forced his brother's hand by insisting on baptism until his brother had no recourse but to give up his responsibility and concern for the young rebel and send him back to his father to control. Thus his school days in Honolulu ended. Sun told Linebarger that "among the treasured books Sun carried back with him from Honolulu to China was the Bible."<sup>84</sup>

## HONG XIUQUAN II

When Sun Yat-sen returned to the village, he and his friend Lu Hou-dong desecrated the temple idols.<sup>85</sup> Later in 1884, while a student in Hong Kong, he and his Iolani classmate Tong Phong were baptized by an American Congregationalist missionary, Dr. Charles Hager.<sup>86</sup> Besides Dr. Hager, two Chinese Christian ministers, Qu Feng-zhi and Wang Yu-chu, were instrumental in bringing about Sun's bold commitment to Jesus Christ. Sun was baptized with the name Ri-xin (which in Cantonese is pronounced Yat-Sun), meaning "new day." Dr. Hager later changed this name to the homophonic characters that were pronounced Yat-sen in Cantonese and Yi-xian in Mandarin.<sup>87</sup> These new characters combined

the meanings of "free, extraordinary" and "immortal spirit," which aptly described the character and aspirations of the young convert. This romanized version of his new name, Sun Yat-sen, became the accepted one by which he became known internationally.

In 1894, Sun returned to Hawai'i to establish the Xing Chong Hui, his first revolutionary society. Among its founders were many Christians, one of them being C. K. Ai, his fellow student at Iolani.<sup>88</sup> Later on, his marriage to Song Qingling, a Christian, in 1914, was a scandalous break from the old marriage customs he had been brought up with. His first wife, however, very graciously sanctioned the divorce and his remarriage, being present at the wedding ceremony. She herself became a devout Christian.<sup>89</sup>

## DEATH OF A CHRISTIAN

At Sun's death, a Christian memorial service was held. Dr. H. H. Kung, his brother-in-law, was informed in a letter from the Reverend Logan R. Roots, bishop of Hankow's American Episcopal Church, that Dr. Sun had requested in a low voice: "I want it to be known that I die a Christian."<sup>90</sup> His widow, Song Qingling, and son, Dr. Sun Fo (Sun Ke), decided on a Christian funeral service, but their wishes were questioned by some of Dr. Sun's influential anti-Christian followers, who "linked the Christian religion in China with imperialism." The first service was thus a private one, held in the great hall of the Peking Union Medical College on March 19, 1925. It was conducted by the Reverend Timothy Lew of Yenching University, one of the Protestant colleges established in Asia by the United Board of Christian Colleges of the United States of America.<sup>91</sup>

Professor L. Carrington Goodrich, who was one of the double male quartet singers at the service, described the service in his diary as follows:<sup>92</sup>

As the choir filed down the chapel corridor to the bower of flowers by the altar the place was hushed save for the tones of the preacher reading in Chinese from the Scriptures. The casket draped in a Kuo Min Tang flag was placed below the dais beneath the flowers and under a large picture of Dr. Sun, showing him clad in the simple garb of a commoner. Then followed prayer by Dr. Tsu, a simple testimony by Dr. Lew, songs by the congregation, by a contralto soloist, and by a double male quartet. All these were effective enough, but the remarkable features of the service were the addresses of the Hon. George Hsu, former minister of justice, and Mr. K'ung Hsiang-hsi [Dr. H. H. Kung], whose wife is the sister of Madame Sun, and who has long been connected with Christian institutions in China. . . .

Mr. Hsu in limpid Mandarin outlined the beliefs of his friend, and in one quotation after another showed how deeply Sun had been actuated by the spirit and teachings of Christ. "He was a revolutionist; so am I." "He came to save the poor, and the unfortunate, and those in bondage. So have I also tried to do." "He decried the traditions maintained by the lawmakers of Judea, and plead for universal brotherhood. It is because of similar shackles that bind China that I have made my crusade. It is

because the organized Church has been so divided and divisive that I have long given up my membership in the church, but I believe in Christ and his teachings and have endeavored to make them my own." Mr. K'ung was more brief, but he was equally outspoken: "Just a day or so before his death Dr. Sun called me to his bedside, and taking both my hands in his, said, "You're a Christian and so am I. I wish to tell you something I have always felt which you will understand. Just as Christ was sent by God to the world, so also did God send me."

It had not been easy to be a Christian, to compromise with compatriots who had ties to many old practices that he himself deplored, or to join one denomination in preference to another. Nevertheless, he was guided by ideals of brotherhood quoted on both sides of the ocean and expressed by the Confucian saying often quoted by the Congregationalists of Hawai'i, "Si hai zhi nei jie xiong di ye" ("Within the four seas all men are brothers"). His calligraphy expressed the same hopes for mankind: *Bo ai* (universal love) and *Tien xia wei gong* ("The world belongs to the people").

#### THE TEST OF FAITH

In analyzing the forces at work in shaping the history of modern China, Immanuel C. Y. Hsu made a statement about the Chinese that summarizes Dr. Sun's own search for direction. He wrote: "They were faced with the agonizing problem of deciding how much of the old China must be discarded and how much of the modern West must be accepted for China to exist and win a respectable place in the community of nations."<sup>93</sup> Sun knew what he wanted for China. He died without realizing his goal of a strong, democratic, peaceful China with equal opportunities for all his countrymen. But he remains the invisible leader of both Taiwan and mainland Chinese because he never gave up the struggle and had the resources to nourish his faith despite obstacles too impregnable to overcome in his lifetime. His charisma was inborn and sustained by spiritual depths he himself had discovered in his four years as a student in Christian schools in Hawai'i. The adolescent Sun came to the Islands at a period of missionary zeal. One might ponder, what if he had not come then—or at all?

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