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The founding and development of the Palolo Chinese Home—

Liu, Xin, Ph.D.
University of Hawai‘i, 1990
THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALOLO CHINESE HOME--1917-1988:

A CASE STUDY OF CHINESE INTEGRATION IN HAWAII

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

AMERICAN STUDIES

DECEMBER 1990

By

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This dissertation is dedicated

to

Yu De Yuan
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This dissertation is to examine Chinese immigrant integration into the polyethnic society of Hawaii through a case study of the historical and contemporary Palolo Chinese Home. The Home was started in Honolulu in 1917 as a care home for indigent and old single male Chinese due to the combined efforts both by local Chinese and the host society. The writing will examine the social and historical circumstances enabling the traditional Chinese value of filial piety to be incorporated in an American eleemosynary institution. It will review the development of the Home from 1917 to the 1970s, to study how the Home had become more and more Americanized structurally due to the impact of the host culture, the impact of the charitable organization and the U.S. national policy towards the aged in particular; whereas culturally the residents had kept many things Chinese. The dissertation concludes with an examination of the contemporary situation and the changes in the Home's cultural blends. I conducted my research into the Home's contemporary characteristics during four months of intensive fieldwork, observing the residents and participating in all the activities. Taking the Palolo Chinese Home as a specific case, it is expected that this writing shall shed some light on the integration of a minority Chinese culture into American society.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Thesis and a Review of the Literature

This dissertation examines Chinese immigrant integration into the polyethnic society of Hawaii through a case study of the historical and contemporary Palolo Chinese Home, a care home founded in 1917 in Honolulu for aged Chinese men.

The issue of immigrant integration has been studied by many scholars, and one of the key concepts related to this issue is assimilation. Definitions of assimilation are various. Zanden defines it as "the fusing together of peoples with diverse beliefs and behavior patterns within a common unity or culture."1 Borrie states that "assimilation is a psychological, socio-economic and cultural process resulting in the progressive attenuation of differences between the behavior of immigrants and nationals within the social life of a given country."2 Underlying most definitions of assimilation are basically two related assumptions. First, assimilation is conceptualized as a continuum along which an immigrant or an immigrant group moves from an unassimilated to a completely assimilated position. Secondly, assimilation involves progressive replacement. At one end of the continuum are the newly arrived immigrant with their own cultural heritage, social life and group identity; and at the point of destination they have become members of the receiving society, having replaced their own cultural heritage with what has been acquired.
These assumptions imply that there is a "core" in the receiving society. It may be a predominant subgroup with its own subculture and subsociety, such as that postulated in the Anglo-conformity hypothesis; or it may be a culturally homogeneous unit which is the product of the "melting" process. The Melting Pot hypothesis postulates that various subcultures have been melted down into a new cultural entity which serves as the "core." In both cases, the goal for an immigrant is to become undifferentiated from the core culture.  

Until the 1960s, the "melting pot" theme was a favorite in most publications on Hawaii's race relations. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory conducted the major part of the sociological research at the University of Hawaii. It was a direct outgrowth of the research initiated in 1920 when Romanzo Adams came to the University as its first professor of sociology and economics. The central theme of the research program became almost inevitably ethnic relations. Many researchers in this program, such as Professor Andrew Lind, one of the best-known scholars in race relations in Hawaii, and Professor Clarence Glick, author of Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii, were graduates of the University of Chicago where they had studied Robert E. Park's model of assimilation. According to Park, "in relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself." The process involves the coming into contact of different groups, a period of competition followed by a detente (accommodation), and ultimately, assimilation or amalgamation. Because many UH researchers had been Park's students, little wonder that they "found in their researches and showed in their published work that ... immigrant peoples became assimilated according to
the same processes as immigrant groups from Europe in the continental
U.S., ... Thus most works about the Chinese in Hawaii were
strongly influenced by the assimilation theory.

In contrast to the predominant focus on various forms of
assimilation, a smaller number of studies have examined the meaning
and expressions of pluralism. One of the first serious statements
was Horace M. Kallen's, Culture and Democracy in the United States
(1924). According to Kallen, many ethnic groups coexisted within
society but were not assimilated into it. Persisting cultural pluralism
led to a view of the nation not so much as a melting pot as, in Kallen's
term, an orchestra. Each group for him was like a section--strings,
brass, percussion, woodwinds--with its own timbre and tonality.
Together the various ethnic and religious groups provided the harmonies
and dissonances of a vibrant society. Cultural pluralism was, he
believed, a basic characteristic of American life.7

During the 1960s and 1970s several views of ethnic pluralism were
advanced in Hawaii. In 1964, Elizabeth Wittermans wrote her Inter-
Ethnic Relations in a Plural Society. For her

Hawaiian society is pluralistic in terms of its
cultural and religious structure. More than one
language is spoken and taught. Various customs, food
and dress habits, and other cultural elements are
distinguishable as belonging to the cultural heritage
of each community. Religious diversity is great and
often expressed in terms of specific ethnic back-
grounds. Thus there are Japanese as well as Chinese
Buddhist temples and Chinese Christian as well as
Korean Christian churches.8

As for the future, Wittermans believed that evidence pointed towards
further segmentation and a re-emergence of ethnic pride, not towards
greater assimilation as predicted by earlier authors like Romanzo Adams.9

Another scholar who challenged the conception of assimilation was Dr. Lucie Cheng Hirata. In her dissertation entitled "Immigrant Integration In A Polyethnic Society" written in 1971, the author stated:

... given a polyethnic society, the adaptation of immigrants takes on a different pattern. Since there is a lack of an ethnically homogeneous core to serve as the point of reference for immigrants, the concept of assimilation is less applicable than in a situation where a predominant core exists. The assimilation continuum is here reconceptualized as a set of three patterns of integration: intraethnic, interethnic and extraethnic, all of which are stable modes of adaptation. The intraethnic pattern refers to the complete absorption of the immigrant by his ethnic community; the extraethnic pattern refers to complete absorption by a community or communities other than one's own ethnic community; and the interethnic pattern refers to the situation where the immigrant is simultaneously integrated into his own ethnic community and the community or communities of other ethnic groups. (p. 3)

... Each of these patterns may occur on any of the four dimensions or aspects of integration: cultural, secondary relations, primary relations and psychological. (p. 144)10

Almost 20 years have passed since Dr. Hirata wrote her dissertation yet her three patterns of integration remain the most realistic and valid interpretation of the various immigrants' cultural and social life. This study will utilize these three patterns of integration as a guideline in an attempt to interpret the historical and contemporary Palolo Chinese Home.

The history of the Home has not been examined carefully or in detail. Only a few studies have been done on it. Binky Tan's "Role-taking and role-making: an analysis of aged resident behavior in two
changing care homes" (1967) is an account of the Palolo Chinese Home, including its history, structure, organization and relationship to government agencies, individual residents' behavior and beliefs. Other works include Mrs. Lillian Feng's paper "Palolo Chinese Home--An Institution for the Aging in Hawaii," Mei-li Lee Lo's term paper "Palolo Chinese Home," and a report on the Home made by the Honolulu Council of Social Agencies, Palolo Chinese Home Study Committee in 1966. In addition, there are several very short articles about the Home by anonymous authors.

Characteristics of this Study

The Palolo Chinese Home differs from the other Chinese organizations and societies in Hawaii because it is an institution which was founded as a result of the combined efforts of members of both the local Chinese community and the host society. Although it was opened during the same period of time that many local organizations or societies were established, its nature was quite different. Studies of Chinese organizations show that almost all were located in Chinatown and remained quite segregated from the host society. In the early years they served as extended families for the first-generation immigrants, many of whom were single males. The founding of these societies served as an effective coping strategy for the early immigrants to survive the alien environment. More often than not it was taken as evidence of their "unassimilated" ways. The Palolo Chinese Home, however, from its very beginning had a close link with the host society. Because it embodied a different coping strategy,
the study of this institution will add a new dimension to the understand­ing of the immigrant experience in Hawaii.

The Palolo Chinese Home was the first charitable institution in the United States for aged single Chinese men. The fact that it was the first and was located in Honolulu inevitably leads to the issue of the unique experience of the Chinese immigrants in Hawaii in comparison with their counterparts on the U.S. mainland. This requires a consideration of both the cultural integration of Chinese immigrants and Hawaii as a unique regional society within the United States.

Thirdly, this dissertation is a study of immigrants' integration at two different levels: structural and cultural. It deals not only with the founding and development of an institution but also with the lifestyles of its residents. It is an examination of both an institution and of people and their lives.

Fourthly, it focuses both on the past and the present. Many other studies are either historical or contemporary. Historians are interested in the past whereas sociologists and anthropologists tend to focus on the present. In this study, the comparative approach will be employed to provide a link between the Home's past and its present. For instance, a comparison of the early residents of the Home, the majority of whom were first-generation former plantation workers, with the current residents, many of whom are local-born and well-educated, will be made in order to provide readers with a historical understanding of the issue of Chinese immigrants' integration into Hawaiian life.
Fifthly, this study deals with the forgotten history of many early Chinese immigrants who failed to succeed and did not have any relatives to turn to before they died. No relative or friend kept a record of their lives. The Home seems to be the only place where their lives, particularly their last few years, were recorded. Material about these people, neglected in many books on Chinese immigrants in Hawaii, will add a new perspective in understanding the early Chinese immigrants.

Finally, this is a study of a specific group of Chinese immigrants, the aged and institutionalized. What happened to the Chinese outside the Home differed from what happened to its residents. During the 1930s and 1940s when the Chinese on the Island were being "Americanized," for instance, the Palolo Chinese Home remained "Little Chinatown" for its residents. To explain the discrepancy between the Chinese outside and inside of the Home, age is an important differentiating factor. The focus on the aged Chinese, it is hoped, will make the study of immigrants' integration more specific and meaningful.

Methodology

A documentary study and actual fieldwork will be combined in this research. It covers a rather long period of time, and it is not just directed at one particular aspect of integration. In dealing with the history of the Home, extensive use will be made of its files and records as well as the local newspapers, both in Chinese and in English. The actual fieldwork will provide ample data for describing the present Home, and it will rely on personal day-by-day participant observation and interviews conducted at the Home.
Following this introduction, Chapter II deals with the founding of the Home and its early history. Its purpose is to see how certain traditional Chinese cultural values united with contemporary American ones to influence the efforts of members of both the Chinese and the host community in Hawaii to establish this care home facility.

Chapter III traces the history of the Home from the 1920s to the 1970s. It examines the impact of the host culture, including U.S. national policy toward aging, upon the Home and the preservation of things Chinese there. Chapter IV deals with the contemporary Home, its intra-ethnic, interethnic and extraethnic patterns of integration. Finally, Chapter V offers a summary and conclusion.
CHAPTER I--NOTES


CHAPTER II
THE FOUNDING OF THE PALOLO CHINESE HOME

The Palolo Chinese Home, an adult residential care facility, is located in Palolo valley in Honolulu, at 2459 10th Avenue. Its history can be traced back to 1917. At the turn of the twentieth century, many aged and indigent Chinese laborers, shifting for themselves, lived in Honolulu's poor tenement districts. Prominent Chinese businessmen, Christian leaders, and dedicated women of the Chinese Home Committee of the Associated Charities of Hawaii formed the nucleus of a group seeking a home for these men. As a result of the combined efforts of some secular leaders and Christian ministers within the Chinese community, the United Chinese Society, the Associated Charities of Hawaii and the Territorial Legislature, the Palolo Chinese Home was opened in 1920 and the first eight residents moved there. By the end of the year, the Home's population had almost doubled and by 1930, approximately 100 men were being cared for. By 1938, the number had increased to 159 men. After World War II some residents found lodgings with friends or relatives and others returned to China. From then on the population slowly declined, and today there are 40 men and 31 women in residence. Licensed by the State of Hawaii Department of Health as an adult residential care facility, the Palolo Chinese Home is now open to all regardless of race, religion or sex.

This chapter investigates the early history of the Palolo Chinese Home in terms of the social, historical and cultural circumstances under which it was founded. Moreover it will analyze why there was
a need for the institution and how the cultural tradition of filial piety and care for the elderly introduced by the early Chinese immigrants, as well as the charitable values of the host culture at the turn of the century, influenced its establishment. More importantly, the significance of the founding of the Home as it relates to the Chinese immigrants' experience in Hawaii will be examined. The following issues will be raised and discussed: what the Home meant to the unfortunate indigent Chinese in Hawaii, how the role it played in caring for the aged differed from that of local Chinese societies, the significance of the actions of prominent businessmen and Christian ministers of the Chinese community in helping to establish the Home, and the relation between it and the problem of cultural adaptation faced by Chinese immigrants in an alien country.

**Major Factors in the Founding of the Palolo Chinese Home**

To discuss the necessity of establishing a Chinese Old Men's Home (as it was called when it was first founded), we need to examine first the background of the Chinese immigrants to Hawaii in the mid- to late nineteenth century. We shall deal with laborers rather than merchants, for most of the Home's early residents were retired plantation workers.

In nineteenth-century China, the soon-to-be immigrants' opportunities were limited. Their income was often too meager to support their families. Wars made their situation even worse. China in the nineteenth century was torn by wars and the effects of unequal treaties. The Opium Wars of 1839-1840 and 1856-1857 created much chaos in Guangdong province, the southern part of China, and were followed by
the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), which ravaged many communities in southeastern China.

During the same period, disastrous internecine strife between local Punti and Hakka populations in the Guangdong area broke out in 1854 and lasted until 1866. Being fewer in number, the Hakkas were steadily driven off until more than 150,000 perished, and a large number of them wandered about the country homeless.¹ Many of them fled to Macao and Hong Kong, from which they migrated to Formosa, Siam, and Singapore. Some were kidnapped and sent to Peru and Cuba where they were virtually enslaved. It was in this period that many Hakkas came to the mainland U.S. as railroad workers and goldminers and to Hawaii as contract laborers.

Until 1850 there were comparatively few Chinese in Hawaii, and those who did come, it is presumed, came of their own initiative. But the sugar industry was rapidly expanding and its success depended upon an abundant supply of cheap labor. As early as 1850 the question of introducing coolie or contract labor from China for work on the sugar plantations became a matter of public discussion. Such a step was strongly advocated by the Hawaiian Agricultural Society.

As a result of the agitation for a cheap labor supply, the Society engaged Captain John Cass, the commander of the British sailing vessel Thetis, to go to China in search of laborers. He returned in late 1851 or early 1852 with approximately 175 agricultural laborers and 20 domestic servants. They were contracted to work for five years at three dollars a month in addition to their passage, food, clothing, and housing.² This was the beginning of the importation of Chinese contract labor into the Islands.
The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1876, permitting Hawaiian sugar and rice to enter American ports free of duty, brought new prosperity to both the sugar and rice industries in Hawaii. By 1896 Hawaii was exporting seventeen times as much sugar as in 1876 and exports of rice quadrupled over the period 1876 to 1882. The simultaneous expansion of sugar and rice cultivation during this period created an unprecedented demand for laborers and led to a great acceleration of Chinese immigration. During the decade preceding 1876 an annual average of only 130 Chinese landed in Hawaii, but in the period from 1876 to 1887 the number increased to 2,596 per year. ³

Both the planters' policy of recruiting only male Chinese laborers and the attitudes of the Chinese sojourners themselves led to the preponderance of Chinese male immigrants. The cost of importing coolies was fifty dollars per man. Planters favored importing male workers who were willing to come without wives and children, for they were the cheapest source of labor.⁴ The first group of contract laborers brought over by Captain Cass in 1852 was all male. On August 1, 1852, Captain Cass arrived with a second group of 98 men.

After the Civil War in America, there was a renewed appeal for imported laborers due to the new prosperity enjoyed by sugar and rice planters. To meet this need the Hawaiian government sought to facilitate further immigration, but under greater control. A Board of Immigration was organized early in 1865 and the Commissioner of Immigration, Dr. Wilhelm Hillebrand, was sent to Hong Kong to arrange for recruiting about 500 "strong and healthy" Chinese, 20 to 25 percent to be married women.⁵ In 1865, 615 Chinese immigrants came to Hawaii,
including 52 women and three children. However, in 1870 when the government brought in another 188 Chinese, only two of them were women.

According to the 1872 census report, Chinese males already outnumbered Caucasian males. This preponderance of Chinese males was perceived as a threat which led to opposition to further Chinese immigration. Although planters still preferred to bring in Chinese male workers without families, the government began in 1877 the much more costly importation of Portuguese families for plantation labor. In 1877 it also stopped paying subsidies for Chinese male immigration, but it continued for a while to subsidize immigration of Chinese women in the interest of balancing the Chinese population, though without much success.6

Such a lack of women immigrants can in part be explained by the fact that many Chinese men had not married before emigrating. Moreover those who had married in China before they left did not bring their wives and children because of conditions in Chinese villages. If the ablest woman of the family left, there would be no one to take care of those too old or too young to survive. According to Chinese tradition, the wife was expected to carry out her obligations to her husband's parents, especially her mother-in-law. When the husband was away, she had to assume his work too, including pushing the plow through the heavy soil of the rice paddies and carrying loads on hilly paths. Economic factors and traditional obligations thus account for women's reluctance to migrate with their husbands.7
Furthermore, both married and single Chinese male migrants thought of themselves as sojourners. "The essential characteristic of the sojourner," as sociologist Paul C. P. Siu points out, "is that he clings to the culture of his own ethnic group as in contrast to the bicultural complex of the marginal man. Psychologically he is unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn." As contract laborers, their purpose was to make enough money to return to China as soon as they could. They did not intend to make their homes in Hawaii.

As a result of the sojourner attitude and the planters' preference for male laborers, the Chinese immigrant population remained imbalanced with respect to gender for many years. (See Appendix A: "Age and Sex Distribution of Chinese in Hawaii.") The large number of impoverished Chinese male migrants, unaccompanied by family members, became a serious social problem as they reached old age and their goal of either reuniting with their families or getting married in China turned out to be only a dream.

After their contracts expired with the sugar plantations, some Chinese laborers signed up again while others went into vegetable farming, poultry and pig raising, rice plantation work, and other food-producing labor. Others participated in the construction of roads and buildings as laborers, carpenters or painters. There were also Chinese cooks, laundrymen and houseboys. All of these menial occupations, however, paid very little. Moreover, most of the workers felt obliged to remit some of their limited income to China in order to help out struggling family members there. Consequently, it was very difficult for most laborers to accumulate enough money for their future
retirement and financial independence. In some cases, moreover, they could never save up any money because they spent their meager earnings on gambling, opium-smoking or prostitutes. Free from the control of their elders back in China and frustrated by the monotonous and tedious life on the plantations, many easily became the victims of impoverishing habits. As time passed, they became old and many were stricken with illnesses and disabilities that rendered them unable to make a living. Then they would come to depend upon friends, acquaintances or cultural societies to which they belonged. However, this practice oftentimes proved only a temporary remedy.

Hence, by the turn of the century Honolulu had its share of Chinese beggars daily asking for handouts. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported that there were about 31 well-known Chinese beggars in the city, some of them blind and some lame. Some businesses in Chinatown placed an open bag of rice on their doorsteps topped with a rice bowl. Any destitute person could help himself if needed. Some Chinese restaurants also gave their leftovers to beggars making their daily rounds.

Many case histories at the Palolo Chinese Home serve as graphic historical records of the life stories and plight of poor aged Chinese laborers at the turn of the century.

Case 1: (1917)

Mr. L came from China as a plantation laborer 36 years ago (1881). He first went to Hilo plantation and worked there 5 years as a field laborer then went to Puunene Maui and worked there for several months. Then [he] went to a plantation on Kauai and worked there 2 years then came to Honolulu and has been earning a living ever since by doing odd jobs. The
man is having trouble with his eye. He is at present living on School Street near the bridge.* He has a room with a friend by the name of Chee See. This room rents for $2 and the man pays $1. Sometimes when he is unable to pay the $1, his friend pays it for him. He has been earning his living for two years by begging. Mr. Leong Kui at office with the man. He says that he knows this man has no help other what [sic] little work he gets occasionally, but he gets most of his living by begging.

Case 2: (1925) 11

Mr. W. is 63 years old. He came to the Islands about 40 years ago (1885) as a laborer. He worked for several sugar plantations on the Islands. Two years ago he became sick, and was not able to work. He had saved over $200.00 and used all of it. Mr. W. complains of pains in his stomach, and backache.

Mr. W. goes begging for food around the neighborhood, and sometimes friends give him 50 cents.

Mr. W. has been living at the Society (Wong Kong Ha Tong) for 10 months. Previously he had been living at Waialua.

He is single, and has but one brother, C. S. W., who is in China.

These representative cases show that a typical indigent elderly Chinese probably had left his home at about 15 years of age to come to Hawaii as a laborer in the sugar, pineapple or rice fields. Thirty to forty years of his life were spent working on the plantations. By then old, feeble and perhaps sick, he was no longer able to work as he had when he was young. His money was soon spent and he had no more; so he turned to begging and wandered around town looking for friends to help him. He may have lived in an alleyway, a backyard, or in a large empty packing crate. He may have become a scavenger in garbage cans and rubbish boxes. In short, he was desperate for help.
The Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Hawaii of 1917 shows that 220 single men applied for relief that year. Among the more than 20 nationalities, 108 were Chinese who totaled 49.09% of this group. (See Appendix B.) During 1928, 257 aged people were assisted by the Social Service Bureau, the successor to the Associated Charities of Hawaii. (See footnote 24.) The nationality division was as follows: 12

Chinese 78, Korean 57, Puerto Rican 35, Hawaiian 26
Portuguese 23, Japanese 13, Filipino 6, American 6
Others 13.

In 1929, figures illustrating the distribution of 243 Social Service Bureau cases in which old age was a factor show that the aged Chinese remained a serious problem (see Appendix C). This was the major cause for the founding of the Palolo Chinese Home a decade before.

The Impact of the Chinese Culture Upon the Establishment of the Home

Filial piety and respect for the elderly had long been pillars of traditional Chinese society. According to these cultural norms, older people should be respected and indigent ones sheltered. This heritage played an important role in generating responses to the needs of poor elderly Chinese from the Chinese community at the turn of the century and in the founding of the Palolo Chinese Home. It is important, therefore, to examine first the social, economic and cultural bases of this tradition.
Filial piety is a fundamental virtue or norm cherished by the Chinese people who have recognized it as a primary ethical principle for about three thousand years. It involves duties towards both the living and the dead. The former duties include not only obedience to parents but also the responsibility for caring for and providing food for them in their old age. The latter are closely tied in with ancestor worship and providing worthy funerals for the dead as well as offering the proper sacrifices thereafter.\textsuperscript{13} The concept of filial piety was often linked with universal love of mankind by Confucian scholars, who believed that everyone is endowed with that virtue. Since love toward one's own parents is deemed innate, filial piety is viewed as the starting point of universal love. Accordingly, it is not limited to love and respect for one's own parents but extends to members of the whole society. According to Mencius: "The superior man should love his parents and be lovingly disposed to people in general; and so he should also be kind to all living creatures."\textsuperscript{14} He also advised that one should: "Treat with reverence the elders in your family, so that the elders in other families shall be similarly treated; treat with kindness the young in your own family, so that the young in other families shall be similarly treated."\textsuperscript{15}

The correlation between filial piety and universal love of mankind makes the former one of the core ethical concepts of Chinese culture. According to Hsieh Yu-Wei, author of "Filial Piety and Chinese Society": "Chinese society has always been thoroughly under the sway of the ethical concept of filial piety. In other words, it was built upon the basis of filial piety, which has penetrated into every corner of Chinese life and society, permeating all the activities of the
Chinese life and society, permeating all the activities of the Chinese people. Its influence has been all-prevailing. All traditional habits and customs of the people, collectively as well as individually, show the influence of the practice of this ethical principle. It is not surprising that the concept of filial piety pervades not only Confucian texts, but also Chinese nursery stories, folk tales and fiction, textbooks for elementary school pupils, and even daily praise or criticism.

Filial piety and generalized respect for the elderly are not the result of a random cultural choice made thousands of years ago and followed by generations of Chinese. This heritage has its basis in the realities of family and village life in China. Irving Rosow explains why the elderly enjoy a prestigious position in traditional societies, and all seven points which he makes are appropriate to traditional China at the turn of the century.

1) "They own private property (or control it) on which younger people are dependent."

This points out the economic basis of filial piety. In a typical Chinese village, a son inherited land or tenancy rights from his father. As long as the father remained alive, he usually retained the legal right to the land. This economic relationship between fathers and sons contributed greatly to the sense of obligation to one's parents.

2) "Their experience gives them a vital command or monopoly of strategic knowledge of the culture, especially in preliterate societies."

Although traditional China was by no means a preliterate society, not many people were well-educated in rural areas. Older villagers
were usually regarded as valuable guides to customs, beliefs and general knowledge.

3) "They are links to the past in tradition-oriented societies, especially when they are crucial links to the gods in cultures with ancestor worship."

Traditional China is well-known for its focus on the past and ancestor worship. Confucius believed that a country could not achieve peace and harmony unless its people returned to the ways of their ancestors and paid due reverence to them. As a result the Chinese paid special attention to their links with the past by recording family and lineage genealogies stretching back many generations. Carrying on legitimate lines of patrilineal descent served to reinforce the importance of customs and rituals involving filial piety and ancestor worship.

4) "Kinship and the extended family are central to the social organization of the society."

Many villages in Guangdong, where the immigrants to Hawaii came from, were made up of the male members of a single lineage plus their wives and unmarried daughters. The villagers considered the misbehavior of any one person an insult to their common ancestors and the neglect of elderly lineage members, particularly the last survivors of a non-productive branch, a source of shame shared by the entire group. This is why in villages with strong lineage systems a childless elderly person could appeal to the lineage head for some support, such as permission to live in the ancestral hall.
5) "The population clusters in the relatively small, stable communities gemeinschaft societies."

Anonymity in Chinese villages was impossible, for all the villagers knew each other very well. Mistreatment of the elderly could spoil one's reputation for good, for the social climate of opinion strongly supported the principle of filial piety.

6) "The productivity of the economy is low and approaches the ragged edge of starvation."

In the less-developed Chinese rural economy, people were not likely to be excluded from the productive force when they reached old age. Elderly Chinese could gather the droppings of water buffalo, or raise chickens and pigs, or at least frighten birds away from the fields. They could remain useful even in their old age.

7) "There is high mutual dependence among the members of a group."

In many villages in China, much of the farm work, such as the irrigating and draining of rice fields, depends on a great deal of cooperation on the part of the villagers. Character traits like reliability and loyalty were necessary elements in such cooperation. Someone who was good to his parents was thought to possess such qualities; he would tend to be loyal to the community too. Such linkages accounted for the community's interest in filial piety. 17

In summary, an agricultural economy, the kinship structure in Chinese villages, and a reverence for one's ancestors all combined to make filial piety and respect for the elderly one of the oldest and most deeply-rooted cultural traditions in China.
An important evidence of filial piety among early Chinese immigrants to Hawaii and North America is that many immigrant societies (such as district associations, surname societies, and secret societies) developed welfare programs to help the elderly. While old people were taken care of by their children in China, the immigrants to America had to rely on their societies when they reached old age because many of them lacked families or relatives overseas. In fact, some societies were founded partially because of the needs of the indigent elderly. In the 1930s, the president of the Lung Doo Chung Sin Tong, the largest district association in Honolulu, founded in 1891, gave his version of how the society started:

The men who started this society were all merchants and were all living in Honolulu at the time. I think about ten or twelve of them got together and decided that the Lung Doo people ought to have their own society. Before they have society, if a man need kokua ("help"), maybe he go to one of the businessmen in Honolulu who is Lung Doo man, ask him to kokua him. Maybe he from the same village in Lung Doo. By and by the men who give all this kokua have meeting of the people. By that time some of them are getting old, they get sick, they don't want to go the hospital, they have all kinds pilikia ("trouble"). Then they start Lung Doo Chung Sin Tong. This society do all kind welfare work. (Glick, p. 243)

In its bylaws, the association had clearly expressed its welfare obligations in regard to the care of the elderly:

All members of the Lung Doo Benevolent Society in good standing and of good moral character, who are infirm from illness or old age, or indigent or unable to earn their subsistence by labor, shall, upon application to the Society, be furnished with means to return to their homes in China, and with such further assistance as may be needed, provided the Executive Committee of the Society shall so determine ...
If any member shall die within the Territory, the Society will undertake to defray the expense of collecting his remains and ship them back to China. (Glick, pp. 243-244)

As Tin-Yuke Char observes in The Sandalwood Mountains: "The societies in Hawaii were, from the beginning, engaged in peaceful activities of mutual protection and mutual welfare. Their chief concerns were care of the elderly and disabled and burial of the dead." 18

Many other Chinese societies in Hawaii also provided shelter and subsistence for their aged, indigent members. The See Dai Doo Society, another district association organized in 1901, maintained an apartment house for its poor and aged members. There were eight rooms, each with two windows. The furniture provided by the club included a bed, a table, and two chairs for each room. At first, the association also furnished spring and mattress beds, but each time a man died in bed, his bed mattress and springs had to be thrown away. In time, they were too expensive to replace. Later on wooden beds were used. There was one bathroom with a concrete floor. it did not have a tub, just one toilet and a wash basin. Outside on the lanai or balcony provision had been made for an open communal kitchen with stoves made out of kerosene cans. Firewood was used as fuel. Each man had his own personal dishes, pots, and pans, and did his own cooking, washing, and other housekeeping chores. The electricity and water bills were taken care of by the society. Some degree of cooperation existed among the old residents in the apartment house. A relatively able-bodied person might help a sickly person do his cooking. In return, he would be allowed to share the other's food. The residents cooked simple
and economical meals—usually some kind of salt fish and preserved food to go with their daily rice. These poor and aged members were honorary guests at the association's annual luncheon and tea and its nine-course dinner held during the Chinese New Year festival. 19

Inn See Goon, also known as Ah Goon Bak, was a member of the local See Dai Doo Society. During the last seven or eight years of his life he lived on the society's premises. He was provided with a free room, free water, and free electricity. A few months prior to his death, he told people that he wanted to return to his ancestral village. When the necessary amount of money was raised, the old man changed his mind, choosing to remain in Hawaii instead of struggling in poverty-stricken China. His local village relatives kept the money in case he changed his mind. When he became sick, members of the society made arrangements for him to be hospitalized in the City and County Ward and paid part of the expenses. After his death, he was buried in the Manoa Chinese Cemetery, Honolulu's principal Chinese cemetery, instead of in one of the city's plots in Ocean View cemetery. 20

Practically speaking, it was an economical and wise investment for an aged bachelor to join an organization when he was in his youth. At the See Dai Doo, for example, he paid only three dollars upon entrance. The money he paid could be regarded as a kind of old age insurance policy. When he became old, and was incapacitated and unemployed, he could apply to live on the society's premises without worrying about his rent. The society would apply for financial aid on his behalf at one of the local welfare agencies. If he wanted to
return to China, the members would help him out. If he died in Hawaii, the society would take care of some of his funeral and burial expenses if none of his relatives claimed the body. His remains could be subsequently exhumed and sent back for reburial in his ancestral village. Hence his society functioned as a surrogate family for an elderly bachelor.\(^{21}\)

The opening of the Wai Wah Yee Yuen, or Chinese Hospital, in Honolulu in 1897 is another example of concern for the elderly among local Chinese immigrants, who cherished the tradition of filial piety. In 1896, a petition signed by 327 of the leading Chinese inhabitants was submitted to the legislature. It asked for a grant of land "in or near Honolulu" upon which the United Chinese Society could build "a hospital for the care of the sick and also in connection therewith a home for the aged, infirm and helpless Chinese." Land in the Palama section of Honolulu was given and a fund-raising campaign was started. With $1,950 donated by the China Engine Company, the United Chinese Society, and individual Chinese and Caucasian residents, the hospital opened in 1897.\(^{22}\)

Despite the efforts by Chinese societies to take care of their indigent elderly, there were many more needy members than most could afford to support. The societies could only provide bed space for the elderly. They served no meals, nor did they provide medical care. Besides, there were many indigent elderly who did not belong to any of the societies. Some of them became professional beggars; some even committed suicide. Clearly, the problem of the aged Chinese remained very serious, as has been previously discussed.
To solve this problem, the Chinese Men's Committee of the Associated Charities of Hawaii and other humanitarian leaders of the Chinese community met to organize the Chinese Home Committee in 1917. The aim of this committee was to look for a home to house aged Chinese who had no means of support.

Then in 1919, the Legislature refunded $5,000 from the defunct Wai Wah Hospital to the United Chinese Society, which in July, 1920, gave this amount to the Chinese Department of the Associated Charities to be used for the benefit of the aged, indigent Chinese in the Territory. With additional donations of $4,000 from the plantations and $1,500 from the Chinese community, the Home Committee was able that same year to buy the former Gospel Mission Home in Palolo Valley and begin its permanent work of assisting aged indigents.23

The Impact of the Host Country's Culture
Upon the Establishment of the Home

Although the traditional belief in respecting and caring for the elderly served as a vital factor in the establishment of the Palolo Chinese Home, it is important not to neglect the role played by the Christian churches and the social reform movement at the turn of the century in the host country.

The essence of Christianity is said to have been defined by the apostle Paul: "In a word, there are three things that last forever: faith, hope, and love; but the greatest of them all is love." Charity is synonymous with love, for charity, as a theoretical conception, has meant for Christians both possessive and selfless love, as well as favor, grace, mercy, and kindness. In its practical application,
charity denotes the distribution of goods to the poor and the establish­
ment and endowment of such social-welfare institutions as hospitals,
homes for the aged, orphanages, and reformatory institutions. The
charitable work done by Christians is regarded either as evidence of
God's love for man or man's reciprocal love for God expressed in acts
of love for fellow men. 24

The Christian belief in charity had an impact upon the founding
of the Palolo Chinese Home. Many of its early founders, including
members of the Chinese Men's Committee of the Associated Charities,
were Christians. For example, Chung Kun Ai, a well-known businessman
and community leader, played a crucial role in establishing the Home.
In 1879, when he was 14 years old, C. K. Ai was brought from Sai San
village in the Chung Shan district to Kailua Kona on the Big Island,
where his father, Ako, had a store. After a short stay there he was
sent to Honolulu where he was a student at the Fort Street Mission
School, the predecessor of Iolani School, for two years. At 18 he
attended evening classes at the Reverend Frank Damon's school to
further improve his English. His interest in Christianity, which had
begun at the Fort Street School, led to his joining the Fort Street
Chinese Church. He remained a member of this congregation for the
rest of his life, becoming one of its most influential leaders and
largest contributors. As he says in his autobiography, My Seventy-
Nine Years in Hawaii:

The greatest single influence on my personal life has
been the Christian church. Soon after my arrival in
Honolulu from China, while I was a student at Iolani
School, I came under the influence of the Episcopal
Church both at Iolani and at St. Andrew's Cathedral
where we attended Sunday church services. . . . I was
the last (of the "trio," Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and Tong
Phong) to affirm my Christian faith. That was in 1896,
under Dr. Hyde, here in Honolulu. It was not until
two years later that I began to participate actively
in the work of my church, but ever since 1898, I have
tried faithfully to follow in His footsteps.25

During his lifetime C. K. Ai did a great deal of charitable work. He
gave of himself and his possessions in community projects like the
Wai Wah Chinese Hospital, the Palolo Chinese Home, the First Chinese
Church of Christ, the Young Men's Christian Association, the United
Chinese Society, the Chinese and the Honolulu Chambers of Commerce,
the Pan-Pacific Union, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the
Hawaiian Board of Missions. He joined political and other organiza-
tions devoted to gaining some measure of freedom and equality for the
underprivileged peoples of the world. These included ones sponsored
by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Tseng Siu-Heng, and Dr. James Y. C. Yen, leaders
of the famous Chinese Mass Education Movement during the 1920s and
1930s, as well as educational and religious organizations, including
various mission schools, hospitals, and mission stations. He also
supported their individual leaders. The Christian motivation behind
the efforts of C. K. Ai was expressed in his own words:

The good Lord has led me all my life and has granted
me many blessings. What I have achieved at present
comes chiefly from the Grace of Him. Therefore, to
follow His guidance and to serve Him, I have devoted
most of my life to charity work. I strongly believe
in the words, "May I be ever aware, O Lord, that by
serving others I can serve You too." (Author's Notes)

In founding the Palolo Chinese Home, C. K. Ai played a leading
role as recorded in his autobiography:
At that time, my beloved wife was a volunteer worker with the Associated charities, with Miss Margaret Bergen in Charge. As a member of the visiting committee, she had seen a piece of land up in Palolo Valley that was up for sale. I visited the place, found that it had been a boys' school that had somehow become involved in financial difficulties, had two buildings, was advertised for sale at $7,000. I reported to the United Chinese Society at once. The Society approved the idea of having an old men's home, appointed a few of us to raise the additional $2,000 that was needed, which we secured in no time. We purchased the land and the buildings for $7,000 with the Social Service Bureau as trustee. Its chairman, J. R. Galt of the Hawaiian Trust Company helped us to get the home started. That was in 1917. 26

Thus the impact of the Christian belief in helping the needy is obvious in the founders' motivation for setting up an old men's home. Individuals like C. K. Ai and William Kwai Fong Yap were dedicated practicing Christians.

Apart from religious belief, however, status-seeking might be another motivation. "Status in Hawaii," as Glick defines it, "had at least two aspects for the migrant: individual prestige among other Chinese and the prestige of the Chinese as a group in the interethnic Island society." 27 By helping to establish the Palolo Chinese Home, the wealthy Chinese community leaders could not only show other Chinese their compassion for the plight of the poor wah kiu (overseas Chinese), but also demonstrate to outsiders in Hawaii that they were not just business-oriented. They were also philanthropic and humanitarian.

Here it is important to point out that we should not overestimate the role of beliefs in filial piety and charitable work. Filial piety and charity are ideological concepts. They themselves are insufficient to guarantee social welfare, for there frequently exists a discrepancy between ideology and reality. Many local Chinese organizations with
a strong belief in filial piety failed to care for their elderly for various practical reasons. Even some home villages in China, from where the traditional value of filial piety had emanated, did not welcome empty-handed or aged immigrants from Hawaii. Ideology must therefore be reinforced by suitable social conditions. Thus we need to examine further the cultural and social scene in the host country at the turn of the century.

After the Civil War, American society experienced significant change in the form of urbanization and industrialization. Industrialization, on the one hand, provided many Americans with an opportunity to participate in great economic achievements and to enjoy a higher standard of living. On the other hand, it brought many social problems. One was the rapidly widening gap between the rich and the poor, who did not really share in the country's growing wealth. While the rich indulged themselves in "conspicuous consumption," spending their fortunes on luxurious living, the urban masses lived in poverty, shifting for themselves. The contrast between most immigrants and the rich was even more sharply drawn.

The wretched condition of the urban poor troubled those persons with a humanitarian conscience. Many felt that they could not live with themselves without acting to improve the condition of the poor. Urban social reform was the result of such a feeling. Many private citizens became interested in the charity organization movement as a means of combating the problem of poverty, and a new type of philanthropy emerged. "The old was uncoordinated and indiscriminate giving; the new was giving in accordance with the principles of organized charity."28 As reported in 1896 by a Honolulu newspaper:
A good example of the value of centralizing the charitable forces of a city is found in the methods used in Chicago for directing charity. In that city the sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars is contributed annually through the 200 charitable institutions for the relief of the poor and unfortunate, and the sum of seven hundred and eighty thousand dollars is spent for outdoor relief and for the support of charitable institutions. Through the Civic Federation of Charities this immense sum is distributed under the direction of Dr. Philip W. Ayres, so that the least possible amount goes to waste. Dr. Ayres has charge of the central bureau of charities, and the greatest care is taken to prevent the same individual or family from drawing assistance from two different sources. The history of each case is kept on file, and these histories now number upwards of 42,000, giving a most complete history of pauperism in one of the worst cities in the United States. The system is so complete that deceits and duplications are next to impossible.29

In 1899, Mrs. Lydia P. Williams of Minneapolis came to visit Honolulu and addressed a group of local residents on "the old and the new" in philanthropy. She traced the history of philanthropy, which included the first Charity Organization Society established in London in 1869 and the founding of similar societies in America, the first on a city-wide basis having been founded in Buffalo in 1877. Mrs. Williams then advised Honolulu organizations to engage in organized charity characterized by registration, investigation, and cooperation. At the turn of the century, although reportedly "the skeleton of poverty (in Honolulu) does not stand out in the same bold relief as it does in colder climates,"30 there was a growing concern about the problem of beggary. "Beggars, generally deserting sailors or 'black sheep' whose families in home countries had sent them abroad to get rid of them, were making the rounds of various national-group benevolent societies and churches in Honolulu. Relief was duplicated
and indiscriminate. Some beggars were getting too much, some too little, and others nothing at all.\textsuperscript{31}

Mrs. Williams' address helped to promote the new philanthropy in Honolulu. The Associated Charities of Hawaii began to function in August 1899. Its governing board was composed of two members from each of the organizations wishing to affiliate. Wholly or partially engaged in charitable work, the affiliated organizations included charitable societies of foreign groups--British, German, Portuguese, Chinese, and others--as well as various churches in the community and the Stranger's Friend Society, all dispensing relief in some form. The role of the Associated Charities was not to displace but rather to coordinate the activities of all these organizations.\textsuperscript{32}

Industrialism also contributed to the old-age problem. In selecting workers in an age of advancing technology, employers preferred the young, strong and productive. The exclusion of the elderly from the work force started during the late nineteenth century in the United States.

By 1929 there were substantial numbers of older people without jobs and without pensions . . . Even as late as 1920 less than 1 percent of the elderly were eligible for pension . . . The majority of residents of the "poor house" in most communities were old . . . Many of the elderly who were not on any form of welfare were desperately poor . . . The approach to solving the social problems posed by a growing population of elderly poor was to assign the responsibility first to the family and then to the community. The community solution was the old-age home. Between 1875 and 1919, more than 800 benevolent homes for the aged were founded . . . Also during this period, most U.S. counties built homes for the indigent, and more than two-thirds of the residents of these institutions were elderly.\textsuperscript{33}
Honolulu shared the same old age problem as many cities on the U.S. mainland. To make the last days of destitute men and women a little easier, the Associated Charities of Hawaii in 1914 created an Old Age Pensions Department, the first department organized and run by the Association. Then in 1915 it established an old age pension fund. The growing number of elderly Chinese men in desperate need of help came to the attention of the Associated Charities. The first steps taken by it to alleviate this problem were the appointment of a special committee in 1917 headed by the Chinese Consul and the addition to the Associated Charities staff of a Chinese worker, Mrs. E. E. Goo, who later became the first administrator of the Palolo Chinese Home. By 1920, the Associated Charities, with the support of prominent local Chinese businessmen, had raised $10,000 to purchase the former Gospel Mission Home--fifteen acres and six buildings--in Palolo Valley. This property was remodelled and was opened in 1920 as the Palolo Chinese Home. It was administered by the Associated Charities until 1941, when, in accordance with the recommendation of the Honolulu Plan, the Home became an autonomous agency under its own board of directors. The close linkage between the Association and the Home can be seen in the annual reports of the Associated Charities. For almost every year, after the first eight men moved into the Home in November 1920 (see Appendix D), a report about the Home along with its financial statement was included in the annual reports of the Association.

The ties between the Home and the Associated Charities of Hawaii account for its success. It has never had serious financial troubles.
By contrast the Wai Wah Hospital was supported only by the Chinese community and became defunct after the Chinatown fire in 1900 when many Chinese businessmen lost much money and could not maintain it any more. The Palolo Chinese Home has remained an active and solvent institution in terms of its community service. Included among the major welfare institutions of Honolulu, it has grown and developed with the larger society.

**Significance of the Palolo Chinese Home in Caring for the Aged**

In Honolulu the different Chinese societies played important roles in taking care of aged Chinese bachelors prior to the establishment of the Palolo Chinese Home. However, the charitable activities of these societies were limited to their own members. There was no provision for those who did not belong to any society. Besides, the ability to offer assistance to old members was largely dependent on the size and financial power of the societies. More often than not, they could only provide the aged with bed space; for food and clothing the men had to beg.

Even worse, hardly any medical attention was provided by the societies. Inn See Goon, who stayed in the See Dai Doo Society's apartment house, fell on the sidewalk and injured his hand while he was shuffling along with his basket of amama fish. As an old and dependent bachelor, he had to be his own doctor and nurse. He put a dirty bandage with Chinese herbs on his left palm and went on with his fish-hawking business. Due to his poor nursing, personal negligence and lack of cleanliness, his infection spread and attracted the
attention of some of his friends, who suggested different home remedies. In the end he was rushed to the hospital and died in a City and County bed a few weeks following his fall. This unfortunate example shows that although societies were supposed to look after their old members, they could not really take good care of them due to their limited financial resources and facilities. Generally speaking, the life of the elderly lacked security because what these societies could provide was limited.

At the Palolo Chinese Home, by contrast, not only food, clothing and shelter and medicine were provided, there were also leisure activities like Chinese music, books, pictures and visits. There the elderly could feel comfortable and more secure as the following account indicates:

... No foreman to scold him, no one to chase him out of the shade of the mango tree on a nice sunny day. No worry where the next meal is to come from. He has his celebrations when the manager passes out extra tobacco, matches, candies, cakes, fresh fruits, and when the meals are special for the day with chickens, roast pork and many delicious edibles. He is free to walk about, talk, argue with his newly found old friends, sing, play or do as he pleases. When he is sick medications are right on hand and if seriously ill the doctor comes right quick.

Ah Ping, a blind old Chinese man, had formerly lived alone for 20 years in the Waipahu Society House, another of many Chinese societies. For all those years he slept in the same place in the community sleeping room. Nightly he hung his mosquito net from the same nail and put his lantern in the same spot outside his private sleeping quarters. Asked "When you die, Ah Ping, what will you leave behind?" he replied, "Me-when me die-leave this old rice pot-too much
burned—this old shirt—this old pants." Later he moved to the Palolo Chinese Home, where he found a happier environment. "Here"—Ah Ping turned toward Ching Chau, his constant friend—"I have eyes. He tells me what he sees—he guides me carefully. Then the music—I am leader of the orchestra." 38

A survey by the Social Service Bureau in 1936 found 158 Chinese clients staying in twelve different society dormitories, ten of which were considered to have bad housing conditions and two fair accommodations. Several boarding homes located in various parts of the city were then being used as "waiting stations" for the hundred and more aged who had applied for admittance to the Chinese Home. 39 Hale Pake, as the Palolo Home was called, eventually became very popular with the old Chinese of Hawaii. Akui, aged 93, one of the first twenty to enter Hale Pake, knew better than anyone else the reason for its popularity. "Long time I stop. Plenty rice. Good bed. Good everything!" 40

However, not every poor aged Chinese man thought Palolo Chinese Home a paradise. In his unpublished term paper "A Statistical Summary and Sociological Interpretation of 100 Cases of the Aged Chinese Aided by the Honolulu Social Service Bureau," sociologist Kum Pui Lai states that about 19.6 percent or 20 percent of the cases refused to enter the Chinese Home. Four reasons are offered by those who did not want to enter: (1) the opium addicts were afraid that they would not be able to secure the drug at the Home; (2) others desired to return to China; (3) some preferred the freedom they had in the city and the odd jobs they could find there; and (4) many preferred the attractions
of Chinatown to a home away from town. C. K. Ai gives us more or less the same reasons for some old men's refusal to enter the Home:

> It was at the beginning very difficult to get old men to enter the home, even though free. They still preferred their old haunts and their accustomed ways of life. On Saturdays, for instance, especially in the early 1900's the destitute among the older Chinese would go from store to store with a bag for food supplies or money. It was a shameful sight, but when we invited these same beggars to stay in the Palolo home, they balked. We would not allow opium smoking there, nor could the inmates go in and out as they pleased. Only the very destitute cared to live under such rigid restrictions.

Another factor accounting for the reluctance to enter the Home was of a cultural and psychological nature. According to traditional Chinese values, the worst sin that a man could commit was to die without progeny and sever the family line. Going to a care home like the Palolo Chinese Home openly proclaimed a man's failure in life. That is why only the most destitute ones chose to go there.

The overwhelming predominance of male over female Chinese immigrants posed a social problem not only in Hawaii but in the entire United States. Table 1 shows how radically disproportionate the sex ratio of Chinese continued to be in the United States over a hundred-year period.

Despite this nationwide predominance of Chinese males, the Palolo Chinese Home was the earliest care home founded for indigent aged Chinese bachelors in the United States. Thus the destitute residents at the "Hale Pake," in comparison with their countrymen on the U.S. mainland, were in a relatively fortunate position.
Table 1

Chinese in the United States
Sex and Sex Ratio, 1860-1960

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
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<td>135,549</td>
<td>101,743</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>53,891</td>
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</tr>
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<td>66,856</td>
<td>4,675</td>
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</tr>
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<td>85,341</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>100,686</td>
<td>4,779</td>
<td>2106.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>58,633</td>
<td>4,566</td>
<td>1284.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>33,149</td>
<td>1,784</td>
<td>1858.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It took many years for mainland states with large Chinese populations to follow suit. In New York, one of the three states where the Chinese population has been concentrated (see Appendix E), it was not until 1951 that the Golden Age Club was established to deal with the old-age problem among Chinese males.43

Betty Lee Sung, author of Mountain of Gold, explains why other states lagged behind Hawaii:

In the past, Chinese immigrants generally departed these shores and went home to die, sometimes after a life-time in the United States. There weren't many old people around, so no senior citizens homes were set up. Besides, in the old days, very few people paid any attention to the needs of the Chinese whether young or old. Hawaii may have been a different story,
however, since the social climate was more receptive
and the Chinese may have stayed on after they became
old. 44

In California, where about 40 percent of the Chinese population
in the United States is concentrated (see Appendix D), institutions
like the Palolo Chinese Home were unheard of until the 1960s.
According to Him Mark Lai, who serves on the board of directors for
both the Chinese Historical Society of America and the Chinese Culture
Foundation of San Francisco:

Up to the mid-1960s the only Chinese community on the
U.S. mainland which could have built a facility for
senior citizens would have been San Francisco. However,
although San Francisco Chinese funded the construction
of a Chinese Hospital in the 1920s, I don't believe
that they ever initiated any campaigns to raise funds
to build an old men's home, and the destitute aged
have had to fend for themselves. Sometimes district
associations or fellow clan members will donate money
to help them return to China. Those who did not leave
often lived in an impoverished condition . . .

Since the 60s San Francisco and other communities with
sizable Chinese populations have built homes and
started programs for the elderly . . . 45

Conclusion

The need for the Palolo Chinese Home was due to the large number
of male Chinese immigrants imported into Hawaii during the mid- to
late nineteenth century. Both the Chinese cultural tradition of filial
piety and respect for the elderly and the Christian charitable belief
in helping the needy had an impact upon the founding of the Home.
The turn-of-the-century social climate, which spawned movements to
fight poverty, solve the old-age problem and organize charitable
societies both on the U.S. mainland and in Hawaii, set the stage for
the founding and development of the Palolo Chinese Home. Individuals
like C. K. Ai and Chinese societies such as the United Chinese Society successfully played an intermediary role in helping early Chinese immigrants adapt themselves to an alien society by incorporating Chinese filial values into a Chinese-American care home. In short, the Palolo Chinese Home was a product of the combined efforts of both the Chinese and the host community in Hawaii.

The fact that the Home was the earliest care home for indigent aged Chinese in the United States meant that the first- or second-generation of Chinese in Hawaii enjoyed certain advantages in comparison with their compatriots on the mainland. With Caucasians in a minority, there was less anti-Chinese agitation and discrimination, particularly in the period from 1910-1945. (The target by then was Japanese-Americans.) The less hostile social environment and the good climate in Hawaii, which resembled that of South China, made many early Chinese immigrant laborers decide to remain instead of going back home when they reached old age. The large number of aged and poor Chinese caught the attention of the Associated Charities of Hawaii which helped found a care home for them. Before the Palolo Chinese Home was established, there had already been several care homes set up for different ethnic groups, such as the Lunalilo Home for aged Hawaiians (1883) and the King's Daughter's Home for indigent Anglo-Saxons (1910). The founding of the Palolo Chinese Home, therefore, was part of the larger trend of paying attention to the old-age problem at the turn of the century in Hawaii.

Another factor was a higher proportion in Hawaii than on the U.S. mainland of successful Chinese community leaders like C. K. Ai. This
was due to the greater educational, economic, and social opportunities in the multiethnic community of the Islands,\textsuperscript{46} which enabled these men to play a special role in helping the destitute immigrants cope with conditions in an alien country. Due to their familiarity with the host country's culture and their established positions in the society, these culturally "marginal" men successfully incorporated the Chinese traditional value of filial piety and caring for the elderly into an American institution when the aged Chinese became a problem beyond the resources of the Chinese societies. The founding of the Palolo Chinese Home can be regarded as an early effort by the Chinese immigrants to adapt to and in some measure to integrate into the larger American society. It reflects a shift of immigrants' reliance upon welfare programs provided only by local Chinese organizations to more dependable ones supported by the larger society. This demonstrates Dr. Lucie Cheng Hirata's extraethnic pattern of integration into a community other than one's own.

The influence and functions of many Chinese organizations have been waning over the years because Hawaii-born Chinese, unlike the foreign-born who had few resources to cope with life crises such as sickness and old age, need little assistance from these organizations. However, the Palolo Chinese Home still plays an active role in community service, for from the very beginning it was part of the larger American society.

The host country's culture, the presence of charitable organizations, and particularly the role of the U.S. government, have had a significant impact upon the development of what has been since its
establishment a mainstream social welfare institution. The following chapter will deal with the Home from the 1920s to the 1970s. It not only examines the impact of the host country's culture, along with the role of charitable organizations and the effect of national policy toward aging upon the Home, but it also describes how the residents have preserved many elements of Chinese culture.
CHAPTER II--NOTES


2. Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration, 1886, p. 5.


4. Ibid., pp. 8, 14.

5. Ibid., p. 10.


10. Palolo Chinese Home, "Cases closed files before 1944." The date of this case is March 3, 1917, when Mr. L was brought to the Social Service Bureau for financial aid.

11. Ibid.


15. Ibid., IA, p. 7.


20. Ibid., pp. 8-9.


22. Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 234.


25. Chung Kun Ai, My Seventy-Nine Years in Hawaii (Hong Kong [7th Floor, Causeway Bay]: The Cosmorama Pictorial Publisher, 1960), pp. 312-313.


27. Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 310.


30. Ibid., July 13, 1896, p. 4.

31. Margaret M. L. Catton, Social Service in Hawaii, p. 31.

32. Ibid., p. 33.

34Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Social Service Bureau, Honolulu, 1924.

35Margaret M. L. Catton, Social Service in Hawaii, pp. 45-46.


40Annual Report of the Social Service Bureau, Honolulu, 1931.


42Chung Kun Ai, My Seventy Nine Years in Hawaii, p. 311.


46Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 165.
CHAPTER III

THE HOME FROM THE 1920s TO THE 1970s

Impact of the Host-Country's Culture Upon the Development
of the Palolo Chinese Home from the 1920s to the 1970s

Charitable Organizations and the Palolo Chinese Home

In 1919, the Associated Charities of Hawaii, which played a key role in establishing the Home, became a charter member of the United Welfare Fund, now the Aloha United Way,¹ the community-wide charitable fund-raising organization.

At the turn of the century it was the usual policy for every charitable organization needing financial support to make a separate appeal to the community. This required a large expenditure of time and effort, not only of those who solicited the funds, but also of the hundreds of individual supporters and business organizations being asked to make contributions. Furthermore, there was little or no opportunity for the average potential contributor, busy with his own affairs, to become personally acquainted with the record and accomplishment of each individual or agency asking for money. The contributor tended to rely largely upon faith, believing that the funds were actually needed and that they would go toward the most worthy cause.

For even the most worthy charity the cost of obtaining funds was excessive. Fund-raising expenses, based on the general experience of cities throughout the United States, ran from 15 percent to 40
percent of total receipts. In other words, using the higher figure, out of a donation of ten dollars only six dollars actually went toward charitable work. The solution to the problem was found in the "Liberty Loan" drives during and immediately following World War I. These demonstrated that large sums of money could be raised quickly and economically if a concerted appeal went out to the public and if the urgency of the need was demonstrated. Thousands of public-spirited people gave willingly of their time and effort to raise funds and millions of men, women and children responded by donating their money for the cause.

Once the effectiveness of concerted action had been demonstrated, the "drive" plan of financing was later adopted for such worthy causes as the United War Work Campaign, the Red Cross, and the Young Men's Christian Association. By presenting the community with all the facts documenting need, by organizing groups of volunteers, and by gaining the support of the general public, the financial drive or campaign became established as a permanent feature of American community life.

Honolulu was one of the pioneers in establishing a financial campaign to support the city's welfare institutions. The first United Welfare Campaign was conducted in 1919, the year the Associated Charities became a charter member of the Fund. Since then a campaign to support welfare institutions has been a yearly undertaking.²

Budgets are prepared by the various organizations outlining their needs for the coming year. These are submitted to an executive committee which examines each budget carefully. After the executive committee has scrutinized each organization's budget and has determined
its relevance to the needs of the community, a decision is reached as to the merits of each request. The result is the compilation of a total budget covering all the welfare institutions. This is the target sum which the community is asked to contribute.

One of the features of the system is that a donor can specify whatever organization he or she wishes to aid, and the money will be earmarked for that particular institution. In cases where no such specification is made, the money is equally divided among all of the participating charitable institutions.  

Although the Chinese community was quite active in the annual campaign of the United Welfare Fund, which supported the Associated Charities and the Palolo Chinese Home, the money received from the Fund for the Home was sometimes more than the money pledged by the Chinese community. In 1921, for example, $7,836 was granted to the Home by the United Welfare Fund, while the total amount of money donated to the Associated Charities by the Chinese community was $4,469. In 1941, the Home received $7,990.50 from the United Welfare Fund whereas the money donated by the Chinese community was about $6,900. The link between the Home and the United Welfare Fund gave the Home financial security.

In order to participate in the United Welfare Fund drive, the Home had to apply annually, submitting its financial statements including current revenue and expenditures, schedule of salaries and wages, new buildings and permanent equipment and a resume of work done during the past year and any proposed new work. This requirement was consistent with one of the rules (#14) governing participating
organizations: "Participating organizations shall keep complete and accurate accounts and service statistics in a form satisfactory to the United Welfare Fund and shall furnish promptly all requested information bearing on the conduct of the organization." In addition, based on rule #16, "All books, accounts, records, etc., shall be subject at all times to inspection by the United Welfare Fund." When the Home received extra money donated by plantation owners or other sources, for instance, the Fund had a right to inquire how it was expended. Two letters found in the Home files illustrate the obligation of the Home to the United Welfare Fund. (See footnote 11 for details.)

The link between the United Welfare Fund and the Palolo Chinese Home shows that the Home was very different from local Chinese organizations, which were usually quite separate from those of the larger society. As one of the community's social welfare institutions, the Home had to be open in regard to its administrative work, and its procedures had to be consistent with the practices of other social institutions in the community. Precisely because of the Home's obligation to a mainstream charitable organization, it was required to keep relatively complete records, thus making the study of this institution much easier.

As a part of the United Welfare Fund, the Palolo Chinese Home was administered by the Associated Charities of Hawaii or its successors until 1941, when, in accordance with the recommendation of the Honolulu Plan, it became an autonomous agency under its own board of directors, the majority of whom were of Chinese ancestry. Two aspects of the
Associated Charities upon the Home will be discussed: application of the social casework method and admissions policy.

As described by Miss Margaret Bergen, manager of the Associated Charities in 1920, social casework consisted of "investigations (a careful and sympathetic inquiry into all causes of distress and all the resources for relieving the distress within the circle of a man's own exertions, relatives, or friends"), central registration, co-operation of agencies, and rehabilitation. At the Palolo Chinese Home, records of more than 300 closed cases have been well kept. These cases not only detail much of the work done by the Associated Charities for the Home and its early residents but also serve as valuable material for the study of the Home and its relation to the community. A representative case covers in great detail when the subject came to Hawaii, his plantation experience, his link with Chinese societies, the first time he asked assistance from the Associated Charities, his changing attitudes toward entering the Palolo Chinese Home as well as his subsequent life there. It also shows the level of care and certain aspects of life at the Home. The description of each man's life is the most important part of the record because each of the more than 300 closed cases found at the Home is unique in its own way. This not only makes the study of the history of the Home most fascinating, but also displays the application of the techniques of modern social case work--treating each resident as a separate entity, and confirming a focus on the individual that is consistent with Western cultural values.
One of the most significant contrasts between Chinese and American ways of life, according to Francis L. K. Hsu, author of *Americans and Chinese*, is that Americans emphasize the individual, a characteristic called individual-centered; whereas the Chinese stress a person's appropriate place and behavior among his fellow men, a characteristic termed situation-centered. The fact that no detailed and scientific recordings of individual cases have ever been found in the files of any local Chinese organization confirms Hsu's observation. While each resident at the Home was treated as a separate entity, a member of a Chinese society was considered only as part of the whole family. There were records of the societies, yet "there was no such thing as case work in regards to each applicant," who sought to live in an apartment house attached to one of the societies.

The admission policy of the Home also reflected the influence of the Associated Charities. A perusal of the closed cases reveals that from the time of the founding of the Home, the Associated Charities required that admission be open to the Chinese residing not only in Honolulu but also on the other islands.

On December 7, 1920, members of the Chinese Committee of the Associated Charities discussed the admission of new residents to the Home because there were eight vacancies. C. K. Ai suggested that the aged Chinese from Honolulu should have priority. As for residents of other islands, the Home should admit them only if there was some sort of financial support to pay for their stay. About a month later, the matter was brought up again, and it was noted that the Associated Charities opposed the suggestion. Each plantation donated five cents
to the Charities for each ton of sugar produced. The organization therefore felt obliged to admit people to the Home from all the islands. As a result, not all the early residents of the Home came from Honolulu. Many came from country districts or from other islands.

This reflects another difference between the Palolo Chinese Home and the apartments for the aged attached to the Chinese societies. While the societies took only their own members and functioned as extended families, the Home accepted individuals who came from different districts of China, who spoke different dialects, and who either belonged to different societies or had no affiliations with any. It thus created a new-style community for the aged Chinese due to the link between the Home and the Associated Charities.

Impact of the U.S. Government Policy Toward Aging

Upon the Home

The impact of the host-country's culture upon the Home is also reflected in the U.S. government policy toward aging.

Until comparatively recent times, support for the aged has been a private concern, shouldered by families, ethnic and religious groups, and other voluntary and charitable organizations. The late nineteenth century represented a major turning point, however, as problems of the aged became a public concern. Because of the dislocations created by industrialization, along with ideological changes concerning the role of government, industrial societies began to undertake major social programs, thus bringing into being the modern welfare state. Germany led the way during the 1880s, enacting a series of health, accident, and old age/invalid programs, followed over the next 25 years
by Denmark, New Zealand, Great Britain, and Sweden. The United States was a comparative latecomer with the Social Security Act of 1935. The direct cause of this act was the Great Depression of the 1930s. The nation was beset by bankruptcies, bank failures, and staggering unemployment. According to data available from this period, the elderly were most affected by these disastrous conditions. This situation demonstrated convincingly that most individuals could not provide adequately for their old age by themselves, nor were voluntary charitable agencies able to cope with the old-age problem. Government would therefore have to concern itself with this issue. This realization led to the passing of the Social Security Act.

Among its significant features were a federal program of old age insurance and a federal-state program of public assistance to the needy aged. Since 1935, amendments to the Act have resulted in a number of changes. Nevertheless, the Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance program (OASDI) is still strictly a federal responsibility, and the underlying principle remains that of social insurance. To the eligible individual, benefits are payable as a matter of right. The program is financed by tax contributions which are shared by both employers and employees. But before a person can claim the right to receive the monthly payments from the government, he has to achieve "insured status." There are some needy individuals who might not, for one reason or another, qualify for insurance benefits. In the Palolo Chinese Home in the 1930s none of the residents depended on OASDI.
However, the old age assistance provisions of the Social Security Act established a federal-state program to enable the states to provide more adequately for the needy aged. The Act required that a state must participate financially in the program and provide an agency to administer it.

The old age assistance program (OAA), in contrast to OASDI, was established on the principle of need. Thus, assistance is granted only in such cases, and the administrative agency must take into account any other financial resources of the applicant. The state is also responsible for establishing and maintaining standards for all institutions, private or public, that accommodate or care for individuals who are receiving payments under the program. The Territory of Hawaii, in order to participate in this federal program, had to enact a corresponding public welfare statute. It was not until 1937 that its legislature established the Board of Public Welfare and County Public Welfare Commissions, known after 1941 as the Department of Public Welfare.²¹

The creation of governmental organizations concerned with the welfare of the aged did not mean elimination of voluntary ones. Yet there was a tendency for the government to play an increasing role in the affairs of the elderly. This was reflected in the growing impact of government policy upon the administration of the Palolo Chinese Home. The changes affecting the Home can help us gain a better understanding of the relationship between it and the larger society.

In 1937, the first year of the establishment of the Board of Public Welfare, 50 of the 140 old people living at the Palolo Chinese
Home received old-age assistance. Thus the Home got $4,200.00 from government aid. The money received from the United Welfare Fund was $18,880.00 and the total revenue of the year was $24,876.66. From that year on, there was a dramatic change in the main financial source of the Home's revenues as Table 2 indicates.

Table 2
Main Sources of Income for Palolo Chinese Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government Aid</th>
<th>United Welfare Fund</th>
<th>Total Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>$ 0</td>
<td>$17,000.00</td>
<td>$17,684.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>4,200.00</td>
<td>18,880.00</td>
<td>24,867.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>19,633.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
<td>26,911.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>13,992.50</td>
<td>4,800.00</td>
<td>21,791.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>14,802.50</td>
<td>10,017.16</td>
<td>25,960.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>18,509.50</td>
<td>7,990.50</td>
<td>31,297.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Application for Participation in the United Welfare Fund Participation for the Year 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, #2 cab. #3 dr.

Old-age assistance had a direct impact upon the Home's admission policy. When it was basically a charitable institution financed by private donations, its policy was oriented simply toward admitting homeless and penniless old Chinese men. However, as it came to depend more and more upon the government for financial support, it gave preference to those applicants who could qualify for financial aid from the various governmental agencies. In 1941, in answer to Waimea Hospital's inquiry as to its admission policy, the Home manager stated:
Admission to the Home now is done mostly through the Dept. of Public Welfare for the reason of having as accurate a count of those needing relief and also because of the lesser income derived from the United Welfare Fund. The Dept. grants each man that enters the Home fifteen dollars a month... The present procedure is for your company to apply for territorial or federal aid for the old men. Upon assurance of their grants, make application to the Palolo Chinese Home for admission, when vacancies occur... (See footnote for details.)

In the 1960s, as government aid to the elderly increased, the Home turned more and more to the state Social Services Department (successor to the Department of Public Welfare) for financial support for the residents. In his M.A. thesis "Role-Taking and Role-Making," Binky Tan points out:

... Recently, it [the home] has adopted a set of procedural rules which, in effect, ignores the applicant's own ability or that of his adult children to finance his stay in the home, but looks for the possibility of larger old age assistance monthly payments on the basis of the so-called "point system." The staff, in fact, is reviewing the cases of the present group of residents with a view to getting more money for them from the government. At present, for example, the staff is reviewing the case of a resident, hoping to change his "independent status" to that of an old age assistance recipient. This resident has been depending on his own savings and his son's support to pay the monthly fee of $112. He is diabetic, and his eyesight is failing, too. Also, he has one of his feet amputated. Under these conditions, if the staff is able to put him on OAA, he will become a "high pointer." In short, he is under OAA, he can "contribute" more than $112 a month to the home.26

Obviously money became increasingly important in the Home's admission policy as the role of government expanded. By 1941, two-thirds of its revenue came from the Department of Social Security (then the Department of Public Welfare), which supported 134 residents with
a monthly grant of $10-$15 each. Moreover, as the major financial support of the Home, government also assumed increasing regulatory and administrative control over it.

As a part of the mainstream welfare system of the American society, the Home was required by law to maintain certain standards. It was inspected periodically by the state Department of Health, the Fire Marshall's Office, the Department of Labor, the County Building Department, and other governmental agencies to insure that the various health and safety regulations and rules were adhered to.

Unlike other local Chinese societies, the Home has always been the subject of media's attention. A 1963 news article played an important role in bringing about a major change there. In 1957 the dormitories had been described by the Fire Department as wooden fire-traps with no sprinkler system and no practical way to fight fire. In 1962, they had been criticized by the Department of Health because of their "open barracks" system that had no approved means of separating the ill from the well. There were also no medical personnel at the Home and, since July of 1962, there had been no periodic health checks by a physician. All these matters were reported by Bob Jones in his article "Palolo Chinese Home: $105 'Tuition' for Death Wait."

The criticism by the government and Jones's front-page story triggered a $250,000 fund-raising campaign which resulted in a new 50-bed facility, the Victoria Ward Building, in 1967. The new building accommodated four persons to each room. A large lounge, showers, utility rooms, quarters for two orderlies, and an outside lanai were included.
Although the dilapidated old cottages at the Home had been replaced, some people felt that this was not enough to solve the institution's problems. "The building is the least of the evils. It's what goes on inside that's important." The Home was to face many more challenges brought about by new concepts as well as new policies regarding the treatment of the elderly in American society.

Operating under state Department of Health regulations, the Home was required to administer periodic medical screening examinations and to provide social activities for its residents. In 1965, a medical advisory committee was appointed by the board of directors. With the assistance of volunteers from the medical profession, the committee was able to provide medical screening examinations for the elderly residents. That same year the Palolo Chinese Home Women's Auxiliary was established to perform volunteer service for the residents. It should be noted that the members of the Auxiliary and the medical advisory committee, on the whole, brought with them a different perspective from that of the manager and most of the board of directors. The administrators conceived of the Home as a place where indigent former plantation workers might pass their waning days quietly and, hopefully, peacefully. The manager of the Home was quoted by a local newspaper as saying:

When it was originated, it was to provide a home for the poor...those with no family or money to care for them. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 20, 1966)

Our idea is to take care of the old pioneers--those without money.
On the other hand, members of both the Auxiliary and the medical committee viewed the Home as a dynamic facility providing recreational, medical, occupational, educational and social services. They felt that "attitudes toward the aged have shifted since the Palolo Home was founded nearly 50 years ago." But "those associated with the Palolo Home 'have not kept up to date with modern trends in care of the aged.' . . . The concept that a home for the aged is purely domiciliary--just for housing--is over. . . . It must be a vibrant and dynamic institution where diverse services are provided." The first president of the Women's Auxiliary, for example, talked in terms of what might be called social psychological "re-engagement" of the elderly residents. She viewed the Home as an arena where the elderly could live an active life. She and her husband, a member of the medical advisory committee, argued for the professionalization of the Home.

Such different perspectives produced conflict, an important consequence of which was the establishment of the Palolo Chinese Home Study Committee made up of about half government officials and half private individuals. The objectives of the committee were "to define long-range goals of the Palolo Chinese Home to meet changing needs, and to evaluate programs and services and recommend ways of upgrading the facilities in light of the continuing changing characteristics of Hawaii's aging population." A report was released in 1966 with some urgent recommendations to bring the treatment of the indigent elderly Chinese into step with modern-day care for the aged. In the committee's view, a home for the elderly should be more than a shelter; it must be a dynamic institution where a variety of services are
provided. The committee's position was in fact the reflection of American society's changing attitude toward the treatment of the elderly in care homes. Social gerontologists had noted that nursing-home residents might be overprotected due to the fact that many nursing homes often had virtually no social adjustment criteria. Nothing was expected, so nothing was rewarded. Without the opportunity to succeed (or fail) on their own, residents became dependent, apathetic, and withdrawn. In an experimental study Langer and Rodin found that when decision making, personal responsibility, and freedom were encouraged among nursing-home residents, they were happier and received more favorable ratings from nurses on alertness, general improvement, sociability, and activity. Thus, nursing-home environments needed to be richer, more complex, and more challenging to residents while keeping in mind their existing limitations.

Because of altered attitudes towards the elderly, the Home, as we can see, was pushed by the government and the larger society to change itself from a "retreat" into a more modern facility where the elderly could live their lives actively rather than withdrawn from life. The structure and administration of the Home were to become more and more "Americanized." In order for the administrator of the Home, for instance, to catch up with the new trends in taking care of the elderly, it was no longer enough simply to have a medical background. He needed to equip himself with knowledge of social gerontology to change the image of the Home and to meet the larger social needs of the elderly. The influence of social gerontology, as we will see in the next chapter, has become very great in the contemporary Home.
The fact that it was required to catch up with current trends in social gerontology serves as another example of its extraethnic pattern of integration.

**Cultural Impact of the Host Country Upon the Home**

The impact of the host country upon the Home can be viewed from two angles, cultural and structural. While the Home has become more and more "Americanized" structurally, as discussed above, the impact of mainstream values and ways can also be seen at a cultural level. Three related subjects will be discussed below: differences between old men's quarters attached to local Chinese societies and the Home, the changing role of the residents, and the influence of the Christian religion.

While the atmosphere in the old men's quarters was family-oriented, that of the Home was more individually oriented. The charitable activities of the different local Chinese organizations were always limited to their own members, and were in accordance with the principles of the Chinese extended family system. What one member of this large family did was of much concern to the other members. Filial piety, respect for the elders, and a paternalistic attitude prevailed in these organizations. Emphasis was on the whole "family," or on persons as part of the family rather than on the individual by himself.

The Palolo Chinese Home was open to all aged, dependent and destitute bachelors. Early residents came from different districts of China and spoke different dialects. They either belonged to different societies or did not belong to any of them at all. At the Home they were not segregated according to age or dialect differences,
but according to physical and mental abilities. It is here that one finds the application of the techniques of modern social case work and the principle of individualization. Commenting on the resident manager at the Home, someone once said: "I like the way he is running the place. He treats each of the old men as individuals." The difference between old men's quarters and the Home can be viewed as one aspect of the differences between the individualistic American culture and the family-centered Chinese immigrant culture.

When the Home was first founded, the residents were regarded by the philanthropists and other members of the Chinese community as a group who had failed to manage effectively their own affairs. They were people who did not have "pious children" and so were defined as charity cases. They lived in the Home not as a matter of right, but on the basis of a privilege granted them by those who were more successful and fortunate than they. They were not encouraged to complain about things at the Home, for they were expected to feel "grateful." Even when the Home was cited by the state Department of Health, the residents did not complain publicly about the physical conditions. Isolated from other age groups, the aged inmates were expected to live in the Home quietly and peacefully for the rest of their lives. Their role, therefore, was assumed to be passive and compliant.

As the government became increasingly committed to expanding Social Security and giving more assistance to older citizens, more and more government employees came to the Home to visit the elderly. Meanwhile, members of Palolo Home Women's Auxiliary became the Home's
regular visitors. The interaction between the aged residents and outside groups resulted in a new role for the residents. Encouraged to express their inner feelings and their opinions about the Home, they were expected to play a more active role. By the time that Binky Tan wrote his M.A. thesis in 1967,

There is now, in fact, a small group of articulate though shy residents, who will express their 'personal opinions' to those regular visitors who can make them feel at ease. They, however, never fail to emphasize that they are not the whole group's spokesmen, and that opinions expressed by them are strictly 'off-the-record,' are not meant for newspaper reporters. Furthermore, they always assure the visitor that they have always been treated by everybody 'rather well.' Nevertheless, they observe that conditions in the home should be improved, so that 'everyone can be happier.' Besides, they argue, 'there is always room for improvement.' Sometimes they even make specific suggestions, though each time they would remind the visitor not to mention their names to 'anyone.' In one occasion, they asked the investigator to suggest to the administrators that Chinese style meals be served more frequently. In another occasion, one of them suggested that their monthly allowance should be increased. Also, they can be critical about some of the things the administrators do or fail to do.

The changing role of the Home's residents from passive to active thus reflects the impact of the views of professionals within the larger society.

The influence of Christianity upon the Home will be first examined from a broader cultural perspective. As the number of Chinese migrants multiplied in Hawaii in the nineteenth century, they attracted the attention of Caucasian Christians who, for several reasons, insisted that something be done to Christianize this new group. There was fear that the "heathen Chinese" would have a bad influence on converted Hawaiians, there was interest in continuing work,
in continuing work among Chinese migrants who had been converted to Christianity before leaving China, and there was a desire to convert migrants and especially children of migrants who were not Christians. One strategy used by Caucasian Christians was to find Chinese Christians to work among their fellow countrymen in the Islands.

In 1875 the YMCA in Honolulu engaged a Chinese Christian, Sit Moon, to come from San Francisco to work among the Chinese in Hawaii. In 1879 the Hawaiian Board of Missions helped some Chinese Christians establish the Fort Street Chinese Church in Honolulu. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth, Chinese Christian clergymen were brought from China and from overseas Chinese communities to serve the Chinese congregations of several churches founded by the Hawaiian Board of Missions (Congregational) and by Anglican missionaries.

After Annexation, a few Chinese Christian ministers and their families entered the Islands under the exempt-categories provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The 1910 census reported eleven Chinese clergymen; thirteen were reported in 1920, and nine in 1930. Probably most, if not all, of these were migrants, although subsequently most of the Christian ministers of Chinese ancestry were second- or third-generation Chinese born in Hawaii or on the U.S. mainland.

As a result of Christianization, most of the island-born Chinese abandoned the ways of their ancestors. The predominant tendency among them is described by Miss Sau Chun Wong in her study of "Chinese Temples in Honolulu":

"The worshipers at the temples are chiefly first generation women.... Now, since the advent of Christianity, modern science, and public education, the older type of Chinese worship has ceased to control the life of a large part of the second and third generations of the Chinese community of Honolulu. The first generation go to the temples on feast days, a few consistently, while the younger generations seldom do."43

Professor Shao-chang Lee, who, during his years at the University of Hawaii, came to known many island-born Chinese students, declared: "The younger Chinese are either Christians or agnostics."44

The Home also came strongly under the influence of Christianity. Its old files note that Easter and Christmas were celebrated and that "the pastors of the Chinese Christian Churches came in to offer voluntary worship services and pastoral guidance."45 Nevertheless, compared with the larger trend of Christianization outside, the Home in the 1930s remained almost immune to Christianity. Among more than 300 closed cases, we find that only two residents were Christians at the time they entered the Home and only one was converted to Christianity after he was admitted. This had much to do with the strong emphasis on things Chinese, which was and has remained a unique feature of the Home.

**Preservation of Things Chinese at the Palolo Chinese Home**

Despite the pressures toward acculturation, the residents tried to preserve things Chinese in a structurally Americanized institution. To examine the persistence of the Chinese immigrants' culture we need to study the Home both from an internal and external perspective. Externally, we will examine the way in which members of the Chinese community in Honolulu have regarded it as a symbol of their cultural
heritage, how it has represented the Chinese principles of filial piety and respect for the elderly, and how the Chinese community has endeavored by various means to support the Home in order to carry on this important Chinese cultural tradition. The link between the Home and the local Chinese community has played a significant role in maintaining and enhancing Chinese cultural practices. Internally, an exploration and description of the residents' lives provide a vivid picture of how things Chinese have indeed been retained.

The Link Between the Local Chinese and the Home

The local Chinese have always been proud of the fact that they were the first in the United States to help found a care home for indigent immigrants. To them, the Home has become a symbol of their cultural heritage embodying the traditional values of filial piety and respect for the elderly. To carry on this tradition, they have tried everything within their means to support the Home, both financially and morally. We will examine their contributions from the 1920s to the 1970s and see how the link between the local Chinese and the Home itself enhanced the persistence of the Chinese immigrants' culture.

According to rule #4 governing organizations participating in the United Welfare Fund of Honolulu, "no funds for the purchase of real estate or the construction of buildings shall be included in any budget." This meant that money obtained from the United Welfare Fund could not be used for constructing new buildings at the Home. However, there were several occasions when the Home had an urgent need
of funds for new buildings. It was partially due to the support of the local Chinese community that it was able to respond to these crises and construct needed facilities.

In 1924, the Home was filled to its capacity of thirty-five. Beginning January 1, 1925, space was arranged in the buildings so that five more old men on the waiting list could be accommodated. That year, according to the twenty-sixth annual report of the Social Service Bureau (1925), a new cottage for twelve more men was built, the dining hall was enlarged, and a veranda was added to one of the old cottages. It was the Chinese Committee which raised $2,562.00 from the Chinese community to build the new cottage. Nevertheless there were still a dozen or more men waiting to be received into the Home.

In order to solve the problem, the Chinese Committee started another fund drive in 1927. As reported in one of the major Chinese language newspapers, New China Daily Press:

The Home has done a lot for the indigent and homeless aged Chinese men since its establishment. However, due to its limited space, there are now about a dozen who are still on the waiting list. The Social Service Bureau promised to pay their annual expense if the Chinese community would build a new cottage for them. The estimated cost is around $3,000. People in our community who are keen on welfare felt obliged to do something and they are now engaged with the fund drive...

As a result of this effort by the Chinese community, another cottage which accommodated twenty-two beds was erected. A small hospital room and space for a dispensary were also added. The Chinese doctors built and equipped the dispensary and gave their services as needed.
In 1936 the aged Chinese remained a serious social problem in Honolulu. Thus there was another demand for expansion of the Home. "According to reports of the Social Service bureau there are 500 indigents (Chinese) who need care. Forty of them are urgent cases . . . At present most of the indigents are housed in quarters unfit for human habitation, in buildings which have been condemned or in the homes of friends who cannot afford to support them." In June of the same year, the Chinese Committee in conjunction with the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association, a local organization formed in 1925, launched a campaign to raise $8,000.

The committee taking charge . . . decided . . . to sell benefit tickets, with the grand prize being a Ford V-8, as the means of raising funds . . . Besides the car, additional prizes will consist of a refrigerator, a radio and an electrical washing machine. The committee also chose Consul General Mui to head the honorary committee . . .

Several Chinese organizations sold tickets to a benefit circus performance and operated concessions there. A benefit dance at a local golf club was also held. These fundraising events were widely advertised in the English-language newspapers, which also gave generous space to the progress of the drive. After such activities had raised about five thousand dollars, a delegation was sent to selected "haole" firms and the individual "haoles," who matched the sum with an additional five thousand dollars. (Also see footnote #44 for a List of Donations.)

Finally, a new dormitory, accommodating forty men who urgently needed to enter the Home, was erected during the latter part of 1936 and was ready for occupancy on February 27, 1937. On that date the
new dormitory was opened in true Chinese style, including firecrackers, music and tea for the 600 guests. March 1st was a gala day. Forty old men, who had been waiting for years to get into the Home, arrived bag and baggage. Times had changed since 1920. When the Chinese Home was first built, it took strong persuasion to get the first twenty to risk their future happiness by living there. By 1937, a long list of eager applicants waited to go to "Palolo."53

In 1954, the Home planned to build a new kitchen to replace the old one which was still equipped with wood stoves. A new hall for dining and recreational purposes was also needed. Again, the Home received much assistance from the Chinese community. In helping to raise $30,000 for the new building, the United Chinese Society wrote a special note to each local Chinese organization for support.54 Soon afterwards, money came to the Home from such different societies as the Ket On Society, Kung Sheong Doo Society, See Dai Doo Society, Tsung Tain Association, Duck Doo Society, Mun Lun Chinese Language School, and the Chinese Women's club. Individuals from the community also made their contributions. By October 1957 the new building was completed. On October 20th of that year, a grand party was held at the Home to celebrate the 40th anniversary of its founding and to open the new T. F. Farm Memorial Hall.55 (T. F. Farm was on the Board of Palolo Chinese Home for years and had always given the Home his moral and financial support.) For the first time, meals were prepared on electric and gas-fired ranges instead of wood stoves. The Palolo Chinese Home had taken another step in its history with the assistance of the local Chinese community.
That same year, the Home's dormitories were cited by the Fire Department as wooden fire-traps, and in 1963 the Health Department decided to close the Home due to the poor condition of its dormitories. Changes had to be made by the end of the year. On March 27, leaders of the local Chinese community and officers and board members of the Home held a meeting at the United Chinese Society to discuss the matter. "... the participants were very excited, fully realizing the seriousness of the issue. The community does not want to lose face by having their old folks become homeless. Everybody therefore agreed that money should be raised to rebuild the Home ..." Both local Chinese individuals and societies became actively involved in the fund drive. The first society to make a contribution, according to the New China Daily Press, was the Chee Kung Tong Society, one of the oldest and largest in Honolulu. At the Society's meeting regarding the fund drive, both the incumbent president and the former president emphasized the significance of rebuilding the Home. The president of the Palolo Chinese Home, Sing Fu, who was also present, pointed out that among the forty residents at the Home, twenty-eight were members of the Society. Considering their relation to the organization, Mr. Fu said, the Society should donate a bit more to fulfill its duty of caring for and honoring the elderly. As a result, the Chee Kung Tong Society decided to donate $6,000 to the Home. This action set an example for the community.

By the end of July of the same year, only three months after the campaign had started, about $100,000 had already been donated by local Chinese individuals and societies. The New China Daily Press
published a special news item to express gratitude to the donors and to encourage more people to participate in the campaign.\(^{58}\) Money kept flowing in from the Chinese community. From March 28, 1963 to January 31, 1968, there were some 100 items in the *New China Daily Press* reporting on the donors and donations from the Chinese community.

Much help was also received from other groups. Mrs. Lani Booth, for instance, donated $200,000 to the fund drive. Her interest in the Home was a long-standing one that began during her childhood years at 'Old Plantation,' the tropical Ward estate which occupied the present site of the Honolulu International Center.

When she was a child, 'baby sitters' who helped take care of her and her sisters were the Chinese men who worked at 'Old Plantation.'

Later, when some of the old retainers moved to the Palolo Chinese Home, Mrs. Booth visited them regularly, always bringing generous gifts of lichees, mangoes and chickens that were raised on the estate.\(^{59}\)

In memory of her mother, Mrs. Victoria Ward, Mrs. Booth donated the money to the Home. Little wonder that the new dormitory was named the Victoria Ward Building.

Though the Chinese community deeply appreciated aid from other groups, its members always thought that rebuilding the Home was primarily their responsibility. In the fund drive, for instance, only when the Home had already received about $150,000 from the Chinese community did it start to raise money from Caucasians. The Chinese language newspaper repeatedly reminded its readers of the fact that "if Caucasians had shown sympathy toward our old folks, how could we be apathetic to them, who were of the same race as ours, came from the same village, or might even belong to the same ancestor?"\(^{60}\) The
Home was a part of the Chinese community and its residents were in effect "family" members. Neglect of older members of the "family" was a disgrace to the whole community and was in conflict with the traditional value of filial piety and respect for the elderly. In fact, this cultural tradition was frequently mentioned in the fund drive in order to highlight the significance of supporting the Home.  

Finally, on August 7, 1967, the Palolo Chinese Home commemorated its 50th anniversary by dedicating the $230,000 Victoria Ward building, which had a capacity of beds, with four beds in each room. After half a century's service to the indigent aged Chinese, the Home went on to face new challenges despite the several crises it had undergone. There is no denying the fact that the local Chinese community had made significant contributions to its development.

The support provided by the local Chinese to the Home was not confined to fund drives for new buildings. Money, food, clothes, cigarettes, Chinese magazines, etc. were regularly donated as well. Some of the things given had important cultural significance. In 1941, for example, Mr. Wong Buck Hung, manager of Tai Hing Company, offered to provide tombstones for deceased residents who had no family to take care of this item. (Each tombstone cost $3.50.) "... When burials are made in the potters' field and left there for a year, without a member of the family or some of the Chinese societies putting up some marker, other burials may take place in the same spot; therefore, if tombstones are provided, the grave remains intact," the Directors noted. In view of the Chinese reverence for their ancestors and regard for the spirits of the dead, "the most important thing in life is to
be buried well." So, being assured of a tombstone after his death was very important to a resident. In his letter of thanks to Mr. Wong, the President of the Home pointed out: "... This matter was brought to the attention of the inmates of the Home and they are very grateful, especially for your kind donations."64

When residents in the Home died, they usually had no family members to attend their funerals and burials. Sometimes the local Chinese would help. When Chen Qin, a former employee of Wing Lock Ngue Hong, died on January 29, 1945, the owner and all employees of the company went to his funeral to show their last respects for the old man and then attended the burial in the Manoa Chinese Cemetery.65 Pat Lung Kam, who died at the Home at the age of 104 years, was the oldest living member of the Ket On Fui Kon Association. Since his only survivor was believed to be a nephew in China, the society held a funeral for him and then buried him in the Ket On Fui Kon Cemetery.66

The link between the Home's residents and the Chinese community clearly lasted until the very end of their lives.

Quite often donations were associated with Chinese festivals and holidays, such as the Moon Festival and Chinese New Year. These gave special pleasure to the residents. According to the Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors of the Home held on October 17, 1941, "The clients of the Home enjoyed two days of fun and feasting during the Moon Festival on Oct. 3rd & 4th. Thirty-eight (38) firms contributed chicken noodles to the Home. Mr. T. F. Farm donated a 150-pound pig which was roasted free of charge by Kwong Tong Chong Co. Mr. C. H. Young donated free movies (in Chinese) for the occasion. Movie
projectors were loaned free of charge by the Consolidated Amusement Co.  

On these occasions, people would also come to visit the residents in the Home and entertain them with a large banquet. The deeper meaning of the banquet is rooted in Chinese traditional values. In ancient China, one important criterion by which to judge the emperor's benevolence was to see his attitude towards the elderly. About 4,000 years ago, an emperor of the Zhou Dynasty was recorded to have given annual banquets for old intellectuals and aristocrats and his attitude toward these was described as humble and respectful. This tradition was carried on by the Qing Dynasty when Emperor Kangxi, on the 2nd day of Chinese New Year in 1722, gave a banquet to 680 retired officials and military officers who were above 65 years of age. Three days later, he entertained another 340 old men. Emperor Qian Long (1785) followed suit. This is perhaps the reason why many Chinese societies give annual banquets for the residents of the Home.

It is easy to understand the link between the Home and the Chinese societies which were established as "purely benevolent and eleemosynary institutions," taking care of the sick, needy, and aged. However, it is worth asking why island-born Chinese, such as members of the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association, were interested in the Palolo Chinese Home and why they considered it a symbol of Chinese tradition and culture. One important reason, paradoxically, was their desire to become part of the multiethnic social order of Hawaii.

As early as the 1920s, residents of Hawaii began to take pride in their ethnic diversity. China's ancient artistic, literary, and
philosophical achievements became sources of prestige for the Island Chinese. Even though most migrants had come from poor families with limited knowledge of China's "high culture," Island Chinese encouraged Chinese scholars to come to Hawaii and began taking more interest in Chinese art, literature, and philosophy. The founding of the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1927 by a member of an Island-born Caucasian family played a considerable part in this development. The goal of the Academy's founder was to encourage children and adults of all ethnic groups in Hawaii to appreciate the culture of their ancestors. Although the early donors were mainly Caucasians, local Chinese also contributed to the Academy's Asian art collection. When its educational department started programs to develop appreciation of the arts of local ethnic groups, Hawaii Chinese gave performances and demonstrations at the Academy during Chinese New Year.71

The appreciation of the culture and tradition of their ancestors led to the persistence of Chinese group identity which also strengthened the link between the Island-born Chinese and the Palolo Chinese Home, a symbol of their culture. This link tells us at least two things. First, the Home was considered part of the community and its residents were members of the big "family." Neglecting the old members of the "family" was a disgrace to the whole community. The community felt obliged to support the Home and take care of its residents. Second, the Home was an embodiment of Chinese culture where traditional values and customs were observed. It was a place with which the local Chinese could identify and thereby perpetuate their cultural values and customs. Consequently, the link itself enhanced the persistence
of the immigrants' culture in the Home. This serves as strong evidence of the intraethnic pattern of integration, which is defined by Dr. Lucie Cheng Hirata as "the complete absorption of the immigrant by his ethnic community."72

Residents and their Ways of Life in the Home

Another way to study the preservation of things Chinese in the Home is to examine the lifestyle of the residents, their values and beliefs as well as aspects of their daily lives, which may give a deeper insight into the issue of cultural persistence.

We will begin with the story of Wah Chun, an "Americanized" Chinese who was a misfit at the Home.

Little China73

Just why Wah Chun was ever admitted to the Chinese Home nobody now understands. For months he refused to leave his old shack and the neighbors who were good to him... Finally, Wah Chun and Puppy were uprooted, and were transplanted in Palolo Valley.

Wah Chun refused to become friends with any of the old men. When they spoke to him in Chinese he answered in English. Soon, no one spoke to him. Wah Chun was lonely. Then, too, he was a Christian. The others were heathens. He took delight in telling them how wicked they were. Early on Sunday mornings he used to sing, "Jesus loves me, this I know." This disturbed the others in the dormitory. Wah Chun knew it and was glad.

One evening, just at sunset, a group of old men were sitting on the lanai, smoking, and discussing the Manchurian question. Wah Chun happened by. He stopped to listen. "Why so much talk?", he said, "Japan already get Manchuria."

The storm which had been brewing ever since Wah Chun entered the Home, broke. Instantly, every man in the group jumped on the yelping Wah Chun. The police were called. As Wah Chun was led to the patrol wagon he whimpered, "Just the same, Japan do get Manchuria, no, Officer?"
Wah Chun is again happy. So is Puppy. They're back in their old shack, surrounded by friendly neighbors.

At the Home, as the twilight shadows lengthen in the Valley, the old men smoke, and discuss the Manchurian affair without interruption.

This is a revealing story, telling us many things about how Chinese the Home was in the 1940s. Obviously, the functional language was Chinese and Christianity was not practiced by most of the residents. In addition, there was a strong patriotic feeling for China among the residents.

The residents' patriotism serves as a good example of both cultural modification and persistence. Like many other immigrant groups from peasant backgrounds, the early Chinese had little national consciousness before coming to Hawaii. Their world was that of the family and clan embedded in the traditional village community. Outside contacts usually reached no farther than the district market town. Even for some time after emigration the immigrant's focus remained on his home village, particularly if he had left wife, children and parents there.

The immigrants' early experiences in Hawaii, however, changed this mentality. They became more nation-conscious and began to be involved in nationally-oriented activities. Two factors accounted for this change. On the one hand, the wah kiu (overseas Chinese), who had so many different group identities among themselves, were treated categorically as a single group ("Chinamen") by people who were antagonistic to them and by the government's restrictive laws
and regulations. On the other hand, some immigrant leaders believed that the discrimination suffered by Chinese immigrants was a consequence of the weakness of the Chinese government in dealing with foreign powers. To improve their own status, they believed, the power of the Chinese government needed to be strengthened. This national consciousness resulted in a great interest in news from China and in efforts to support the home country. The residents in the Palolo Chinese Home were no exceptions to this trend.

The following is an example of patriotic feeling among the residents.

CASE 1

7/8/38

. . . Man lives in a dormitory with 32 other old people. I notice that he is always anxious to get the Chinese paper to find out the news from China. On many occasions while reading the paper, he has four or five others around him listening to the news. He relates to them as he reads and it is very interesting to see the group together. On two occasions as he was discussing conditions in China with another old man, they got into an argument and I had to quiet them down.

(See footnote #76 for case 2.)

This was during the Sino-Japanese War. The records of the Honolulu police department in 1939 indicate that the only fight about the war was not between a Chinese and a Japanese, but between two inmates of the Chinese old men's home. One radical among them ventured the opinion that China's management of the war was not all it might have been. Another resented this as sacrilege—resented it so furiously that the police had to be called in.
One day in August of 1945, when the old men at the Home heard that the Allies had won the war and Japan had surrendered, they were so excited that they could not go to sleep. Collecting $154, they were going to buy firecrackers to celebrate the victory. However, because these were illegal, they could not buy any. Instead, they gave the money to the Chinese Relief Association for children in Guangtong Province, from which most of them had come.78

During World War II, many relief organizations—such as the Chinese Relief Association, the China Women's Relief Organization, China Emergency Medical Relief Committee, the Aid to Chinese Wounded Soldiers and Refugees Committee, the Aid to South China Refugees Association, and the Overseas Chinese Chungshan Relief Association—were established by the local Chinese to raise funds to assist war torn China.79 Residents at the Home also participated in such patriotic activities. In 1941, when the Honolulu branch of United China Relief Committee started a fund drive, residents contributed their $50.46 with great enthusiasm. One man named He Lai gave several months' savings, amounting to $10, to the United China Relief Fund.80 At that time the allocation to each resident for incidental expenses was only fifty cents per month.

The above examples confirm the national consciousness of the residents, manifested by their interest in and support of China, and also demonstrate their group identity. Even though they could not return to China, the link between them and their homeland remained strong and important in their daily lives.
Although the majority of the early residents at the Home were without families, there were cases of individuals who had left their families in China. For different reasons, they either could never save up enough money to make the trip back or they kept delaying their return for the sake of making more money until it was too late. Yet the link between them and their relatives in China was important in their late years. It made them feel at least not totally rootless. With a sense of belonging, they had somebody or something to think of or to live for.

Mr. P. T. entered the Palolo Chinese Home in 1936 and died in 1939. Only after his death did the Home find out that he had a wife and a 12-year-old son as well as a younger daughter in China. Mr. P. T. left $8.75 and a note with it. The note requested that the money be sent to his wife and children "who will be glad to receive this money." As destitute as he was (he got only 50 cents for monthly personal incidentals), he thought of his family until the very end of his life.

The correspondence found in the Home files helps us understand the link between the residents and their relatives in China. The letters written by the nephew of Mr. L. T., who was a resident in the 1940s, for instance, provide the information that he had sent money to his nephew in China and the nephew had asked for more in order to develop his business:
LETTER

Most Honorable Uncle T.:

... Ever since the war ended, I thought that would be the end of our lives in the bitter sea. Yet due to the changeable situation, there is a severe inflation and disorder in currency. My business has been affected by them. By and large, the business is OK. However, I have trouble in circulating the money. I'm short of money to buy more goods. In this cut-throat business world, if I don't add more capital, it is hard for my business to develop. Thus, I'm writing this letter to ask help from Your Honor. Please send me 1,000 Hong Kong dollars so that I can add more capital to the business without begging help from others. Hopefully, the business will bloom. Wish you could meet your nephew's urgent need ... .

Other letters described the situation in the village and invited Mr. T. to return to China:

LETTER

... Recently quite a number of villagers returned. The village is peaceful. There is nothing to worry about ...

LETTER

... Uncle has been away from home for quite long, and you'd better come back as soon as you can. Here at home, though we are not affluent, we are able to keep our stomach full. The important thing is that here is the land of our ancestor. Drifting in a foreign land, your Honor should make sure to return immediately whenever you come across a safe ship. This will relieve our worries about you ...

(See footnote #82 for four letters written by the nephew of Mr. L. T., who was a Home resident in the 1940s. 82)

It does not seem likely that Mr. T. was finally able to make the trip back. In spite of that, it was still a comfort for him to think that he had someone at home waiting for his return if he could manage
it. He must have also been proud of being helpful to his relatives in China by sending money to them.

For those who had no relatives left in China, their links to local Chinese societies and to Chinatown were very important. The Chinese societies were just like extended families, a home away from home. One of their functions was to provide burials, usually in the society's plot, and send the remains of any member who died in Hawaii back to his clan and village. All of this was of the greatest concern to the residents at the Home. The desire of the Chinese migrant to be buried near his native village was intimately connected with the Chinese villager's conception of a person's spiritual life after death. The spirits of the dead were believed to return to the place where the bones lay at the times of the festivals for the dead. Therefore, to be buried in a spot unknown and uncared for by any relatives was to be condemned to an eternity of being a wandering spirit. That is why one can never exaggerate the reassurance the migrant received in joining his district association or another burial association. He knew that if he died in Hawaii instead of in his village, the association would take care of his burial and then dig up his bones a few years later, place them in a container with the correct identification, and transport them to China for a final burial.83

One of the residents at the Home belonged to several societies and his certificates of membership, some of which were made of cloth, and the receipts of his donations (altogether 14 pieces) were carefully preserved in his case file. Because he was a member of Cit Sin Tong, he was entitled to a burial plot in the society's cemetery after his
Another resident, Mr. L., who belonged to Chung Wah Hui Koon and See Dai Doo Society, asked that when he died, the staff at the Home should notify Chang Look who understands just what to do for him. It is a source of much satisfaction to Mr. L. that he belongs to the burial association as he does not have to worry about planning for his burial. It is customary for the old Chinese people to prepare their burial clothes for themselves and to plan for their funerals. It worries many of the old men at the Home that they are unable to do this. It pleases them when one of their companions dies if he is clothed in clean pajamas as they then can picture themselves as receiving the same attention.

Another important cultural link existed between residents and Chinatown, which, for the Chinese immigrants, was a place where

Most of us live a warmer, freer, and a more human life among our relatives and friends than among strangers. . . . Chinese relations with the population outside Chinatown are likely to be cold, formal, and commercial. It is only in Chinatown that a Chinese immigrant has society, friends and relatives who share his dreams and hopes, his hardships and adventures. Here he can tell a joke and make everybody laugh with him; here he may hear folk tales told and retold which create the illusion that Chinatown is really China.

Among the more than 300 closed cases, there is one "extreme" case, Mr. F., who insisted on going to Chinatown despite his physical disabilities. (See footnote #87 for details.)

CASE 1(#150 Fong, Yim)

2/13/39

Man came to the car and wanted to go to town. As he is partially paralyzed and unable to do much walking, I advised him not to go. There were several others standing near listening to our conversation and they
also told man not to go. After much talking he changed his mind and got out of the car. . . .

10/12/39
As I was leaving the grounds this morning man came to the car and said that he wanted to go to town. . . . I told him that if there were anything I could do for him I should be glad to do it but he said that he only wanted to go to town to see friends, especially at the Chee Kung Tong Society.

9/13/39
. . . Man began nagging again and said that he wants to go out visit. Just then another old man came to talk to him and told him not to agitate as he is so old and disabled he should learn to be quiet.

5/15/40
Man died on this date.

The case shows how important the location of the societies, along with personal friends, were to the residents of the Home. The man in the case must have died with great sorrow because he was unable to visit Chinatown and his friends in the society before he left this world.

In sum, the fact that the residents at the Home kept in touch with China, Chinatown in Honolulu, and the Chinese societies shows their strong identity as Chinese. They formed a cohesive unit as outsiders within the host society. The link between them and things Chinese gave them a strong sense of belonging and an assured identity. Living in Hawaii, they nevertheless depended on a set of values and beliefs which were distinct from those of the host society.

As noted previously, filial piety has had a great impact upon the social behavior of Chinese people. One of the common filial practices was to have male descendants pass on the family line. A person who failed to marry and have children was considered a social
outcast. When he reached old age, he had to turn to his clan for help. Institutional support, such as a care home, was very rare in China.

The majority of the early Chinese immigrants to Hawaii, as we already know, were men without families. When they became old, many of them turned to their societies for help. These societies functioned as their extended families. As ashamed as they already were, they would never think of going to an institutional care home, which was something they were not familiar with culturally. That was why it was very hard to persuade the indigent old Chinese to enter the Home when it was first founded. Only the most destitute or the weakest ones ended up in Palolo.

In the files, cases were found showing the reluctance of the early residents to enter the Home. (See footnote #88 for a specific case.) Still, there was always a long waiting list due to the destitute condition of the aged Chinese. New cottages had to be built to meet the need. On February 27, 1937, another new dormitory was opened at the Home. The capacity of the Home was then 148; yet the average enrollment per month was only 140. "Two factors," according to the report to the United Welfare Fund, "have changed the whole picture of the need for institutional care for the Aged Chinese." 89

First, the Public Welfare Bureau grants old age assistance to the Chinese who qualify for the same. The old people prefer to live independently now that they have been granted pensions.

Second, when the younger group of Chinese became interested in the new building program for the Chinese Home--they began to inquire about the living conditions of the aged Chinese who were living in the society houses. They found them pretty bad and decided to remedy them--in several instances, the society houses were greatly improved and the old men, preferring to
live in these places, withdrew their applications from the Chinese Home...87

The decline in enrollment due to Old Age Assistance is another example of the residents' traditional attitude towards staying at the Home. Apart from the four causes pointed out by Kum Pui Lai (see Chapter II), another cause is that psychologically speaking, it still seemed a shameful thing for a Chinese man to enter a care home.

CASE 190

3/24/42

Man asked me whether I could engage a Chinese herbist to treat his face, chin, and neck because he is suffering very much from that ailment. I told him that I'd drive him down to the Chinese herbist in the car. But he said that he was ashamed to be seen in public and would not accompany me to see the herbist.

I contacted the herbist but due to pressure of work he was not able to visit the Home.

Later Dr. Luke visited the Home and said that the man's ailment on the face had been over-treated and nothing should be done to it. Chang

4/25/42

Man was found dead on one of the tall (pine?) trees on the ewa side of cottage #9 by Chang Chow, one of the Inmates... Lau reported [sic] the matter to me at 6:37 AM just as I was tuning in KGMB for the early headline news. Immediately, I went to see about the matter and found the man hanging stiff, face discolored, clad in blue demin trousers and jacket, with a ladder removed from the rear of the kitchen. He had used a discarded awning cotton cord. . . . Telephoned to Mr. Leonard Fong to give a burial plot for the deceased. Notified Mrs. MacDuffie that man is member of Cit Sin Tong and has burial plot but not funeral benefits. Chang

The direct cause for the man's suicide is unknown. From the records of his file, we know that he was suffering both physically and mentally from "shame." He did not want to be seen in public as a resident of
the Home, because being cared for by an institution was not sanctioned by his cultural values.

Many cases found in the Home files also show that the early residents did not believe in western medicine, in seeing a doctor and going to the hospital. The worst thing was to have an operation on any part of one's body. All they believed in was Chinese medicine.

CASE 191 (#198 Chang Cho)

3/26/38
Worker advised man to go to the Doctor to be examined regarding his physical condition. Man did not wish to come to town but said that as he is using Chinese medicine he will be well shortly.

9/8/38
... Man seemed quite concerned lately about his health. He boils eucalyptus leaves which he picks up from the grounds and uses the brew in his bath. He calls for medicine regularly every day. 
... I have twice asked him about going to the hospital but he said that foreign medicines did not help him at all while Chinese medicine relieved him a great deal. 

(See footnote #91 for details.)

Sometimes the nurse and the residents were in disagreement concerning medicine. In 1940 "the old men complained about the nurse because she would not give them the medicine they wanted, only the medicine ordered by the doctor."92

The Chinese did not believe in having operations, for "the body of a son belongs to his parents and he cannot endanger it in any enterprise."93 It is considered unfilial to be careless with one's body. Therefore most Chinese would rather die in a complete body than have any kind of operation. This was also true among the residents of the Home.
CASE 1

1/5/40

... Man is suffering from a growth on his neck. I asked him to see a doctor. He said that he is applying Chinese medicine and it helps to cure it. He explained that it is very funny that the growth on his neck disappears sometimes and then comes back. He feels that it is caused by what he eats. He does not wish to go to a haole doctor because they might talk to him about operation. He knows that an operation on the neck is very delicate and he does not wish to hear about it. ...

4/26/42

Man died at 10:30 PM. Saturday night, Apr. 25, 1942. He had been suffering from a cancer growth on the left side of his neck. Dr. Chun, Dr. Luke and Dr. W. K. Chang all diagnosed him as having cancer which necessitated either operation or X-ray treatment. He had been going to the Japanese Hosp for X-ray for about a month until he complained that he could not eat. Dr. Schnack said that the swelling had subsided somewhat, but that as for the pain Dr. Luke would treat it. Man had been going without food excepting hot milk and sugar for a week until he died. A friend Mr. Sen Mung is making preparations for the burial at Manoa Chinese Cemetery. Man also has Harrison Burial Benefits. Case closed.

Chang

Obviously, the man died without an operation on his neck. We might say that with his body intact he died without violating his cultural beliefs.

Food is perhaps the most persistent element of an immigrant group's culture in a foreign country. Menus found in the Home files show that the main meals there were Chinese style, for most residents were not used to "haole food." When residents got very sick, they were usually transferred to the emergency hospital. Many closed cases show that the one thing patients did not like about the hospital was the food. (See footnote #95 for a specific case.)

In 1946, there was a maritime strike, which cut off Hawaii from California rice shipments. This really hit the old men at the Palolo Home hard. The directors of the Home appealed to Governor Stainback
The board of directors of the Palolo Chinese Home has asked me to solicit your immediate aid in securing rice for the care of the 105 indigent and aged inmates of this community institution.

Our supply of rice is exhausted and we have been compelled to substitute rolled oats, potatoes, noodles, and macaroni. As our old men, with an age range from 65 to 96 years, have been accustomed since their birth to a rice diet, the substitute diet impairs their health and well-being.

"Changing the men's diet is like taking the poi away from the Hawaiians. The men, however, are looking at the situation philosophically. They wait and pray that rice will be on the tables again soon," said Mr. Hu, the manager of the home to the local newspaper.

In the 1930s, only rice, tea and a few other essentials were purchased. Other food consumed at the Home was produced on the 15 acres which surround the cottages. Large gardens, carefully tended by the residents themselves, produced all kinds of vegetables and many fruits, and the men also raised pigs and chickens for their own use. As farmers all of their lives, many residents could not remain idle. Working in the gardens was a pleasant way to pass the time. Besides, they were paid for doing work for the Home.

Other recreational activities included viewing Chinese movies and listening to Chinese operatic recordings or the radio. These were sources of great pleasure for the old men, especially when Chinese programs were broadcast from the Honolulu stations. Several of them were expert musicians and often entertained others with concerts in which Chinese musical instruments were played. But one of the most favored of all pastimes was card playing according to the Chinese
style. They were often engaged in "Sky Dog" or "Tien Gow," which requires much thinking to outwit the other fellow, or in "15 Tiger" or "Sup Ng Foo," a game calling for deep concentration. Interestingly enough, the popular mah jongg game was not played, for "the aged men are not familiar with this very modern game." They were indeed keepers of the things traditionally Chinese at the Home.

It is worth mentioning that to make the atmosphere at the Home more comfortable for the residents, the managers, who were of Chinese ancestry, tried to keep the place as Chinese as they could. For instance, when they hired employees they wanted people who had:

1. A working understanding of senility, their mental and physical differences.
2. A general background and knowledge of the Chinese, their ways, customs, and psychology.
3. Be freely conversant in more than one of the numerous Chinese dialects and be able to listen and understand several others.
4. Have a speaking knowledge of medicines and drugs both Occidental and Oriental.
5. Must be sincere in interest of work.

Obviously, being familiar with things Chinese played a part in employment.

The Home also kept a directory of 44 Chinese societies, and the manager tried to publish the names of all the residents in some Chinese paper, hoping that this would inform friends as to who lived in the Home and enable them to call on the old men. In this way, the Home helped maintain the important links between residents and Chinese societies and their Chinese friends.
The efforts to run the Home in a Chinese style and maintain Chinese culture were not in vain. Indeed it is evident from the above examples and analysis that things Chinese were effectively retained in the Home. While the Chinese outside were undergoing the process of "Americanization" in the 1940s, the residents of the Home maintained strong ethnic characteristics. It was no coincidence that the Home was given such labels as "Hale Pake" (the Chinese Home) and "Little Chinatown."

**Summary**

What happened at the Palolo Chinese Home from the 1920s to the 1970s does not confirm assimilation theory.

Structurally speaking, it is true that the Home became more and more Americanized, following the extraethnic pattern of integration. First under the supervision of an outside charitable organization, it was increasingly affected as the government began in the 1930s to intervene in welfare matters concerning the elderly. As part of the mainstream of social welfare institutions, the Home kept up with the changes taking place in the larger care community.

However, the lifestyles of the residents at the Home show strong evidence of the intraethnic pattern of integration, emphasizing things Chinese. Primarily this was due to the link between them and the local Chinese community. Regarding the Home as part of their own community and as a symbol of their cultural traditions, the local Chinese not only tried hard to support it financially, but also came there to identify themselves with their culture and to preserve things Chinese. Consequently, the link itself enhanced the persistence of the
immigrants' culture. Secondly, most early residents were first-generation immigrants. They did not understand English, never went to an American school, and were always segregated from the host society whether they were on the plantations or later in Chinatown. Only familiar with the Chinese language, music, medicine, and food, they led their lives in a Chinese way, even when they were in an American-ized institution.

However, as Chinese as they were, they were by no means entirely cut off from other ethnic groups, with whom in a very limited way they did intermingle. Yet, only when the Island-born Chinese entered the Home, did the picture begin to change drastically.

In short, the whole process of change was not simply linear and unidimensional, leading finally to assimilation. Rather, it was a process of cultural change, cultural persistence and mingling with other ethnic groups. The most convincing evidence of this process is found in the contemporary situation of the Palolo Chinese Home.
CHAPTER III--NOTES

1 Social Service in Hawaii, p. 3.


3 The Honolulu Advertiser, November 28, 1921, p. 4.


6 "Application for Participation in the United Welfare Fund, Palolo Chinese Home, Participation for the Year 1942, p. 3 #2 metal file cabinet, #3 drawer, nurse cottage, room #6, PCH.

7 New China Daily Press, October 26, 1940, p. 3.

8 "Application for Participation in the United Welfare Fund, Palolo Chinese Home, Participation for the Year 1942," #2 cab, #3 dr.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 "Letter--(United Welfare Fund) 1942-44" #2 cab, #3 dr.

November 7, 1942

Mr. Rene C. K. Hu
Palolo Chinese Home
2459 10th Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Hu:

Under date of October 21, Mr. C. J. Henderson, Vice President of Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd., advised us that he had forwarded to you a check in the amount of $200.00. We were also informed that some time ago you were the recipient of a check from the same company to be used for the same purpose.
We are completely in accord with the Hawaiian Pineapple Company's desire to make this additional contribution to you and want to advise you that we do not expect this amount to be accounted for within your regular budget of Income and Expense.

The thought has occurred to us that it might be a very nice thing if you were to forward to the Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd. a very short letter in which you tell them of the manner in which you extended this gift. When you have done this will you please send us a copy of the letter for our files.

Very sincerely yours,

(signature)

Arthur H. Eyles, 3rd.,
Manager

November 12, 1942

Mr. Arthur H. Eyles, 3rd.,
Manager
United Welfare Fund
510 Hawaiian Trust Building
City

Dear Mr. Eyles:

In reply to your letter of Nov. 7, 1942 I am enclosing our office copies for your inspection. We are sorry that we do not have extra copies, so kindly return when through.

Please be assured that gifts from the public are not solicited in accordance with the rules of the United Welfare Fund; yet if voluntarily offered, we are most glad to be the recipients.

In the matter of gifts we usually follow this procedure:

1. Letter of thanks to benevolent giver.
2. Inmates notified.
3. Item of thanks inserted in Chinese daily newspapers.
4. President of Board of Directors notified.
5. Board of Directors notified at monthly meeting.

Very truly yours,

Rene C. K. Hu, Mgr.

12Social Service in Hawaii, pp. 45-46.
13 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

14 CASE 1: (Case Closed from 1940-44, #2 cab. #4 dr.)

LIU--Ah Len (Excerpt)
9/26/27

Worker was approached by Mr. Liu at Palama Settlement. He asked worker to interpret for him. He complained of pains in both legs which were badly swollen. Worker advised him that the physician had gone for the day and told him that he should return tomorrow morning. Gave him a Diagnosis Slip to give to the doctor.

Interviewed man.

Mr. Liu is a member of the Chee Kung Tong Society--1284 Aala Lane. He has lived at this place at the expense of his friends for the past four years. He is 58 years of age and came to the Islands as a laborer 26 years ago. He worked for the Kahuku Plantation for three years; Waipahu one year; Ewa two years and Aiea for three years. He went to Hilo and worked there four years. From Hilo he went to Kauai and worked on the plantation at Kapaa for two years. He left Kauai and came back to Honolulu and went to work for the Sun Kee Laundry where he remained for six years. He then went back to Waipahu and worked for about four years. He could not stand the work and came back to town.

10/7/27

Visited Mr. Liu at the Chee Kung Tong Society. Mr. Liu is feeling much better. He used up the medicine which the Palama Settlement gave him and he returned for more yesterday. Worker asked him if he would be able to work and take care of himself. Mr. Liu will try to do yard work instead of laundry work and he feels that if he is able to get two days work a week he will be able to get along.

10/19/34

Man calls regularly each month for his food allowance. He is still suffering from red blotches in his eyes and he claims that this condition is such that he does not feel that doctors can do anything for him. Worker reminded him of the condition of his teeth and that he had been advised to go to the dental clinic at Palama. Man says this condition is due to old age and he will just let it go.
4/19/35
Man has called regularly each month for his food allowance. He is beginning to show his age and is growing weaker, so he is only able to stroll along. Worker spoke to him about the Chinese Home but he is happy at the Society. CCH

6/6/35
Man in office to explain that he is not well and is also aging, and he had come to ask for admission to the Chinese Home. Worker told him that there is no vacancy at present, but he will be notified when there is one. CCH

6/18/35
Man called for his monthly food allowance. Worker told him that there is no vacancy at the Chinese Home as yet. He reminded worker that he is most anxious to go to an institution as he is not able to care for himself. CCH

7/22/35
Met man as he was coming home from the grocery store. He buys his groceries from See Wo Chong. Man again asked about his entrance to the Chinese Home. Worker told him there was no room at present. CCH

2/3/36
Gave man his allowance of $6.00 for the month. Worker noticed that he could hardly walk and dragged his feet as if he had had a slight stroke. When questioned he said that he is getting very weak and would like to go to the Chinese Home. He was told that he would be notified when there is a vacancy. CCH

2/29/36
CASE CLOSED. Man has entered the Chinese Home. CCH

4/2/38
Liu has not been well for a few days and was seen today by Dr. Mossman. Dr. Mossman said man was suffering from heart trouble and had been known to the Indigent Home off and on for some time. Man was asked to go to the Indigent Home today but he said he wanted to think the matter over carefully before going.

4/8/38
Man was placed in the Indigent Home today.
4/29/38
Miss Thomas, Indigent Home, telephoned to say that man was ready for discharge today and asked me to take him out. I called at the Indigent Home and took man home. He has become much thinner and is barely able to walk around. When I spoke to him, he said that he still feels weak. However he would be able to take care of himself, and was glad to return to the Chinese Home.

When we got to the Chinese Home, I placed him in Dormitory #5. The other men were all glad to see him and men from different dormitories came to call on him. Later in the afternoon when I was in the dispensary giving out medicine, I asked man if he needed anything. He was very pleasant and said that he did not need any medicine.

7/8/38
Man received 50 cents for personal incidentals and endorsed his check for $14 for the month. He has received this regularly through previous months. He lives in a dormitory with 19 other old people who are mostly sick cases. Even though he is not a well man he always tries to help himself and not be a burden to others. Man is suffering from myocarditis and calls at the dispensary for medicine as he needs it. He is very pleasant to talk with and I have noticed that the other old people at the home like (him) and he always has plenty visitors.

8/1/38
Man volunteered to take care of the chickens but after finding out from the other men that man does not know anything about raising chickens, I doubted whether it would be wise for him to do so. However, as there was no one else to do so I allowed man to do it temporarily explaining that a change would be made later. Man is deaf. He is senile and knows that he is not able to do much.

7/5/39
... Man's health is still the same, but he always tries to help himself; even when he is sick, he goes to the dispensary to ask for the medicine he needs. He is suffering from heart trouble and one can tell he is a sick man. The old people in his dormitory are nice to him. Ho Jack, night helper, does what he can for him when necessary.
8/23/39

At 6 AM this morning Ho Jack of the Chinese-Hawaiian Civic Dormitory informed me that man died early this morning. Since Mrs. McDuffie was on vacation I notified Borthwick Mortuary as arranged and a resume of the case was sent to the City and County Registry.

CASE CLOSED

15 Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, p. 12.


17 Minutes of the Chinese Committee of the Associated Charities of Hawaii (in Chinese), p. 6, #2 cab. #3 dr.

18 The Aging Experience--An Introduction to Social Gerontology, p. 309.


21 Social Service in Hawaii, p. 55.

22 Application for Participation in the United Welfare Fund Participation for the Year 1938, #2 cab. #3 dr.

23 Application for Participation in the United Welfare Fund Participation for the Year 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, #2 cab., #3 dr.


25 "Correspondence in 1940s" home files. From Waimea Hospital, Waimea, Kauai, T.H. to Palolo Chinese Home:
Palolo Chinese Home
10th Avenue Palolo
Honolulu, T.H.

Gentlemen:

My plantation management called to my attention the fact that they are annually contributing to the welfare drive certain large amounts of money, and asked me to inquire from your management what regulations are in respect to the admission of aged Chinese men, as to who are eligible, and what are the necessary prerequisites for admission.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

(signature)

Burt G. Wade, M.D.

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October 25, 1941

Burt G. Wade, M.D.
Waimea Hospital
Waimea, Kauai, T.H.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 13, 1941 has just been received. Regarding your inquiry as to regulations for the Home on admission of aged Chinese men, I am very happy to let you know.

Admission to the Home now is done mostly through the Dept. of Public Welfare for the reason of having an accurate count of those needing relief and also because of the lesser income derived from the United Welfare Fund. The Dept. grants each man that enters the Home fifteen dollars a month. This grant is insufficient to cover room and board, medical supplies, recreation, household incidentals, personal incidentals, repairs and replacement, salaries and wages and other items to maintain the Home on an adequate basis.

Therefore the funds raised through the United Welfare helps to carry part of these expenditures. Your firm has been very generous in assisting the Home and 24 other agencies through your large yearly donations. At the present time it costs the Home $20.06 per capita per month. So you see we have to supplement for each of the 130 men $5.06 per month.
For the above reason the members of the Palolo Chinese Home passed in April, 1940, a ruling to the effect that a $15.00 charge per capita per month would be levied upon his acceptance admission when a vacancy occurs.

The present procedure is for your company to apply for territorial or federal aid for the old men. Upon assurance of their grants, make application to the Palolo Chinese Home for admission, when vacancies occur. The applicant's name will be placed on our waiting list or if it should be an urgent case where the welfare of the client (other than need for medical cases), is jeopardized, we give that person first preference.

The Home is very inadequate in the matter of housing clients needing medical or other personal cares that a hospital provides. All these cases of ours are transferred to either the Queen's or St. Francis or Home for the Indigent.

Enclosed are application blanks which I hope you can use when referring these cases either through the Home or through the Dept. of Public Welfare.

Hoping this will answer your question regarding admission, I am,

Sincerely yours


27 "1941 #2."


29 The Honolulu Advertiser, April 3, p. 1.

"Its 40 inhabitants live in tinderbox wooden cottages, cover themselves in their GI cots with ragged blankets, cough and spit into open No. 2 cans placed alongside the bunk.

The home's staff admits there isn't much dignity for the dying. Lying in the open in the cottages, the elderly watch decay and death set in on their companions. They lay bundled under blankets and rags to keep out some of the perpetual valley dampness.

Bare lightbulbs hang on cords from the ceiling. Filth-encrusted towels and washcloths are speared on nails alongside the bunks. Hangered clothes hang from beams and wall protrusions.
The bathrooms are bare, open affairs with minimal necessities and the powerful stench of cheap disinfectant. Individual toilets have no doors or gates. Speckled mirrors hang over the sinks.

In a cottage for the most ill inhabitants, 84-year-old William Ing lay on his cot yesterday while a bevy of small, winged insects buzzed around his face. The floor around him was covered with phlegm.

... if a fire starts in a cottage, little or nothing could be saved.

... Since 1962 when the City & County Health Department discontinued sending a physician weekly to the home, there has been no way to recognize illnesses except by chronic symptoms.

... The Health Department has ruled that nursing and custodial homes have no more than four persons to a room—yet for charitable reasons it has refrained from closing the home. It gave it until Jan. 1 to change.

... The home is now scheduled for some detailed scrutiny.

... The community social eye is turning to 40 old men living in conditions more representative of the 1860s rather than the 1960s."


32 Ibid., September 20, 1966.

33 Binky Tan, "Role-Taking and Role-Making," p. 35.


38 Ibid., p. 19.
40 Ibid., pp. 44-45.
42 Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, pp. 97-98.
45 Lillian W. M. Feng, Palolo Chinese Home ..., p. 5.
46 Application, 1926.
47 Ibid.
50 Honolulu Star-Bulletin, June 3, 1936, p. 4.
51 Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 350.
52 Home files.

List of Donations:

Receipts--

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raised by Chinese Civic Association</td>
<td>$ 4,952.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations from--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Friend</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander &amp; Baldwin, Ltd.</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>American Factors, Ltd.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
C. Brewer & Co.  125.00
Castle & Cooke, Ltd.  125.00
T. H. Davies & Co. Ltd.  125.00
*City Mill Co Ltd.  500.00
Chinese Home Operating Fund  .31

TOTAL .......................... $11,177.71

*Owner of City Mill Co. Ltd. was C. K. Ai, one of the early founders of the Home.


57 Ibid., April 26, 1963.


Liberty Bank  $9,000
Chee Kung Tong Society  6,000
E. O. Farm & the family  5,000
Chinese Women's Club  1,000
Chinese Chamber of Commerce  1,000
Chinese Christian Association of Hawaii  100
Ket On Fui Kon  1,500
Kong Chau Wei Quan  400
Kung Seong Doo Wui Goon  500
Leong Doo Wui Goon  1,000
Lung Doo Chung Sin Tong  1,000
Lung Kong Kung Shaw  75
See Dai Doo Wui Goon  100
United Chinese Society  200
Wong Kong Har Tong  1,000
Wing Lock Ngue Hong  100

59 S & A  7/23/67 c1:1

Man is almost totally blind and walks with the assistance of a cane. ... He spends most of his time sitting on the porch--there is always someone talking to him. He is very interested in the news of China and is always anxious to know the daily news.
LETTER 1

Most Honorable Uncle T.:  

After I got the Chinese three hundred dollars you had asked Guang Dai from Ju Jiang District to bring to us, I immediately wrote a letter to you. Guess you must have got the letter by now. The Japanese were defeated and transportation was restored. Uncle has been away from home for quite long, and you'd better come back as soon as you can. Here at home, though we are not affluent, we are able to keep our stomach full. The important thing is that here is the land of our ancestor. Drifting in a foreign land, your honor should make sure to return immediately whenever you come across a safe ship. This will relieve our worries about you. Everybody in the family is fine and they ask me to say "Hello" to you.

Wish you good health,

your nephew

Guang Yang

12/15/1945

P.S. Our address: ...

LETTER 2

Most Honorable Uncle T.:  

Got your letter and delighted to know that you are in good health. In your letter you mentioned that you had mailed through Bank of China Chinese two hundred dollars and the government would add 240 times of the money. Today I got the check from the bank, telling us that
you had mailed Chinese one hundred eighty two dollars. The government would add 24 times of the money, so the total would be CH$4,550. Your Honor must be wrong about the multiplication calculated by the government. I am running a small business at home, making just enough money to survive. As to establishing a family, I was married five or six years ago. Now I have two daughters. One is 4; the other is 5 years old. The good thing about the family is that everyone is in good health; so your honor does not need to worry about us. Your Honor is getting older and older. The home [Palolo Chinese Home] is but to provide two meals a day. If possible, please come back immediately. I assure you that if there is nothing accidental, you will be taken care of by us....

Wish you good health,

Your nephew
Guang Yang
4/11/1946

LETTER 3

Most Honorable Uncle T.:

... Ever since the war ended, I thought that would be the end of our lives in the bitter sea. Yet due to the changeable situation, there is a severe inflation and disorder in currency. My business has been affected by them. By and large, the business is OK. However, I have trouble in circulating the money. I'm short of money to buy more goods. In this cut-throat business world, if I don't add more capital, it is hard for my business to develop. Thus, I'm writing this letter to ask help from Your Honor. Please send me 1,000 Hong Kong dollars so that I can add more capital to the business without begging help from others. Hopefully, the business will bloom. Wish you could meet your nephew's urgent need. Your Honor has been away from home for long. Hope you'll be back soon. Don't worry about your life at home, for we'll take care of you....

Your nephew
Guang Yang
6/2 (Lunar year)

LETTER 4

Most Honorable Uncle T.:

On 16th this month [Western calendar: August 2], I got the $10 you had mailed to us. Delighted to hear that everything is fine with you. Your Honor said that you could not come back home now for you didn't have enough money. The reason I asked to come back is that
we are relatives. I worry about you as you are getting older in a foreign land. I don't care if you have money or not. You've been drifting in a foreign country for years. It's better for you to return earlier. Please reconsider it. Right now, $10 is equal to (?) Hong Kong dollars; and HK$10 is equal to (?) Chinese dollars. That means every $10 is equal to (?) Chinese dollars. The price for rice is now CH$ --- per dan. Though the price is very high, one can earn CH$30,000 daily as a laborer, enough to make a living. You can have a quite good life if you spend U.S. dollars or Hong Kong dollars here in China. Recently quite a number of villagers returned. The village is peaceful. There is nothing to worry about. Everyone in my family is fine. No need to worry. If Your Honor decide to come back, please let me know beforehand. I'll meet you at the port. Hope to hear from you soon.

Wish you good health,

Your nephew,
Guang Yang
8/5

[*The postmark on the envelope is 1946.]

83 Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 247.

84 Case closed from 1940 to 1944," #120 Ng, Young, #2 metal cab. #4 dr.

85 #8 Luke, Yun.

86 Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 137.

87 CASE 1 (#150 Fong, Yim)

2/13/39

Man came to the car and wanted to go to town. As he is partially paralyzed and unable to do much walking, I advised him not to go. There were several others standing near listening to our conversation and they also told man not to go. After much talking he changed his mind and got out of the car. I heard him mumbling, "There are others going to town, why can't I go." Man is somewhat childish so I tried to explain to him that he must realize for himself that a man so old is not physically able to take care of himself and he should not be wandering around on the streets as it disturbs the community as well as myself. He turned calmly and went directly to his cottage walking with the assistance of a cane.
2/28/39
To this date man has not pestered me about going to town but has been getting Chinese medicine when he asks for it. . . .

8/22/39
Man came to the car and said that he wanted to go to town. I suggested that if it were not very important it would be much better for him to stay home. Several old men who were standing by listening began to scold man because he was not physically fit to go any place in the first place and if he goes to town there will be remarks about the Chinese Home letting old people go to town who are not able to care for themselves. Man suffered a slight stroke of paralysis some time ago. Since then he walks with the assistance of a cane. Besides this he is very simple. I had to humor him until he realized. Later he again asked to go to town. I told him when it is a nice day and I see fit I will remind him. I am doing this to steer him off as I know he is not able to go to town.

10/12/39
As I was leaving the grounds this morning man came to the car and said that he wanted to go to town. As he is partially paralyzed and has difficulty in walking I told him that he could not go because he needs someone to help him. I told him that if there were anything I could do for him I should be glad to do it but he said that he only wanted to go to town to see friends, especially at the Chee Kun Tong Society. I told him that it was better for him not to go and for him to go back to his cottage as he is not responsible for himself. In the meantime about four other old men came near to us and persuaded the man to stay. . . .

9/13/39
. . . Man began nagging again and said that he wants to go out visit. Just then another old man came to talk to him and told him not to agitate as he is so old and disabled he should learn to be quiet.

5/15/40
Man died on this date.
CASE 1 (Luke, Yun)

3/22/20

Mr. Lee Young of the Inter-Island Trading Company, telephoned to the office about this case. He said that Mr. L. was at his office asking for help, so he thought he would ask us to see what we could do for Mr. L. living at the See Dai Doo Society on Vineyard St. in No. 5. He is very old and very feeble. He said that he had been living in this Society for about one year, and had been getting a living by begging around town, but now he is too feeble to go down town, therefore, could not get enough to live on and is absolutely out of food. Before coming to Honolulu, he had worked on the different rice plantations at Kailua on the other side of the island. During the last two years he has not been able to work steadily. Mr. L. said that he came from China 42 years ago under a contract to Hilo Plantation, and worked there for 8 years when he was transferred to Kohala Plantation, where he worked for several years and then went to Kailua. Mr. L. said that he is not sick but is too feeble to get around. He has no relatives or friends here and does not think any of his relatives in China are living. Gave him a food order for $2.00 and told him that Visitor would call again on the first of next month.

... taking Chinese treatment outside for his rheumatism and he thinks that he could get well soon. He said a neighbor next door is providing him with food and he told visitor that probably he will be ready to go to the Home after Chinese New Year, which will be some time in February. Explained to him that we could not promise to take him in then, as it may be that the Home will be filled and there will be no room for him. However, he refused to go now.

Later. Telephoned to Mr. Lee Young of the Inter-Island Trading Company and told him about Mr. L's attitude toward going to the Home. He said to let him alone for a while and see what is the outcome of this Chinese treatment.

3/25/21

Mrs. A. K. Wong of Dayton Street telephoned to the office saying that Mr. L. would like very much to go to the Chinese Home now. Explained to Mrs. Wong that we will not be able to take him right away, as we have
no room for him—but, however, we will file his application for admission.

Mrs. Wong will give him food for the present. EEG.

10/3/21
L. Y. entered the Chinese Home. EEG.

4/22/22
Man was taken very ill at the Chinese Home and transferred to Queen's Hospital. EEG.


#120 Ng, Young.

CASE 1 (#198 Chang Cho)

3/26/38
Worker advised man to go to the Doctor to be examined regarding his physical condition. Man did not wish to come to town but said that as he is using Chinese medicine he will be well shortly...

4/20/38
Man came to me today to ask for medicine. He said he was feeling a little chilly... I tried to talk with him again about going to the hospital but he resented the plan and said he would be feeling better when he uses his medicine again...

6/11/38
Man came to the dispensary while the doctor was at the Home. I gave him two bottles of Yee Yee Yau and one bottle of Bow sun on yau [Chinese medicine]. Physically, man's condition is the same. I asked him to wait a little while to see the doctor. Man said that he did not wish to see the doctor as his condition will always be the same. However he is feeling much better...

9/8/38
... Man seemed quite concerned lately about his health. He has been taking long baths and occupies the bathroom almost two hours at a time. He closes all the windows as he is afraid of drafts. He boils eucalyptus leaves which he picks up from the grounds
and uses the brew in his bath. He calls for medicine regularly every day. I have talked with him occasionally about his condition and he feels that he is much better from taking the medicine. I have twice asked him about going to the hospital but he said that foreign medicines did not help him at all while Chinese medicine relieved him a great deal.

92 "1940 #2," Minutes of Meeting of Sub-Committee of the Chinese Home Committee, September 24, 1940.

93 Chinese Family and Society, p. 55.

94 #113 Chang, King.

95 CASE 1 (#184 Au, Leong)

9/24/38

Dr. Mossman who was visiting the Home today called on man. He was glad to find man much improved. Told the doctor that a short time ago man did not have any appetite. Dr. Liui recommended iron, quinine and strychnine and since taking this, man has been feeling and eating much better. Man said that he has felt much better since he came home from the hospital. He felt that the food at the hospital did not agree with him because it was different from that to which he was accustomed. He said that he liked rice and always ate more rice than other food.

10/15/38

I went to see man as he was sitting out on the porch and asked his health. Man said he was feeling much better and was so much happier. I told him that any time he was not feeling well, he should let me know immediately so that I could get the doctor to check up on his case. He appreciated that suggestion and said that he has no complaint regarding the treatment he receives at the home. He said he was satisfied with the treatment he received at the hospital. The only trouble he had there was the food because it was hard to get digestible foreign food at the hospital.

96s 9/26/46, p. 1.

98 "Letter [Misc] 1942-44" #2 cab, #3 dr.

CHAPTER IV
THE CONTEMPORARY HOME*

Profile of the Contemporary Home

Palolo Chinese Home has undergone many changes since it was first opened to the public on November 1, 1920. In 1921, it was supported and supervised by the mainstream charitable establishment in Hawaii although it was directly administered by a Chinese committee. It numbered 36 residents and it had distinctive ethnic characteristics. At that time all of the residents were Chinese, male, and former plantation workers. Born in China, they did not speak English and they had no families in Hawaii. ¹ Their cultural milieu did not sanction the idea of going to such an institution. However poor, aged and physically disabled, they had not choice but to turn to the Home for their food and shelter. When they came, they immediately created an environment which was more or less like the Chinatown in Honolulu they had left behind. For the aged Chinese, Palolo became a new type of community, resembling their old one in many respects, but also exhibiting some very different characteristics.

By 1954, the Home was receiving support not only from charitable organizations but also from the government. There were 94 residents, many of whom were recipients of Old Age Assistance. Consequently, government had a say in the administration of the Home. However, the

*The author did her fieldwork at the Home in 1987 and 1988. Therefore the study of the contemporary Home was based on the data collected during that time.
residents' profile had not changed significantly from that of the initial group. Most were working-class single, male Chinese. Food, clothing, shelter, and medical care were provided with help from the city and county Health Department. Plantation-style meals, such as rice with vegetables and meat, were served for breakfast and supper, while lunch consisted of very simple fare such as bread, butter and jelly with fruit and hot coffee. Donations of clothing guaranteed the men enough to wear and the simple barrack-like cottages gave them adequate shelter. There were five different dormitories for the men besides a kitchen, a dispensary and the manager's quarters. The residents spent their time playing Chinese card games, looking at Chinese magazines, helping the yardmen with the garden, planting vegetables or walking in the sunshine. In spite of the great changes taking place within the larger Island-born Chinese community during the period of "Americanization," the residents of the Home remained traditionally Chinese in their lifestyle.

By 1988 even more significant changes had taken place as indicated by the statistics given in Table 3.

Four major changes are illustrated by the statistics. The first and most important is the diversity of the residents of the present Home. There are now both men and women who are not only of Chinese ancestry but also of other ethnic backgrounds. They speak different languages and belong to different religions. Secondly, more than 60 percent of them were born in America, making them very different from the first-generation immigrants. Thirdly, the majority are or have been married and have families. They made their own choice to enter
Table 3
Palolo Chinese Home Statistics
as of December 6, 1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF RESIDENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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<td>ETHNICITY</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>53 (24m, 29f)</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>2 (1m, 1f)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasians</td>
<td>2 (1m, 1f)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiians</td>
<td>2 (2m)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinoses</td>
<td>1 (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANGUAGE:</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese (only):</td>
<td>17 (3m, 14f)</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (only):</td>
<td>14 (8m, 6f)</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese . . .</td>
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<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese (only):</td>
<td>1 (f)</td>
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<td>U.S.A.:</td>
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<td>Foreign:</td>
<td>26 (9m, 17f)</td>
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<td>Unknown:</td>
<td>1 (m)</td>
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<td>RELIGION</td>
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<td>Protestants:</td>
<td>29 (14m, 15f)</td>
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<td>Buddhists:</td>
<td>12 (3m, 9f)</td>
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<td>Catholics:</td>
<td>7 (5m, 2f)</td>
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<td>10 (7m, 3f)</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>MARITAL STATUS</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Married:</td>
<td>12 (10m, 2f)</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow(er):</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single:</td>
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<td>SOURCE OF INCOME</td>
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<td>Social Security:</td>
<td>57 (35m, 22f)</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private:</td>
<td>10 (2m, 8f)</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both:</td>
<td>3 (1m, 2f)</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the Home rather than stay with their children. Finally, because most residents receive Social Security payments from the government, the Aloha United Way now plays a very small role in the financial support of the Home. Less than 4 percent of its budget comes from this source. 4

There are now 42 staff members working in four areas: nursing services, activity programs, maintenance and food services. Since a significant majority of the residents are recipients of Social Security, the Home is not only responsible to its Board of Directors but also to the federal government. Thus government representatives exert a considerable influence on its operation and development.

Many of the changes are actually reflections of changes in American society. It is interesting to examine the relationship between changes inside and outside of the Home and to note their impact upon the residents and the development of the institution.

The Impact of American Society and Culture

The Development of Social Gerontology

As noted previously, for years the Home was considered a "retreat" for the destitute old Chinese. 5 Its goal was to provide food and shelter and to make sure that its "inmates" last years were quiet and peaceful. Even today one may well think of the institution as a place for quiet, rest and meditative retreat. Yet, as the current administrator, Mrs. Carolyn Kwon, observes, "Palolo Chinese Home is NOT a place for waiting or withdrawing. The supportive services we provide, such as individualized attention, health status monitoring, housekeeping and laundering, meal preparation, restorative and
therapeutic programs, and transportation and escort, enable our residents and their families to carry on with an enhanced sense of well-being. Carolyn Kwon is trying together with other staff members to make the Palolo Chinese Home a place where residents can live a meaningful life.

This shift from a "retreat" to a "home" reflects changing cultural attitudes toward aging and the aged. It involves a dynamic rather than a static concept of aging and is the result of the evolution of the science of gerontology.

During the post-World War II era, Americans came to realize that old age was an experience to be expected and that the population as a whole was aging. With such trends as widespread and earlier retirement, interest in the aging process increased. The Gerontological Society of America was established in 1945 to address these issues.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s interest in aging grew rapidly. The literature published between 1950 and 1960 equalled that of the previous 115 years. Government sponsorship of research grew during the 1960s through federal agencies such as the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and the National Institute of Mental Health. The creation of the Administration on Aging (1965), the National Institute on Aging (1975), and the Center for Studies of the Mental Health of the Aging (1976) further enhanced the study of old age.

The last 30 years have clearly seen an explosion of gerontological interest. Publications in the psychology of aging increased by 270 percent between 1969 and 1979 and the Gerontological Society of America
has grown from very modest beginnings to over 4,000 members. By 1976 about 1,300 colleges and universities had courses with gerontological content. This knowledge explosion has had an impact upon the Palolo Chinese Home.

Social gerontology, focusing on the social aspects of aging, has dealt extensively with institutions like nursing homes. Scholars discovered that, compared with residents of the larger community, institutionalized older people tend to exhibit low morale, a negative self-image, a preoccupation with the past, feelings of personal insignificance, intellectual ineffectiveness, docility and withdrawal, anxiety and fear of death.

There are various causes of this institutional syndrome, the most important of which is the lack of autonomy among the residents. Cut off from the surrounding world and restricted by regimented schedules, "inmates" experience a curtailment of self as they lose control of many seemingly trivial things that had formerly defined their individuality. Because of institutional routines, such as uniforms, standardized furniture, sameness of food, regimentation of eating, sleeping and play, nursing home residents gradually lose their autonomy and spontaneity. Instead of acting in a self-directed fashion, they passively accept decisions which are made for them. The clear implication of such findings is that the institutional syndrome must be combatted.

The Palolo Chinese Home has therefore sought to change the passive attitudes among its residents. Several new policies have been instituted since the current administrator, Mrs. Carolyn Kwon, took over the position in 1986. Mrs. Kwon earned her bachelor's degree
in nursing from the University of Hawaii and has taken graduate courses
in gerontology. She worked for seven years as program director for
elderly activities and services at the Waikiki Community Center's home
for senior citizens. As a member of the Hawaii Pacific Gerontological
Society, the American Society on Aging, and the National Council on
Aging, she is striving to make residents active in their environment.

For instance, a resident now is allowed to have personal belongings
like photos and other reminders of his/her own home. Even small pieces
of furniture like a table or chair can be brought in if they do not
occupy too much space. Plants and flowers are also allowed to be
placed either in the room or on the balcony. At Christmas many rooms
are decorated with cards from family members or friends. One female
resident is so interested in her corner of the room that she spends
hours each day taking care of her plants and decorating the surrounding
space. She was delighted to hear that her room was judged the most
beautifully decorated for Christmas of 1987. The policy of allowing
residents to bring in personal belongings and arrange their rooms
according to their own taste and choice not only gives the institution
a more home-like feeling but also allows residents to express their
individuality.

Another way to fight passivity is to encourage residents to become
involved in the governance of the Home. On February 3, 1988, a special
group discussion provided them with their first opportunity to voice
opinions about the place. The topic that day was the food. Soon after
the discussion, a residents' club Palolo O Hale, the first such club
in the history of the Home, was formerly established with the help
of Activities Director, Mrs. Martie Abella. "The purpose of the club," according to one of its members, "is to give us residents the opportunity to express how we feel about the care given, the food served and the general living conditions of our HOME. . . . So far things have been going alright, and we look forward to attending club meetings, which are held the first Wednesday of the month." Since the founding of this club, several meetings have been held and various topics have been discussed.

"They've been quiet for so long that for the first two meetings they were quiet. After a while they started to open their mouths," the Activities Assistant, a Caucasian woman from the mainland, commented. "Oriental people are very quiet. They keep everything to themselves. But we want them to express how they feel about their living conditions at the Home." By having some say, residents have achieved a better sense of control over their environment, especially when they see changes take place as a result of their participation in running the Home. One complained that the music in the dining room was too loud: "We don't like loud music for our breakfast." Now the music is played more softly. "The light on the doorway is turned off at 6:00 p.m. everyday. It's too early," another resident complained. Now it is turned off half an hour later. While such things may seem trivial to outsiders, they are important to residents of the Home. Certainly there are problems which remain unsolved. But residents appreciate having their own club where problems can be aired and attention paid to their needs.
A few months after the establishment of the club, a newsletter was started. Thus far several issues have been published and circulated at the Home and in the community. It is designed for the staff and the residents to comment on anything pertaining to the Home. Residents are encouraged to write for this newsletter. In the first issue, one wrote an article entitled "Our Home":

Do you know that our home is beautiful? PALOLO CHINESE HOME, nestled among hills high up in a valley commands a sweeping view of the entire valley clear down to the blue Pacific. Its low white buildings, its curved tiled roofs, and its courtyard is a bit of China in Hawaii.

Red ixoria flowers in constant bloom and two huge ferns add attraction to the main entrance. A promenade walk connects the three buildings. It leads past tall gay colored pillars. On the left is a courtyard where a tree bears golden pomelo fruit. It is also a feeding place for flocks of turtledoves, sparrow, Chinese doves, a white pigeon and occasionally redcrested cardinals and mynah birds.

On the right, a sward greets one with its rich green color, its background a low hill with white houses glued to its slopes and lush verdant growth all around. The landscape needs no artist, palette nor brush to duplicate God's handiwork. We have it before our very eyes.

The weather? Springtime every day. How fortunate that we live in PALOLO CHINESE HOME.

MAUD Y.

Believing that a person cannot have a sense of autonomy if deprived of the opportunity to express his or her feelings—whether of contentment, complaint, excitement or sadness, the administration is trying to provide emotional outlets for the residents. This is illustrated by the following vignette. Two male residents met at the Home and became very good friends. One of them was somewhat introverted.
"Betrayed" by his first wife and his best friend, he was disillusioned with human relations. "I don't trust nobody. I am good to others if others are good to me. I never thought that I could make a close friend again until I met Mr. K. here. With him, I can really talk things. He is the only friend I have now." Everyday the two men could be seen in wheelchairs talking to each other in the sun, making jokes, telling each other about their past, their family members, discussing programs or events at the Home. They clearly enjoyed each other's company. Unfortunately, one of the men, Mr. K., died of an accident when he was taken out in a handi-van. This was a real blow to the other man. For days he was depressed. "I miss that guy, I do miss him," he kept saying over and over. The staff felt that it might be good for him if he could attend Mr. K.'s funeral to say goodbye to his best friend; so he was asked if he would like to go. This clearly was what he had wanted. After going to the funeral and paying his last respects to Mr. K., he felt much relieved emotionally.

Paying more attention to the needs of residents means more work for the staff, especially nurses' aides and activity assistants, who have daily contacts with the residents. The Home has hired ten more staff members since September, 1986, when the current administrator assumed the position, raising the total number of employees to 43. The majority of the new people are nurses' aides. By hiring more professional, licensed and certified nurses' aides, administrators hope to improve the quality of care. Nurses' aides are considered the backbone of the Home. The quality of daily care ultimately depends
upon them and they also represent the most direct channel of communication with the residents. Having more nurses' aides means more opportunities for residents to express their needs.

Adding activity assistants to the staff demonstrates the strong belief that activities can make the difference between living and just existing. Without a strong activities program, a resident tends to be physically more dependent and to become depressed and withdrawn. By participating in meaningful activities, residents feel that they are living their lives rather than waiting to die. A sense of dignity and self-respect can thus be achieved.

In June, 1988, the Home had its first "sunset social" to celebrate Kamehameha Day, an important Hawaiian holiday. The "sunset social" is an occasion for which the residents are encouraged to dress suitably and partake of cocktails and "pupus" (hors d'oeuvre) served along with the entertainment. It is a time when residents can interact among themselves and with the staff and guests in a social rather than "therapeutic" setting. It serves as a break from "institutional" routine and menus. As nutritious as the Home's food is, it can seem monotonous as most residents are on a regular diet which is low in sodium, cholesterol and calories. The registered dietitian, geriatric specialists and the residents themselves agreed that an occasional digression from "good" food to "fun" food was important for morale. "I had four winecoolers last evening," a resident told one of the staff with great excitement and satisfaction. "I want our sunset social to be really like the old type of bar situation, with rootbeer and all the old stuff," another added.
The sunset social also serves to keep the residents awake longer. Since most activities are scheduled for the morning or early afternoon, this evening event quickly became something to look forward to and a welcome diversion for newer residents. It was regularly instituted for the second Friday of the month, from 5-6:30 p.m.\textsuperscript{11}

Despite the pleasant environment at the Home, frequent outings are arranged. A different environment in the company of new people is considered an important stimulus. In the winter of 1986, a special excursion to Sea Life Park was held. It was a highlight both for the residents and the staff; everybody enjoyed this unprecedented change of routine. Subsequently, picnics in the park or on the beach, rallies, concerts and movies became more common activities. A weekly shopping excursion has also been added to the program.

New programs are the products of new ideas and new approaches to the care for the elderly in institutional environments. They reflect the latest trends in social gerontology, aiming to change the image of a care facility from a "shelter" or a "retreat" to a "home." When daily necessities, such as food, clothing and medical care, are guaranteed, it is natural to seek improvement in aspects of life beyond mere survival. The goal of care facilities, especially in an affluent society such as the United States, has thus changed from providing shelter to insuring the quality of life. Like other long-term care facilities in economically advanced societies, the Palolo Chinese Home is undergoing a transition from merely custodial care to the provision of a stimulating environment.

Changes are not simply the result of new approaches developed by social gerontology. Many innovations also reflect the outlook
and values of current residents, who are very different from their early counterparts. One way to look at how many changes the Home has undergone is to study its contemporary residents, their values and beliefs, lifestyles and customs.

The Contemporary Residents

The "sojourners' mentality" of first-generation Chinese immigrants resulted in an inadequate knowledge of the host country's language and culture and a sense of alienation in a foreign environment, and racism which prevented them from really acculturating into American society. Many left as soon as they had made enough money to return to their homeland. Even for those who grew too old to work and ended up at the Palolo Chinese Home, American culture never became their culture. Miss Nell Findley, director of the Social Service Bureau in the 1930s, became very well acquainted with the residents at the Home and reported that there was "no evidence of haole prestige among them--quite the contrary. Theirs was the exaggerated patriotism of the exile. China was to them the lost Paradise, where all was as it should be." 12 As pointed out earlier, the early Chinese residents emphasized their Chinese heritage in all aspects of daily life.

At the present time, however, many of the residents of Chinese ancestry are island-born and are very different from their predecessors. They feel drawn to two different cultures, Chinese and American. Still, it was the Chinese tradition that had the stronger initial impact upon their lives. They were born and brought up in a very Chinese environment at home. But as soon as they entered the outside world, they found the dominant American culture very different from
what they had become accustomed to at home. When they reached school age, they were subjected to a mainstream curriculum for six hours a day, five days a week, that the Department of Public Instruction (now the Department of Education [DOE]) prescribed as preparation for American life. Outside of school they were increasingly exposed to "haole" ways through newspapers, motion pictures, radio, and, most of all, the continuous performance of American life going on about them wherever they went. A look at the influence of American culture on the island-born residents at the Home is very revealing. Their evolving values and beliefs as well as their lifestyles contrast significantly with those of the first-generation Chinese immigrants.

According to the Home's statistics of 1987, 71 percent of the residents are married, and many of them are parents. Nearly 46 percent of residents are women. The fact that many have chosen to leave their own children and stay at the Palolo Chinese Home reflects the changed attitudes among island-born Chinese towards the family and institutional care facilities.

Family played a very important role in traditional Chinese society. According to Mencius, "The root of the empire is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the individual." If the individual were properly brought up and taught to respect authority within his family, he would also respect it outside the family and be an obedient subject of the empire. In the light of this belief, Confucius and his disciples emphasized the importance of the family. As a result, respect for family and parents became the central feature of Chinese civilization.
The ideal traditional Chinese family was the extended family system, enshrined in the saying ta chia ting chih tu. Members of five generations were supposed to live together as one unit, sharing one common wallet and one common stove, and under one family head. Filial piety, which was regarded as "the root of all virtue," demanded absolute obedience and devotion of the son to his father, of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler. The fact that of the "five most important human relationships" mentioned by Confucius three are family relationships--father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother--helps to explain why the concept of family was so consciously cultivated in traditional China. This led to the formation of the two specific features of Chinese culture: inter-dependent relationships among family members and the lofty position of old men in society.

The relationship of the individual to the family in traditional China differs substantially from its counterpart in the United States. In that China, the individual existed to support the family and to perpetuate it. He was always to be ready to sacrifice himself if the family's interest required it. The persistence of these assumptions is illustrated by the fact that many first-generation Chinese parents worked tirelessly to support their children and to give them college educations. Naturally, when the parents grew old, it was the children's responsibility to take care of them. It was considered a disgrace if old people were neglected by their children. Specifically, parents with children should never end up in a care home.

By contrast, Americans see the family as an institution which exists mainly to provide an environment in which the individual can
be trained to go out into the world as a full member of society.

After the children have reached adulthood, the family in many respects dissolves. Children with their own goals usually put their interests above those of their families. Island-born Chinese were influenced by the American conception of the family. Among many Chinese-Americans we see contrasting attitudes towards the family, particularly between members of the first and the second generations:

I was born in America, but was raised in Oriental fashion. My mother died while I was quite young and I was raised by my grandmother. My father was dominated by the Chinese idea that the man was the head of the family and that the children were to be entirely submerged in the family—we were not considered as having an individuality of our own. When I was in school I was told that my position was a subordinate one, even in cases where I had more information than father on account of my school work, but he would never admit anything like that. I was kept closely at home and restrained until I began to revolt against this situation. I saw the freedom of the American children and saw that some of the other Chinese children had more freedom than I had. I have noticed a great deal of change in my father's home since I was a child, however. The younger children now do not obey him as I had to do. One day I said to my half-brother that they had a chance to attend school and should make the most of their opportunities so they would be able to take care of father in his old age. One of them spoke up and said, "I'll have all I can do to take care of myself." In China such an expression would be considered disgraceful, because the children take care of their aged parents.16

Some residents at the Home had similar difficulties asserting their individuality against the wishes of their first-generation parents. One woman was born into a rich local Chinese family. Her parents, like many first-generation immigrants, worked hard and succeeded well in Hawaii. Sending the daughter to McKinley High School, they expected her to become a school teacher, a dream of many Chinese
parents, and then marry a "nice" Chinese man. "... Well, I didn't do that. As soon as I got to school, I met a young man, very nice young man. I looked at him and he looked at me. And then we got married ... I was only eighteen, just out of school. And I've been married ever since until he died. He is a very, very nice man. I wish he was here ... When I married my husband, my father didn't like it very well, he was very disappointed with me. He was so angry with me. He didn't talk to me for years ..." 17

The strong emphasis on individualism and self-reliance in American culture has had a direct impact on many residents' views of aging. To maintain their self-esteem, they believe that they must be independent. They strongly resist becoming a burden to their family. "I chose to enter the Home because I don't want to be a burden to my children who have their own careers and lives," many residents answered when asked if it was their own idea to live at Palolo. Their decision to enter the Home was just another indication of their commitment to individualism and autonomy. It is apparent that the attitude of the later residents is quite different from that of the early residents for whom ending up in a care home was a great source of shame. For the island-born Chinese, on the other hand, living in a care home in one's advanced years has become a culturally-sanctioned course of action.

For a person accustomed by culture and upbringing to be self-reliant, it is hard to ask for help from others because of advancing age or permanent disability. While no one likes to lose his ability to cope, no matter which culture he lives in, in America, compared with China, there is a stronger psychological pressure on the aged.
Often they sense a loss of control over their lives; they feel powerless, depressed and useless to society. An automobile ride with a resident illustrates this point. He had had a very active life before he suffered a stroke several years ago. Now he must use a wheelchair. When we reached a scenic spot, I was ready to help him get out of the car to enjoy the scene, but he refused to move. I was puzzled until I noticed that there were many tourists in the area. He must have been embarrassed to be seen in a wheelchair and to be helped by someone. Later on, it became apparent that he always appeared a bit uneasy in public.

The current activity program of the Home is clearly a response in part to the Americanized needs of contemporary residents. The daily arts and crafts program is based on the belief that arts and crafts not only provide residents with opportunities to interact with each other, to become involved with something outside themselves, but also give them a sense of personal self-esteem. Visitors are welcomed with beautiful leis made by the residents themselves. During the mayor's annual cultural festival, they take their "masterpieces" to sell at the fair, proudly showing their individual ability to produce and to create. In short, the contemporary residents at the Home are assumed to need a sense of independence and self-worth. Whereas in the early days the residents were content if "good" food, "comfortable" beds and a few recreational activities were provided for them, present attitudes demand more content in their lives.

In the past, western religious festivals such as Easter and Christmas were celebrated annually at the Home. The pastors of the Chinese and other Christian churches often came in to offer voluntary
worship services. Yet very few residents were Christians. Despite the strong external pressure exerted upon the old men to become "sons of God," these "heathens," like most first-generation Chinese immigrants, had little desire to become converts. There was a gap between external pressures and the residents' inner needs.

Of the contemporary residents, however, over 50 percent are Christians. Although their parents may not have believed in Christianity, these people's early education in private Catholic or Protestant schools had a life-long impact upon their religious beliefs. It is not uncommon among Chinese in Hawaii to find a break between generations in their religious practice. An island-born girl expressed her frustration with her "heathen family" in this way:

Unfortunately, to say the least, my mother is still unconverted ... I have always condemned her worship and offerings, and sometimes I have made fun of my smaller brothers and sisters. She forces them to bow before the incense and my fifteen year old brother has stopped because, when he was about thirteen years old, I called him a "heathen Chinese" after he had bowed ... . We live in a district that has no other Chinese family and sometimes when it's full moon or some other festival day, mother pops firecrackers and burns incense. Some of my neighbors have teased me and I do not find it pleasant to have my friends see the little shrine that she has built in the kitchen. 18

As these Island-born Chinese grow old, Christian beliefs have taken deep root. Like food, water and other daily necessities, religion has become an essential need for them. The Home, supported by community religious groups, helps them to fill this need.

Every first Tuesday of each month, Mr. Herman Fong from the First Presbyterian Church comes to the Home to conduct services for the
residents. In December of 1987, when the writer was doing her fieldwork at the Home, she attended a service and made the following notes:

Attended Christian service this morning. Mr. Herman Fong, from First Presbyterian Church (1822 Keamoku St.), the President of the Chinese Christian Association, and his wife came to do the service. The basic program includes singing religious songs and Bible reading. About 53 residents attended the service (24 of them are females.) Many of the residents know the lines of songs by heart. Mrs. S. (an island-born Chinese) told me she used to teach these songs in school. ... Mr. Fong told me that his church used to come to the Palolo Home once a year. On November 11 this year, they came here and Mr. L. was converted into a Christian. Mr. L. didn't believe in God before but now he starts to believe in Him. So Mr. Fong and his wife were invited by the Home to do more service. They decided to come to the Home every first Tuesday of each month.19

Every first Sunday of each month, the Rev. Chan from the First Chinese Church comes to the Home to conduct Christian services in both English and Cantonese, alternating a sentence in English with one in Chinese. And once every two months, the church has Holy Communion at the Home.

Apart from these regular services, many other Christian groups often visit the Home, especially during the Christmas season. The month of December is filled with Christian services. The following is the schedule for the first ten days of December, 1987:

12/1/87 Christian service at the Home by Mr. Herman Fong from First Presbyterian Church.
12/4/87 Several residents attended Kamehameha Christmas concert at NBC Hall
12/6/87 Christian Church service at the Home by Rev. Chan from First Chinese Church.
12/9/87 Church service at the Home by the Church of the Lord of Jesus Christ, Door of Faith, and Liliuokalani Church.20
On the 18th of the same month, a Salvation Army group came to the Home. After the service, a male resident talked about his religious beliefs. A local Japanese and Buddhist by upbringing, he does not believe in Christianity though he understands its principles. At the Home Buddhist services have never been offered to him, and only rarely would he go out to a Buddhist temple for a service. Obviously, it is Christianity which has become the dominant religion at the Home. By and large, the strong program of Christian services reflects the needs and desires of many residents.

As some scholars have found, belief in God, feelings of dependence, and reverence for Him increase with age. One indication of the validity of this point is demonstrated by some residents' obsession with Jesus. One woman said: "I never miss my prayers. Everyday I pray." Another said,

I tell God every trivial thing. He used to take care of me, and I believe He is still taking care of me. . . . I'm getting ready for Jesus to come to take me to heaven. People who don't believe [in] Jesus will go to hell. I don't want to go to hell.

Committed to convert others to Christianity in the service of God, she tries to proselytize in her conversations with nonbelievers. Quite obviously, faith in God is the central focus in her life now.

Unlike early residents who had a strong belief in Chinese medicine, very few residents now go to see Chinese doctors or take Chinese herbs. Many maintain that they took "zhong yao" (Chinese for herbs) as children because their parents asked them to. "I wouldn't mind taking herbs now when I get sick," one resident said. "They work on me." While Chinese medicine is quite familiar to most residents and while they
still believe in its effectiveness, its use has significantly declined. There are several causes for this.

Medical insurance covers only western medicine. Most people are reluctant to spend extra money to see a Chinese doctor or to buy herbs. For those who are willing, their recovery usually takes longer due to Chinese doctors' holistic approach to treating their patients.

The concept of Chinese medicine is based on the philosophy of Tao, which includes Yin and Yang and the Five Elements: metal, wood, water, fire and earth. According to Taoism, Man and the Universe were created from the elements and Man was subjected to the same forces that influenced the Universe. If Man is in harmony with Tao, in balance with Yin and Yang and the Five Elements, there will be health and longevity. Otherwise, there will be disease and death. When the doctor treats a sick person, the objective is to restore the balance of Yin and Yang and the Five Elements. He needs to take the whole body into consideration. And the herbs he prescribes tend to cure the disease moderately and gradually, which requires more time and money.

In addition, one needs to boil the herbs and it takes a long time to prepare medications. For people who are used to the conveniences of American society, boiling herbs is burdensome. To make matters worse, Chinese herbs have odors which often offend westerners. In fact, many third- or fourth-generation Chinese in Hawaii feel nauseous when they smell such herbs. So it is very hard for people to prepare Chinese medicines at their homes, let alone in a care home.
A nurse's aide at the Home named Mr. Z. came to Hawaii from China three years ago. He was graduated from an institute of traditional Chinese medicine in Gang Zhou, and he expected to appeal to the Chinese population in Hawaii. To his disappointment, he found out that there was a declining local interest in Chinese medicine. Thus he sees little possibility of applying his knowledge of Chinese medicine to the ills of the Palolo residents.

Since the Chinese do not believe in severing any part of the body, some early residents at the Home, as we have discussed in the previous chapter, resisted undergoing any surgery. Now, with changing attitudes towards Chinese medicine, residents have no hesitation in undergoing needed surgery. They have totally accepted the host country's medical practices.

The Persistence of Chinese Ways

Residents and Things Chinese

As westernized as they might be, island-born Chinese still exhibit many Chinese traits. Caught by the tug of war between Chinese and American cultures, they first came under the influence of the Chinese tradition. Many of them were brought into the world by midwives rather than physicians. Relatives afterwards sent clothing and the parents reciprocated with gifts of traditionally appropriate food. Baby clothes were of Chinese design. Little angels on the caps and little jade bracelets served not only as ornaments, but as amulets to ward off evil. The baby was taken to a temple to be blessed. The same atmosphere continued to surround the children throughout their formative
years, insofar as they were subject to their parents' milieu and its Chinese values. Even today they continue to hold on to many things Chinese.

Some 51 percent of the residents are bilingual. Most of the island-born Chinese residents can speak both Cantonese and English in part because they attended Chinese language schools when they were young. One reason for establishing Chinese language schools is said to have been a widening communication gap between the immigrants and their Hawaiian-born children—a gap that sometimes led to serious family conflicts. In his study of the Chinese-language schools in Hawaii, Kum Pui Lai concluded that the migrant generation's primary objective in organizing such schools was to prevent or retard the "deculturization" or "deracialization" of their children. From a statement by the founders of a language school opened in 1911, he translated a passage that speaks of Hawaii-born Chinese children becoming "foreignized":

Our youths of school age number several thousands. Because they are brought up here in an American cultural milieu, their speech, contacts, and experiences tend to be foreignized. Concerning Chinese customs and manners they possess no knowledge, and we are forced to bear seeing the process of a racial transformation.

Passing on the ancestral culture, therefore, became one impetus for opening two language schools near Honolulu's Chinatown in 1911, Wah Mun School and Mun Lun School. Some residents at the Palolo Chinese Home are the products of these language schools. One had studied in Chinese language school for many years. He still reads Chinese
books and feels proud of being able to speak Cantonese and a few words of Mandarin.

Another resident said,

If the nurses know that you speak Cantonese, they like you. 'Ni shi zhong kuo ren, ni ying gai shuo zhong kuo hua.' (You are a Chinese, you should be able to speak the Chinese language.) . . . It doesn't make any difference whether one has been here in America for so long. They [nurses] still hold to that. They never will drop it. Never. And they really respect you if you 'shou zhong guo hua.' (speak Chinese) If you talk too much in English, they like to perfect their English, sure. They like to hear English, so they can learn from you. But in conversation, it's better to jiang zhong kuo hua. (speak Chinese) . . .

I can speak Chinese and English. So when I first came, they put down on my paper in my book "can speak English and Chinese." They put that down. I'm able to teach a little, because they say I know a little Chinese and I can explain in Chinese words. If they have a Caucasian teacher, he cannot explain in Chinese. He can talk in good English, but he cannot explain in Chinese whereas I can explain in Chinese.26

This person can speak not only Cantonese and English, but also Mandarin.

In the 1930s she studied in Shanghai. She used to read China Reconstructs (in Chinese language) before her eyesight deteriorated. She always likes to say something in Mandarin whenever she can.

There are some residents who are first-generation immigrants and can only speak Cantonese. According to some nurse's aides and confirmed by observation, more female than male residents speak Chinese This is due to the fact that men had to earn their livings in the larger community whereas women tended to stay at home or in Chinatown. Though they have spent most of their lives in Hawaii, some women speak very limited English and remain very Chinese. The life history of Mrs. D. serves as a good example:
In November, 1898, at the age of ten, Mrs. D. came to Hawaii with her mother from China. Father was already here. He came to Hawaii as a rice plantation laborer. Later he returned to China and married Mrs. D's mother. Mrs. D. is the oldest child in her family. She has two other brothers.

At the age of 15, Mrs. D. got married. The marriage was sort of arranged. The father-in-law liked Mrs. D's bound feet so he asked his son to marry her. After the marriage, however, Mrs. D. decided to have her feet unbound.

In 19(?), Mrs. D. opened a store on Maunakea street and ran the store by herself. Her husband left for China, because his parents were getting older and he needed to go back to take care of them.

Mrs. D. has five sons. In 1939, she took two of her sons and went back to China. Her husband was sick. She stayed there for about half a year and then she came back to Honolulu. Shortly afterwards, her husband died.

In 1950, Mrs. D. gave up her store in Chinatown due to the increase of rent (from $50 to several hundreds). Then she lived alone for many years. During those years she never forgot to help her sons with their families. Very often she would cook Chinese meals and gathered the whole family together. Mrs. D. has nine grandchildren, and several great grandchildren. She used to take her grandchildren to temples and do all the traditional Chinese rituals and then held monthly parties for them. She is kind to children and children are devoted to her, too. They took turns to take care of the mother. The youngest son and his wife, for example, took care of her for 16 years until 1983 when she was sent to Palolo Chinese Home by a doctor's advice.

Although she has lived in Hawaii for so many years, Mrs. D. remains traditionally Chinese. She speaks Chinese, wears Chinese dresses and likes to play Chinese games. Physically, she still has small bound feet. Mentally, she retains many traditional Chinese values. For instance, her strongest wish is to go back to China and die there. "Falling leaves return to their roots." She misses her home village and the husband who was buried there.
Unlike the island-born Chinese, who speak English, are well-educated and believe in Christianity, Mrs. D. embodies more elements of traditional Chinese culture.

Other residents who speak only Cantonese come from Hong Kong or Taiwan. They have fairly recently immigrated to America, and one of the key factors in their decision to enter the Home is that Cantonese is a functional language there. Surrounded by people who speak Cantonese all the time, they feel at home and are almost unaware of living in an American environment.

For some residents, it is still important to "retain Chinese manners." "You have to retain your Chinese manners. You cannot be what they call 'barbarians'," one resident stated emphatically:

You see, you still hold (on to tradition), you still have Chinese ways here. I don't care what you say. You still adhere to your Chinese ways. So when L., that woman up there (she is from the U.S. mainland), she has such ... She has no Chinese ways. And she comes and yells and ... You know she acts so funny to us. No Chinese ways. I feel so funny. I don't feel right. I don't feel happy with her around ..." "I thought no Chinese ways about her, you know. I don't know. There is something wrong. Because we may speak English, we may sometimes act like haoles, but we still are Chinese."28

When asked what the fundamental difference between Chinese and haoles was in her opinion, she went on to say:

You've got your Chinese blood from your ancestor. You cannot get away from it. You are Chinese. All the Chinese blood in you generation after generation. How can you turn into anything? You're going to be Chinese forever until you die. Like me. I'm Chinese. I'm the only one in the family that's very Chinese, and yet on the outside I'm very Haole. People think I'm half Hawaiian, and half something. But I'm not. I'm pure Chinese. They say I'm part something. But I'm not."29
For some residents, Chinese filial values remain very meaningful. One male resident keeps a list of names of his relatives in China. Before every Chinese New Year, he mails $10 to each of his relatives although he has never seen some of them. "This is filial piety. Right here," he said. When the author was about to go back to China for a visit, he insisted on giving her a red packet with money in it. It was once a Chinese custom to give friends or relatives money when they were going on a trip. He still maintains the custom although it is not now commonly practiced in China.

There are noteworthy cultural differences between island-born Chinese and recent immigrants. A female resident who immigrated to the United States from Macao, for instance, always addresses nurse-aides as "gen shen" ("maid" in Chinese). Believing that old people deserve complete care and attention, as in the Chinese culture, she expects nurse-aides to do everything for her. This, obviously, runs counter to the philosophy of independence held by many island-born Chinese at the Home. And it contradicts the policy of the Home, which states that:

The trained nursing staff on duty around, will not always do tasks for you. In fact, as part of your care plan, they will encourage you to do as much as you can for yourself so that you can continue self-reliant and independent. This may sound harsh, or you may think you are being neglected, but to the contrary, we are acting in your best interests. Of course, help is always nearby should you need it.

It took some time for this woman to accept the idea of self-reliance.

Some of the customs retained by the foreign-born Chinese are perceived as too "Chinese" by the island-born and therefore difficult to accept.
Talking about her dislike for the ways some people act at the Home, one island-born Chinese female resident, who had entered less than a year previously, said,

I don't like some of the people, the way they act. Every time before they sit down on a seat just vacated by someone else, they pull off the cushion, and fan it, and. Of course, Chinese style. You're not supposed to sit in a seat where it's hot, when somebody has just vacated. . . . Chinese style. So they turn it around. And not only that, they turn it around. They fan it and fan it. That's what gets on my nerve. I'm not brought up that way, you know. I know lot of these old-fashioned ideas, but I don't go for them. . . . The fanning is their own. The idea is not sitting in a hot seat, a seat that someone just vacated. . . . (One of the Chinese superstitions is that if you sit in the hot seat) you are bound to fight with the person (who just left). But I don't know how true that is. That's the way they put it, you know. 31

Things Chinese at the Home are not only reflected in the behavior and beliefs of the residents. The staff is another important source of information about the persistence of Chinese culture.

The Staff and Things Chinese

To many residents and staff members what is most characteristically Chinese at the Home is the food. It is said that once there was a Caucasian who entered the Home and left soon afterwards because he did not like the food. Some Japanese residents at first did not care for "jook" (Chinese porridge), gradually they began to like it. The reason why Chinese food is served quite often has much to do with the kitchen staff. Among five full-time cooks, four are from Guangdong Province. They speak very little English and they prepare meals in the Chinese style. For instance, they never use measuring cups as many Americans do. "How much time will that take if we measure things
by cups? We are very busy. We don't have the time," said the head cook in Mandarin. They cook by experience. Yet, under the supervision of a Caucasian dietitian, they are now learning to prepare meals in a scientific and nutritious way.

When they do prepare American or local food, they sometimes use the wrong ingredients or recipes—and this bothers the residents. For example, residents complain that the cooks would serve the corned beef and cabbage dish incorrectly, putting corned beef on one side and cabbage on the other side instead of mixing them together. With Hawaiian food, cooks have been accused of serving either fish without poi or fishcake with poi. Only after they were told of the complaints did they begin to change. These incidents indicate their ignorance of the food culture of the host country and explain why Chinese food is the standard fare at the Home.

Of 16 nurse-aides at the Home, 13 immigrated from mainland China, Hong Kong or Taiwan—some quite recently. Because their English is very limited, they find the Palolo Chinese Home a good place to work. There they can always communicate in Chinese when they need help. This gives them a sense of security as well as a sense of control over their working environment. At lunch time they usually eat together and converse animatedly in Chinese about their work experiences and their life in Hawaii. Those who can speak both Cantonese and some English fulfill a special role at the Home, functioning often as interpreters for residents and those staff members who do not know Cantonese. Once, the Caucasian dietitian tried to find out how much sugar a resident had taken. Unable to communicate with this person,
she finally turned to a nurse-aid for help. For an immigrant with limited skills to offer in a new country, the Home is one of the few places where her native language is valued and where she does not need to be ashamed of being unable to speak fluent English.

With their different cultural backgrounds, nurse-aides have mixed attitudes toward the Home. For example, those who came from mainland China, where the standard of living remains rather low, tend to perceive the Home as an "ideal" spot for the residents. The rooms are spacious and the food is good; in addition, there is complete round-the-clock care. When one falls ill, there is medical insurance. What more could one expect in such a comfortable and secure place? Yet most nurse-aides are aware of the fact that some residents may not be happy if their children and relatives rarely visit them. Brought up in a culture which still cherishes filial values and where old parents are taken care of, they feel sad to see that family ties are so loose in America. An older nurse-aid from Hong Kong commented:

... The young become independent when they are very young. They move out of their homes. It's different from China. Not good. Chinese young people have a stronger sense of family. American youth don't have a sense of family. They leave the family when they are very young. My sons came to the U.S. when they were about 18. They are influenced by American tradition. Chinese parents tend to supervise their children. Sometimes my sons mention that American children are more independent. ... I won't rely on my children when I'm old.32

Deep in their hearts, however, many staff members do expect their children to take care of them when they get old although they realize that this might not be practical in America. Their sense of duty and their sympathy for the elderly have a strong impact upon their
work; they treat the residents with affection and sympathy. One nurse-aide said, "I never wear gloves when I help some residents go to restroom. They will be hurt if they see me wear gloves. I don't want to hurt their feelings." Most residents speak very highly of the nurse-aides. Asked why they do not mind doing things for the residents, one young nurse-aide said, "Everyone will grow old some day. Doing good things for these residents now, I wish my child would treat me well in the future."

Although they care very much about the residents, Chinese immigrants show their feelings rather differently from the Caucasian staff members. Chinese nurse-aides do not mind doing all kinds of things for the residents, but "I believe that they don't display affection in public," one Caucasian woman observed:

I feel at times I'm the only one that hugs them. But yet I realize that it's their culture, perhaps, that prevents them from public displays of affection. But I notice that I don't see nurses touching or hugging, things of that nature. And I feel that is important in an elderly home. They want to be loved. They want to be held; they want to be hugged. They want to be told they are important...

To Chinese nurse-aides, adequate care means patience, help and kindness. The goal of their work is to take good care of the residents, making sure that they eat well, sleep well and keep fit. Encouraging independence, outings and activities, on the other hand, does not appear to be so important. The Caucasian nurse is a strong believer in activities consistent with the assumptions of social gerontologists, including the Home's administrator. Accordingly, she believes that expressing overt affection by touching and hugging is very important. Her understanding of the philosophy of the Home is:
To carry on life, to not end a life when one comes to the care home . . . . There are things that I want to, maybe as a Caucasian, being very aggressive, things I would like to see, you know, like animals, like goats grazing in the grass, you know, things of that nature. Plants, or gardens. Many different things . . . . Maybe that will prolong their lives, just by doing that one little thing, you know . . . . To give them life, to give them happiness, to give them joy . . . . 35

These ideas are obviously alien to newly immigrated Chinese staff members, who lack knowledge of a culture which regards life as a process and believes that the meaning of life lies in activities no matter how old a person is.

Another issue which is new to some Chinese nurse-aides is sexuality among the elderly. Chinese cultural norms and stereotypes encourage the belief that sex is neither possible nor necessary in old age. As a result, in their daily contacts with residents they usually have had very negative feelings towards those who show their sexual desires by either masturbating or pinching or touching nurse-aides. They have thought of them as "nasty," "horny" and "dirty." In fact, even in America ten years ago the predominant cultural stereotype for the elderly was "the sexless older years," which led the aged to repress normal sexual needs and gratifications. In their institutional lives, men and women were separated. Even couples were not allowed to live together in care homes. Social gerontologists, however, have found that although sexual interest and activity tend to decline with age, sexuality is far from nonexistent, particularly among males. It is quite normal for old men still to have sexual desires. To help the nurse-aides at the Home to understand this the administrator and the registered nurse invited a specialist to talk to them about sexuality
among the elderly and the ways to deal with it. One nurse-aide raised a question after the talk. "What should we do if some residents always say dirty things when we enter their rooms?" The speaker told her that she might either ignore their words or tell them that "I don't like what you said. But we can talk about something else." Sometimes residents deliberately say "dirty" things in order to get the nurses' attention. They seek intimacy and attention by expressing sexual desires. So it is important for nurses sometimes to give residents hugs or hold their hands to make them feel they are cared about.

Touching or hugging, as previously pointed out, is not the Chinese way of showing affection. Yet the nurses are starting to learn as they gradually understand the meaning of the behaviors in the care of the elderly. Believing that the quality of care depends on the quality of nurse-aides, the current administrator puts strong emphasis on educating them to understand American ways of treating the elderly. On the one hand, these nurse-aides are going through a process of Americanization required by work. On the other hand, their inadequate knowledge of the English language and American ways of thinking prompts them still to do things in Chinese ways. In a sense, they are like the first generation of residents in maintaining Chinese ways under the impact of strong American cultural influences.

"They are quiet people. They keep everything to themselves," all three Caucasian staff members interviewed have commented with respect to the residents at the Home. The Caucasian dietitian worked in a hospital on the U.S. mainland for many years. Based on her experience, she expected many complaints from the residents about the
food. "When we ask them to evaluate the food, not many people speak out. It seems that nobody wants to stand out." "Other people do not complain, why should I?" is a rather common attitude among many residents. To Americans, conformity is bad and unhealthy, and people are encouraged to express their resentment and individual needs. To the Chinese, by contrast, the popular saying is "the tall tree is crushed by wind first." An individual is expected to live according to the accepted customs and rules of conduct, not try to rise above them or to change them.

Throughout Chinese history, according to Francis L. K. Hsu's Americans and Chinese, there were brave men who spoke up or acted according to their convictions and risked torture and death. In the Tang dynasty, Han Yu, who was famous for his ultimatum to the crocodiles, was demoted because he was opposed to the emperor's efforts to seek Buddha's relics from India. In the Ming dynasty, Yang Chi-Sheng was executed for bluntly advising the emperor (when all of his colleagues were silent) to dismiss and punish the favored, all-powerful, and corrupt prime minister. These brave men's acts, however, never aimed at individual autonomy or freedom. They were based on considerations of duty to the founder of the dynasty or for upholding Confucian ethical principles. The Chinese have produced no writings extolling self-reliance or attacking conformity. Their great literature deals with the means to achieve peace by wise government and by the elimination of the causes of crime, corruption, and civil disturbance. The closest some Chinese came to being deliberate nonconformists was when a few of them removed themselves from active society by becoming
monks or retiring to their paintings, calligraphy, gardens, or mountain retreats. At best this was passive nonconformity.36

Due to the influence of this tradition, residents of Chinese ancestry tend not to express their problems as openly as residents of other ethnic groups. Neither do they openly express their excitement or affection. Obviously, they are not quite as "assimilated" as they are thought to be.

The Home and the Local Chinese Community

Many local Chinese organizations and individuals still donate money or gifts to the Palolo Chinese Home and regard their annual visits as their major charitable service each year. They associate the Home with their Chinese heritage and their group identity.

The United Chinese Society (UCS) of Hawaii, founded in 1884, was instrumental in establishing the Palolo Chinese Home in 1917, and through the years it has supported the Home both financially and morally. On the eve of each Chinese New Year, members pay a visit to the Home along with representatives of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. They provide Chinese food and lively entertainment for the residents. Proud of what the organization has done for the Home, the UCS never forgets to mention the Home on special occasions. When the Consul General of the People's Republic of China in Los Angeles came to Honolulu, he was taken by the United Chinese Society to the Home to show that the traditional practice of caring for the elderly is still retained by the local Chinese.

Many other Chinese organizations, societies and clubs also provide services for the Home. The Christmas and the Chinese New Year seasons
are the busiest times because every day two or three groups appear. For most Chinese organizations, Palolo is the only care home visited annually. They regard it as part of the local Chinese community and their service as an effort to preserve their heritage. When they visit the Home, they usually serve Chinese food, play Chinese music and speak Cantonese to the residents.

Reciprocally, the link between the Home and these organizations is strengthened by the fact that some residents are members of various societies. For example, one man is a member of both See Dai Doo Society and Ching Clan Benevolent Society and is still trying to participate in some of their organizational activities. Another belongs to the Chee Kung Tong Society, and a woman resident is a member of the Chinese University Women's Club. This enhances the importance of each visit to the Home and its residents. When members of these organizations come, they add extra joy to the lives of their aged members.

Ching Wan Dramatic Society, founded more than 30 years ago, is an organization whose members practice, play and perform Chinese music, particularly Cantonese opera when requested. This society has come to the Home annually for years. The current president of the society is a man born in China, who came to Honolulu many years ago. He speaks Cantonese and Mandarin and can play the er-hu, the Chinese violin and the yang-ji, a traditional Chinese musical instrument. The purpose of coming to the Home, in his words, is because "people here are lonely. They need Chinese music."

Chinese music is often associated with Chinese festivals. Just before the Moon Festival celebration in 1988, with the help of the
Women's Auxiliary, the Home tried to find someone to play a Chinese musical instrument to "make it a real Chinese Moon Festival celebration."

Prominent local Chinese individuals also visit the Home. In November, 1987, Samuel Chung, Sr., a successful local businessman, celebrated his eightieth birthday with the 72 residents at the Home, all strangers to him. Mr. Chung's ties to the Palolo Chinese Home go back to his father, C. K. Ai, who was one of its founders. Other Chung family members have held positions as directors. Mr. Chung chose to celebrate his birthday at the Palolo Home to carry on his father's legacy of giving unconditionally. It may also be interpreted as a continuing effort to do things for his Chinese compatriots.

Even the architecture of the Home reinforces the impression that it is an essentially Chinese institution. Approaching it, one first sees some Chinese characters meaning "CARE HOME FOR OVERSEAS CHINESE" on the wall of the dining room. Above the roof of the women's building there is the Chinese character "shou" meaning longevity. It derives from the three deities: Fook, Look, and Shou, meaning Luck, Fortune and Longevity. In Chinese culture, a person's birthdate is also known as his or her "shou." For a person to attain an advanced age, especially in the past, was not an easy accomplishment. Hence there is a saying, "Since ancient times a man of seventy has been a rare find." Those who reach that lofty plane are thought to be good and righteous, giving rise to another saying, "Good people live long lives." At the Home now, there is ample evidence of long life. The average age of the residents is 79.
The buildings at the Home have curved roofs that follow the lines of a pagoda. The curves ensure that the bad spirits will slide down and then up again, to be blown away by any wind. Throughout the Home, the colors green, red and yellow are used generously because among the Chinese green stands for growth, red for good luck, and yellow for long life.38

There is no denying the fact that many things Chinese are still visible at the Home, from its architecture to its staff and residents, to the food, the clothing, language, values and beliefs. The strong links between the Home and local Chinese organizations as well as individuals and the efforts to maintain things Chinese at the Home have led to the misconception that the Home is still a place solely for Chinese. Yet, over the years, so many changes have taken place in response to what has been happening in the larger society that the Home is no longer a "Little Chinatown." Its staff and residents are no longer only Chinese. More and more Palolo is integrating with the society outside. This blending of cultures has created a different environment and image of the Home.

Blending of the Cultures

In 1964 Elizabeth Wittermans, in her book *Inter-Ethnic Relations in A Plural Society*, characterized Hawaiian society as "pluralistic in terms of its cultural and religious structure. More than one language is spoken and taught. Various customs, food and dress habits, and other cultural elements are distinguishable as belonging to the cultural heritage of each community. . . . In terms of the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations, we found a trend in the direction of further
socio-cultural purification rather than a unilineal development toward assimilation.\textsuperscript{39}

An indication of the validity of this statement is the contemporary Palolo Chinese Home. In fact, like Chinatown in Honolulu, the Home has never been entirely segregated from other ethnic groups, especially since the 1960s.

Even back in 1929, "... at Christmas time the Salvation Army held a meeting and gave fruit and candy."\textsuperscript{40} In the 1950s, "the Baptist group, the Salvation Army, the Rev. Marvin Hensley, missionary of the World's Faith Missionary Association who lived in China for 20 years; the Rev. Charles Kwock and a few others made regular visits to the home."\textsuperscript{41} Many of the residents' friends were Hawaiians and Japanese.\textsuperscript{42} Although they liked to listen to Chinese music, their eyes would also brighten and smiles lit up wrinkled faces at the modern "jazz" music that came over the air.\textsuperscript{43} The food was not purely Chinese, for bread, jam and butter were also served for lunch.

In the 1970s the first Japanese male was admitted into the Home and the first Filipino secretary was hired. Gradually the Home was changing from a culturally rather homogeneous place to a multiethnic care facility. As one of the staff commented: "There is a little bit of everything."

Demographically, there are now at the Home not only Chinese, but also Japanese, Vietnamese, Caucasians, Hawaiians and Filipinos. There are three factors accounting for the ethnic mixture. First, because more than 80 percent of the residents get their monthly security check from the government, the Home is required by federal law to be open
to all without regard to race, religion, national or ethnic origin or sex. Secondly, in a multiethnic community, it has come to seem more practical to take residents from all ethnic groups. As one of the staff said, "Before, the purpose of the Home was to serve the poor. Now, it's to serve both the poor and the rich, making money at the same time." If the Home wants to compete with other care homes in Hawaii, it has to expand its service beyond the local Chinese community. The third and most crucial factor is that many residents of other than Chinese ancestry have chosen to enter the Home.

Mr. K. was one of the two Hawaiian residents at the Home in 1987. A tidy and clean man, he kept everything in his corner of the room well arranged. Photos of his eight children were hung above the alarm clock beside his bed. All of his children were grown. One of his sons was 22 and had a girlfriend. "That's why he can't come to see me often. He is busy . . .," he said. While the Hawaiian culture also emphasizes care for the elderly by the children, it is not an absolute.

If children feel that you're not fair to them, doing special favors for certain children, they'll not care for you. My daughters always feel that I care more about my son. It's true I always liked to teach things to my son. . . .

When asked why he chose to come to the Palolo Chinese Home instead of the Lunalilo Home for aged Hawaiians, he answered, "It doesn't make much difference for me to live in Lunalilo Home or here. People speak the same language and they are local. No problem of communication. . . ." In fact, his best friend at the Home was a local Chinese. Quite often the two men could be seen chatting in their wheelchairs,
making jokes or talking about their pasts. Obviously, the thing which was important to Mr. K. was whether he could communicate with other residents, rather than their ethnic background. Nevertheless, Mr. K. pointed out what he considered "cultural" differences.

... Some Chinese here are selfish. They don't like to share things with others. Perhaps because they came from poor areas and knew how hard life was to be poor, so they're all saving. Hawaiians don't worry about the future. They like to have good times. ..." 47

It is clear that he still drew upon his Hawaiian value system in his judgment of people's behavior although he did not intend to impose it upon other residents.

Mrs. L. is the only Caucasian woman at the Home. Born in Hawaii, she lived with her husband on the U.S. mainland for about 20 years and traveled throughout the world. Her uncle by marriage was at the Palolo Chinese Home in his old age and Mrs. L. still remembers the first time she visited him many years ago. "At that time the Palolo Chinese Home was very different from now. No women's building. Men were smoking bamboo pipes. The smell was so strong that I became so dizzy ... ." She is quite expressive in her emotions compared with the "quiet" residents. Thus she is considered by some to be a bit different, a typical haole. Yet she herself has adjusted very well to the Home. "I have no trouble mixing with other residents. I can deal with all kinds of nationalities ... . And it was my own decision to move into the Home." Others have also learned to take her as she is.

Food at the Home is now more cosmopolitan than it was in the past. It varies from Chinese jook, Hawaiian poi with fish, to Italian
spaghetti and Japanese sushi. Holidays of different ethnic groups are celebrated at the Home, such as Chinese New Year, the Moon Festival, Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, Halloween, Valentine's Day, and Japanese Lantern Day. Community recreational groups visiting the Home are no longer just from the local Chinese community. "We have not only the Chinese 'Longevity' dance, but also Hawaiian 'hula'; Mexican folk dance and traditional Japanese dances," said the Activity Program Director. "When residents go out, they go to all kinds of activities, not limited to things of Chinese style." In short, the current milieu of the Home, both inside and outside, is much broader than it was before. It is more open and more cosmopolitan.

When people of different ethnic backgrounds live together, it is very difficult to draw a clear-cut line between "American" and "Oriental" ways. More often than not, what one sees is the blending of different cultural traits. Due to the nature of the blending, generalizations about the residents must not be overly simplistic. In local-born Chinese residents, one finds inconsistencies or even contradictions in values and behaviors. On the one hand, many of them still believe in traditional Chinese filial values and think that it is important to keep family ties strong. They were expected to take care of their old parents at a time when it was considered shameful to send one's parents to a care home. And many of them fulfilled their duties. On the other hand, they are strong believers in independence. They do not want to be a burden to their children; so they chose to come to the Home. There is no self-pity about their decision. In fact, they consider it an indication of their self-reliance.
Some residents are proud of the fact that they know how to play different roles under different circumstances. "When I am with haole nurse-aides, I speak English; when I am with residents or nurse-aides who don't speak English, I speak Cantonese," one woman said. People who are bilingual or have knowledge of other cultures certainly are more at ease with the environment. Those who cannot play double roles or multiple roles have their own ways to communicate with others who do not speak their language. For instance, they often use body language to express their needs. Or when they go out shopping, they take a sample of what they want with them so that the staff can help them more easily. They create new ways to survive in a mixed environment.

**Summary**

For half its history the Home remained a culturally homogeneous place for aged, single, male Chinese former plantation workers. Structurally, however, it has always been an American institution, quite different from local Chinese organizations. Currently, there is strong evidence of the continuous influence of mainstream America, such as the development of social gerontology and its impact upon the philosophy and operation of the Home. The contemporary Palolo Chinese Home is trying to change the image of a care home from a "retreat" to a residential "home," where people can live their lives rather than withdraw from the world.

Things "Chinese" are still quite visible at the Home. From its Chinese-style architecture, the use among residents and nurse-aides of the highly functional Cantonese language, beliefs in Chinese manners
and superstitions, to the Chinese New Year celebration and monk's food "zhai," one still experiences a strong sense of ethnicity in the Home.

The fact that the Home has been strongly influenced by the mainstream society in terms of its structure reflects the extraethnic pattern of integration. Things Chinese at the Home are evidence of the intraethnic pattern. At the same time the current Home is now much more diversified and cosmopolitan in terms of its population, languages, religions, values, and food due to the interethnic pattern of integration. Even among the island-born Chinese, Chinese ethnic traits are manifested in an inconsistent way. A blending of the cultures would be a better way to describe the Home. The nature of the blending defies simple definition since it is a complicated and often ambiguous process. Sometimes we may identify things "Chinese," sometimes we find things "American"; yet often it is very hard to draw a definite line between them. Ethnic traits are no longer adequate to categorize residents. And so the process of change and blending continues, and the characterization of the Home remains an open-ended task. The only thing which is certain is that the three patterns of integration--interethnic, intraethnic and extraethnic, instead of the single-dimensional assimilation pattern--will continue for quite a long period of time.
CHAPTER IV--NOTES


2. "Palolo Chinese Home," 1954, #2 Cab. #1 Dr.

3. The statistics were compiled by the writer in December, 1987.


8. Ibid., p. 294.


11. Ibid., p. 2.


13. Ibid., p. 71.


17. Interview with the resident by the author.

19 Fieldwork Journal at the Palolo Chinese Home, p. 10.

20 Ibid., pp. 10-15.


22 Interview with the resident.


25 Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers*, p. 175.

26 Interview with the resident.

27 Interview with Mrs. D., with the help of her daughter-in-law, Edith.

28 Interview with the resident.

29 Ibid.

30 PCH Resident Handbook and Visitor Information, p. 2.

31 Interview with the resident.

32 Interview with the nurse-aide.

33 Ibid.

34 Interview with the staff in activity program.

35 Ibid.


41. A4/12/46, p. 4.

42. A4/20/52, mag. section, 3:1.

43. Star-Bulletin, September 11, 1933, p. 4.


45. Interview with the resident.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Findings

This study is concerned with the issue of the Chinese immigrants' integration into Hawaii's multiethnic community through the historical and contemporary perspective of the Palolo Chinese Home.

"In the 1880's and 1890's Chinatown life (in Honolulu) was dominated by activities and organizations meeting the needs and wishes of sojourner immigrant men."¹ Unlike other Chinese organizations, the Palolo Chinese Home is a product of the combined efforts of both the Chinese and the host community in Hawaii. Located some distance from Chinatown, the Home tells us about the early Chinese immigrants' integration from a different perspective. It shows two different, yet interrelated aspects of the integration.

On the one hand, the founding of the Home can be regarded as an early effort made by the Chinese immigrants to adapt and thus to integrate in some measure into the larger American society when the aged Chinese became a problem with which Chinese societies could no longer cope. Prosperous Chinese community leaders like C. K. Ai—and there was a higher proportion of them in Hawaii than on the U.S. mainland because of greater educational, economic, and social opportunities in the multiethnic island community²—played an intermediary role in helping to incorporate Chinese filial values into an American institution. The Palolo Chinese Home, the first care home for the aged indigent Chinese in the entire United States, reflects a shift
away from reliance upon welfare programs provided solely by local
Chinese organizations to more dependable support by the host-country's
society. It fits the extraethnic pattern of integration.

Despite the link between the Home and the host society, the "Hale
Pake," like other Hawaiian institutions such as the Lunalilo Home for
aged Hawaiians (1883), the King's Daughter's Home for indigent Anglo-
Saxons (1910), the Kuakini Home for Japanese (1932) and the Korean
Old Men's Home (1938), maintained strong ethnic characteristics. The
persistence of Chinese culture at the Home proves that the assimilation
theory is invalid. It was a case of cultural integration rather than
an assimilation.

The history of the Home from the 1920s to the 1970s provides us
with an even clearer picture of two different levels of integration,
structural and cultural. The distinction between cultural change and
social change has been discussed by some scholars previously.

... Social change has been defined by Wilbert E.
Moore as a change in human behavior resulting from
changes in one or several of man's social institutions.
Moore says, "Social change is the significant alteration
of the social structures and manifestations of such
structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct, values
and cultural products and symbols". Social changes
are changes in social behavior brought about by tech­
nological innovation, conquest, governmental reorgani­
zation, etc. The concept of culture, for him is
reserved for such traditional patterns as language,
dress, and formal religious system. Some of these
patterns have high degrees of functional autonomy that
may assure their persistence in spite of radical changes
elsewhere in the social structure. For example, a
country may build modern factories, but the people
who work in those factories may continue to wear
traditional dress and to worship in traditional ways.3
Structurally speaking, it is true that the Home has become more and more "assimilated." It has become increasingly under the government's influence as, beginning with the 1930s, public programs began affecting the welfare of the elderly. Many of its practices had to be consistent with those of other American welfare institutions.

The lifestyles of the residents in this little "Chinatown," however, reflected a strong emphasis on things Chinese. Viewing the Home as part of their community and as a symbol of their cultural traditions, the local Chinese not only did their best to support it financially, but also came there to identify themselves with their own culture and to preserve things Chinese. Hence, the link with the local population contributed to the persistence of the immigrants' culture. Furthermore, most early residents at the Home were first-generation immigrants whose lifestyle was Chinese though they were in an "Americanized" institution.

Age was therefore a significant factor in differentiating the residents' experience in Hawaii from that of most people in Hawaii. From World War II on, Hawaiian society was increasingly Americanized or westernized. "American citizenship was eagerly coveted, American food was deemed better than traditional non-American food. Traditional languages were spoken only by the older generation and they felt their incompetence in speaking English as a serious drawback. . . ." The residents at the Home, however, did not feel an urgent need to become Americanized. Always segregated from the host society, whether they were on the plantations or later in Chinatown, they continued to lead a Chinese way of life at the Home, speaking Chinese, playing Chinese
music, taking herbs and eating rice, vegetables and salty fish. To this particular group of aged and institutionalized Chinese, the trend towards Americanization did not apply.

In the contemporary Home, the growing influence of social gerontology has had a strong impact upon the philosophy of the Home. It has been influenced by mainstream values to change its image as a care home from a "retreat" to a residential "home," where residents can live their lives actively rather than passively.

Things "Chinese" are still quite visible at the Home. The Chinese-style architecture, the Cantonese language, the belief in "Chinese manners," the celebration of the Chinese Moon Festival and New Year, and, most importantly, the new immigrant residents and nurse-aides from China—all highlight the strongly ethnic flavor of the Home.

On the other hand, it is evident that the Home now is much more diversified and cosmopolitan in terms of its population, languages, religions, values and food. Among the island-born inhabitants, "Chinese" ethnic traits are exhibited in an inconsistent way. In contrast to the early first-generation residents, the island-born Chinese belong both to Chinese and western cultures. Thus, a blending of cultures would be an apt description of the contemporary Home.

The fact that the Home has shifted from a culturally homogeneous community to a more heterogeneous, cosmopolitan place does not, however, prove the validity of the assimilation theory. Rather it is Dr. Cheng's three patterns of integration--interethnic, extraethnic, and intraethnic patterns—that best explain what is taking place.
Future of the Home

The future of the Home depends on tomorrow's elderly. Generally speaking, "... Tomorrow's elderly will be healthier, wealthier, more mobile, better educated, and more accustomed to change than their predecessors..."5 Finanancially speaking, social security and other factors have gradually reduced the number of poor elderly. Even today, there is a smaller proportion of elderly who live below the poverty line than do people under age 65. Some economists estimate that retirees need 60 to 80 percent of their preretirement earnings to maintain their standard of living. The average income of elderly households has risen to the point where it is now approaching the lower end of that range.6

In education, changes are also obvious:

... Currently less than half of all persons over 65 have completed high school, and about one-fourth never finished grade school. Fewer than one in ten finished college. In contrast, three-fourths of Americans between the ages of 40 and 60 completed high school, over one-third attended college, and less than ten percent failed to finish grade school.7

The differences in financial status and in education between the future elderly and their predecessors will require substantial changes at the Home, especially in its activity programs. Currently, many applicants to the Palolo Chinese Home inquire about available activity programs. The Home is making and will continue to make efforts to meet the needs of future wealthier and more educated residents.

There will doubtless be more choices and more variety provided for the future residents of the Home. Although the elderly are often
lumped together as a group with common attributes, in reality, 
"... Variation is greater among the elderly than other groups in 
terms of health, education, lifestyle, marital status, physical 
capabilities, living arrangements, economic well-being, even age 
itself--no other age group spans 30-plus years." It is anticipated 
that the future Home will provide more alternatives to meet individual 
needs.

Culturally speaking, a dual development will continue. On the 
one hand, the Home will become more and more open and cosmopolitan 
as it receives more residents and hires more of its staff from different 
ethnic backgrounds. On the other hand, Chinese cultural practices 
transmitted by new immigrant residents or by nurse-aides from Hong 
Kong, Taiwan or mainland China will help maintain the ethnic character­
istics of the Home and will enhance the continuing link between the 
Home and the local Chinese societies. It appears that the blending 
of cultures will not be a short-term cultural phenomenon at the Home.

Suggestions for Future Research

One area at the contemporary Home which is worth further 
investigation is the study of the new residents from China. These 
people represent an on-going process of immigration. It would be 
interesting to examine how they have adapted to such a new environment 
at their advanced age. Studying the interaction between them and the 
local-born residents, residents of other ethnic groups and the staff 
should be informative.
It would also be interesting to make comparative studies between the Palolo Chinese Home and homes for Chinese on the U.S. mainland, such as On Lok in San Francisco. The result would shed more light on the uniqueness of the Chinese immigrant experience in Hawaii.
CHAPTER V--NOTES

1 Clarence E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 136.

2 Ibid., p. 165.


6 Ibid., p. 8.

7 Ibid., p. 8.
APPENDIX A

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN HAWAII

APPENDIX B
NATIONALITY OF APPLICANTS

Nationality and Social State of Applicants

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<td>6</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scotch</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>636</td>
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</table>

Source: Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Hawaii, 1917, pp. 5 and 6 (see also chart next page)
Chart Showing Applicants
By Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX C**

**ANNUAL REPORT OF SOCIAL SERVICES BUREAU, 1929**

---

**Estimated Distribution of Population in the City of Honolulu, 1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian &amp; Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Distribution of 243 Social Service Bureau Cases in which Old Age was a Factor, 1929**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>68-28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>38-15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>35-15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>34-14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian &amp; Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>21-8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15-16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>15-6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>15-16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>3-1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D
FIRST EIGHT OCCUPANTS OF PALOLO CHINESE HOME, NOVEMBER 1, 1920

## APPENDIX E

### CONCENTRATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other States</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold*
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Shi jing "Zhou song. si yi"


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