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THE EDUCATION OF A SENATOR: HIRAM L. FONG FROM 1906 to 1954

*University of Hawaii*

PH.D.

1980

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THE EDUCATION OF A SENATOR: HIRAM L. FONG  
FROM 1906 TO 1954

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
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AUGUST 1980

By

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FRONTISPIECE. GRADUATION FROM KALIHI-WAENA SCHOOL, 1920

Courtesy of Hiram L. Fong files.



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Many individuals contributed generously of their time and talents toward the completion of this study. While it is not possible to credit them individually here, they all know who they are. My gratitude has already been expressed to them in various ways, but I shall always be indebted to them. There are a few public acknowledgements that I should like to make at this time, however. The understanding kokua (cooperation) of the staff of the Special Collections Department at the University of Hawaii Library made it easier for me to take multiple hours of personal leave time in order to complete the necessary research, interviewing, and writing. The personnel of the Hawaii State Legislative Reference Bureau and the State Archives were very helpful. Mr. Eugene Chang of the Archives staff obtained for my personal use sets of the territorial House and Senate Journals, a convenience much appreciated.

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There is one person who must be singled out for special recognition; that is Hiram Leong Fong. Mr. Fong's genuine cooperation over the more

than three years of research and writing was indispensable to the completion of the study. His unfailing courtesy in making available family records and scrapbooks and in answering every question placed before him made for a most enjoyable relationship and led to answers that were particularly meaningful. To him and to everyone else connected with the project, I extend my deepest appreciation and my warmest Aloha nui loa.

ABSTRACT

The life of Hiram Leong Fong from 1906 to 1954 is perceived as an educational progression exemplifying the dynamism of the American democratic experience unique to the Territory of Hawaii. The son of poor, uneducated Chinese immigrants, he grew up in a large family where all the children worked. His father had arrived as an indentured agricultural laborer imported solely for economic reasons by an entrenched haole (Caucasian) Protestant, Republican elite who ruled the Islands economically, politically, socially, and culturally until after World War II. Fong was nurtured in a biculture where the ancient Chinese familial system (situation-centered) blended with the dominant American culture (individual-centered) described by Francis Hsu. Protestantism was also the basis for the free public school system stressing civics and American democratic tenets which Fong absorbed wholeheartedly as part of his general education.

His achievement of a law degree from Harvard University was seen by contemporaries as demonstrating intelligence, hard work, and persistence. Fong became successful in law, business, and politics largely through his own efforts. In politics, he was a lifelong Republican with much popular appeal, but was considered a "maverick" because he was often at odds with party leaders and the majority of his fellow-Republicans. However, he achieved a strong leadership position by managing to be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1949 to 1954. He maintained his power base through personal attraction as well as by skillful parliamentary maneuvering. He was loyal to family, friends, and followers almost to a fault, and acquired

a reputation for being a man of his word while building a political power structure that included the minority Democrats and some of the emerging forces of labor. Fong was defeated by 31 votes in the Democratic takeover of the Legislature in 1954.

During these endeavors, Fong was viewed as a "fighter" and a "self-made man" by Hawaii's residents, the majority of whom were of Oriental heritage and members of the opposite political party. He became an example of the individualistic American described by Denis Brogan and Max Lerner. Moreover, in his own world view, he personified the opportunities available to all Americans if they were willing to strive for their goals. More than any other American of Chinese ancestry, he exemplified Lerner's premise that the American character was constantly being refined and recreated as a result of the dynamism inherent in the American democratic process.

Factors important to Fong's future political and personal success are identified and discussed. It becomes evident that even before Hawaii was granted Statehood in 1959, his achievements and experiences qualified him for national office, in the eyes of the electorate, despite political defeat and firm ties to the less popular Republican Party in Hawaii. It is clear that by 1954, his education for the United States Senate was complete.

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## INTRODUCTION

When Hiram Leong Fong retired from the United States Senate in January of 1977, he had served his native state of Hawaii in the nation's capital for 17 years and four months. As the lone Republican from Hawaii in national office during all those years, his departure was publicly and privately bemoaned by his political party at all levels. His colleagues in the Senate and leaders of all political persuasions in his home state and elsewhere spoke of his retirement as leaving a large gap in the halls of Congress. His departure would close an era in Senate history. In a State where persons of his own ethnic origin, the Chinese, constituted a very small and dwindling minority group, it was recalled that he had bested three persons of Caucasian ancestry in as many senatorial elections by very comfortable margins. Despite the Democratic landslide of 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson swept Hawaii with 78.8 per cent of the presidential votes, Fong set an all-time record in Senatorial elections by running 31.8 per cent ahead of his party's candidate for president.<sup>1</sup>

In the tradition of the Senate, some 53 fellow Senators either heaped praise on Fong during retirement ceremonies on the floor of the Senate or wrote laudatory comments. These appeared as one of the last marks of deference paid him as a Senate retiree in a special Tributes publication of 77 pages. Participating Senators represented not only an almost equal political representation (27 Republicans and 26 Democrats), but also a cross-section of the nation geographically. He also received commendations from United States President Gerald Ford and Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller. While all noted his efforts on

committees and the like, they also referred to him as a unique personage in the Senate. Almost all took note of his humble beginnings as a middle child of immigrant parents from China, his extended and successful struggle for an education, and his legal, business, and political triumphs both before and after arriving on the national scene. Several referred to his being awarded the typically American Horatio Alger Award in 1970, which recognized his rise to wealth and high office despite humble beginnings. The Horatio Alger Award is decided by ballot at 500 American colleges and universities.

Veteran Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield from Montana, the Majority Leader, who had been majority whip at the time Hawaii was granted statehood in 1959, began the tributes. He recounted several "firsts" for which Fong was being recognized. These included being one of two Statehood Senators from the new State of Hawaii, and the sole surviving one in the Senate at the time of his retirement. Mansfield noted that Fong was the first person of Chinese ancestry to be elected to the United States Congress and the first individual of Oriental ancestry to serve in the United States Senate. Fong was also the first person of Asian ancestry to have his name placed in nomination as favorite son candidate for the office of President of the United States (1964). Mansfield also stated that Fong had been "an eloquent spokesman...and an articulate advocate of a positive role for America in the vast Asia-Pacific area." He said Fong's recommendations of people from various ethnic backgrounds to fill high Federal Government posts were seen as helping to recognize the capabilities of ethnic minority groups not only in Hawaii but everywhere. As he was considered the Senate's best-known scholar of Asia and the Pacific, Mansfield's statement that



"I detect in Hiram the sound judgment and values of the people of the East blended with those of the West to comprise a cosmopolitan legislative leader" seemed especially significant.<sup>2</sup>

Other accolades revealed an interesting phenomenon, because they came from the Southern Senators. Several of them had voted against the admission of Hawaii as a state to the very end, partly on racial grounds. Senator James Eastland of Mississippi noted that Fong had been the subject of an inspirational motion picture made for school children, and that other people depicted in the movie series included famous personages like Albert Einstein, Enrico Fermi, Helen Keller, Jonas Salk, and Robert Peary.<sup>3</sup>

Russell Long, Senator from Louisiana, used Fong's own words to acknowledge his accomplishments in the passage of the momentous civil rights and voting rights bills of the 1960's, quoting, "I believe in the brotherhood of man, in equal opportunity for all and in the right of every person to fair play and justice, regardless of race, color, creed, sex, or national origin."<sup>4</sup>

West Virginia Democrat and incoming Majority Leader Robert Byrd seemed to sum up the general feeling of the Tributes when he stated that Hawaii and its retiring Senator could only be described in "superlatives." He affirmed that Fong would "continue to be for all Americans a symbol of the wealth that this Nation possesses in its diversity of peoples and cultures...a symbol of the reality of opportunities that exist for men of genuine ability and discipline in a country like the United States."<sup>5</sup>

Fong did not arrive in the nation's capitol a political or personal unknown. He had already carved out a formidable reputation in Hawaii,

and was also becoming recognized nationally and in Asia as a person of ability and substance. Hawaii's voters had come to expect him to be rather conservative in matters like taxation, but liberal on the encouragement of some labor rights and in the establishment of new businesses. His stand on issues, popular and unpopular, often had made for screaming headlines in the islands' press.

All in all, Fong's governmental service totaled 43 years, including work with the federal civil service, the City and County of Honolulu, active military duty during World War II, and elective office in the Hawaii territorial as well as national legislative halls. He became a luminary figure in Hawaiian and United States political life, but he also made legal history in Hawaii, and had a definite impact upon the financial and business community of the Islands. All of this took on wider implications as he became increasingly visible as a prime example of American free enterprise and democracy at work. Moreover, Fong perceived himself in the role of one who exemplified the opportunities most people considered inherent in the American way of life.

The road Fong traveled toward national power and international recognition was essentially a journey across the borders of two continents, from Kwangtung, China to Hawaii, and then to Washington. It took him over the divisions of two cultures. It could only have occurred in Hawaii, for it was Hawaii that provided the physical, economic, political, social, and cultural setting that nurtured his growth. Hawaii was, and is, unique in the annals of history.

The time period under discussion was a momentous one. It saw the entire island community change from a feudal oligarchical system to the threshold of equality in the sisterhood of states.

## Purpose

This is the story of Hiram Leong Fong, in whom were blended the characteristics of the Chinese and the American cultures. His development took on a special patina because of these factors. This study attempts to document the high points in Fong's rise to territorial prominence. It aims to describe and clarify his aspirations and how he reached the goals he set for himself. Insofar as possible, motivations will be established, and for this his personal recollections are valuable. Contemporary records are cited. The study also tries to keep him and his efforts within a historical framework which includes enough documentation of the social, cultural, historical and political milieu of his times to make him an "understandable" figure. It seeks to provide insight into the wide-spread popular support which catapulted him into a historic seat in the United States Senate.

A word of caution is advisable here. Because the period covered extends from the time when Hawaii first became a territory to the threshold of statehood some fifty years later, there may be an expectation that this study is also a history of Hawaii in its territorial phase. It is not.

Fong was of Chinese ancestry, and the history of the Chinese in Hawaii is inextricably beaten into the history of Hawaii, as though it were an essential ingredient in a huge kapa cloth covering the Islands. (Ancient Hawaiians fashioned kapa by steeping and beating the bark of the mulberry tree into utilitarian as well as beautiful cloth artifacts and clothing.) This being so, there may be the expectation that the study will include a history of the Chinese in Hawaii, but that is not the purpose of this work. Because Fong was a lifelong Republican

and survived several challenges successfully within his own political party, it might be assumed that this is a history of the Republican Party in Hawaii and by contrast, provide something of the story of the Democratic Party, but it is not that either.

On one level this is a biographical study of one American, and as such it shares some commonalities with stories of other Americans. But, on another level, it is quite different because of the ancestral heritage of the individual under scrutiny. Unlike other Americans who have combined successful careers as attorneys, businessmen, and political figures (before him as well as among his contemporaries), Fong was not of European stock. He had no role model to follow, because no one of his ancestry had accomplished before what he had done. His ancestors came from China, a country which in its thousands of years of existence was without a history of democracy or of self-government.

The Chinese were generally not welcome in American society, as will be noted. Fong was born, not in one of the federated states of America, but in the Territory of Hawaii. The Islands were separated from the United States mainland by some 2,000 miles, but with Annexation, the anti-American-Chinese laws applied to Hawaii as well. This only codified the prevailing, generally negative attitude of most Caucasians in Hawaii toward the Orientals. The Orientals had been brought in by the thousands, not as desirable citizens-to-be, but as laborers in the sugar and pineapple plantations so that the Islands might prosper economically. Something of this attitude had pervaded the entire life of the Islands for many years. It was manifested in the lack of genuine encouragement for the Chinese and other Orientals to join the mainstream

of community life in Hawaii. What they accomplished, they had to do pretty much on their own, either individually or with others within their basic ethnic groups.

Senator Mansfield was not alone in his evaluation of Fong's accomplishments marking him a "cosmopolitan legislative leader." Many others shared Mansfield's views and had for some time. Fong himself had dealt with the importance of the Pacific basin area in world affairs since his collegiate days, and during one of his campaigns for national office had billed himself as the "Man of the Pacific." Following the statehood election, at his own expense, he toured some of the Asian countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. This was so the people there might see him, as much a desired situation, he felt, as he wished to view them. Physically, he looked like a Pacific islander, because of his suntanned complexion, his taller-than-usual-for-a-Chinese height, and his sturdy build. While Fong became comfortable in that role and used it to his advantage whenever he could, Fuchs seemed at first to have placed his finger on Fong's pulse when he called him "self-consciously but unashamedly Chinese."<sup>6</sup> This may have been true in 1960-1961, when Fuchs was writing Hawaii Pono. However, by the time Fong retired from the Senate in 1977, it definitely would be more appropriate to think of him as an amalgam of two distinct cultures and heritages: the Chinese blended with the American to form a new man--a cosmopolitan man, but one who retained the predominant qualities of an American. Fong himself reaffirmed in later years that he always looked upon himself first as an American.<sup>7</sup>

Because the dominant culture in the United States is American, the study also seeks to learn if Fong, the amalgamated man, was a success in

terms of the dominant culture,. In order to achieve success, he must have acquired, used, and retained power so that he might accomplish his goals. To the extent that he was able to live in both worlds, achieve success in terms of the dominant culture, and utilize power effectively to gain, maintain, and/or sustain his position within the community, he would be considered an effective example of the American-Chinese dynamic experience.

### Terminology

Accepted sources were consulted for words and their meanings. The word "power" and its synonyms have been defined as follows:

Power implies possession of the ability to wield coercive force, permissive authority, or substantial influence.

Authority implies the granting of power for a specific purpose within specific limits.

Jurisdiction applies to official power exercised within prescribed limits.

Control stresses the power to direct and restrain.

Command implies the power to make arbitrary decisions and compel obedience.

Sway suggests the extent or scope of exercised power or influence.

Dominion stresses sovereign power or supreme authority.<sup>8</sup>

Where a Hawaiian or Chinese word is used for the first time, its accepted meaning follows in parenthesis. No Chinese characters are given.

I have chosen not to apply the term "white" for the meaning of "Caucasian," but I do use the word haole (originally, stranger)

interchangeably with Caucasian. I also prefer to call individuals of Chinese ancestry born on American soil as "American-Chinese" rather than the more commonly-used term "Chinese-American." The reason is that I believe "American-Chinese" is much more reflective of the dominant culture in which these individuals live and work. In my estimation, other ethnic groups, such as the Filipinos or Koreans, living within two cultures should also be given the same identity: thus, "American-Filipino," and "American-Korean." This would also serve to remind Americans of their common bonds, irrespective of ethnic or national origin, instead of taking note of their differences.

A precedent has already been set in the use of the term "American of Japanese ancestry" or "AJA" by the late Governor John A. Burns to describe an American whose ancestral roots are in Japan. A discussion of this appears in the John A. Burns Oral History Project, directed by Dr. Stuart Gerry Brown with associates Dr. Paul Hooper and Dr. Daniel Boylan.

While I do not at this point advocate that we use "American of Chinese ancestry (ACA)," or "American of Filipino ancestry (AFA)," or "American of Korean ancestry (AKA)," and so forth, the advantages inherent in doing so are certainly intriguing and should be examined further.

It would be useful here to examine the basic tenets of the Chinese and the American ways of life.

### On Being Chinese

Dr. Charles Moore identified 21 basic principles of Chinese philosophy which helped him to relate to the humanistic Chinese mind. They are summarized briefly here to provide a general base of reference

in order to better understand the Chinese. It should also be noted here that this is not a philosophic study of Fong, nor of the Chinese.

1. Achieving "sageliness within and kingliness without."
2. The inseparability of philosophy and life, and of theory and practice.
3. The doctrine and attitude of "humanism."
4. Inner and outer ethical consciousness as the essence of all human living and the highest goal for man.
5. Spirituality and the development of ethical character.
6. Filial piety, the very essence of ethical and social Chinese life.
7. Emphasis upon man as a social being.
8. Social living as an attitude in and toward life in society.
9. Deep respect for the original quality and original goodness of all individuals, being joined in a typical attitude of harmony, yet qualitative and personal criteria seem to take precedence over actual individuality and equality. The rights of the state take precedence over the individual if the former is threatened.
10. Optimistic and democratic doctrine of the "universal attainability of sagehood," which is akin to the Christian belief in the perfectibility of man.
11. Supreme importance of philosophy and the lesser importance of religion.
12. Harmony as characteristic of life and thought (see also 9).
13. The synthetic attitude, called "mere eclecticism," (which permits the Chinese to react to situations as they arise as being separated from what went on before or will come after).
14. Attitude of "both-and," and "either/or," which blurs the lines of distinction and exclusiveness.
15. Tolerance.
16. Humanism, in which the individual person is more important than the abstract rule (in law, as in ethics), and the "both-and" concept permitting rule by man rather than rule of law.



17. Moderation as an ethical attitude, but there is also the un-moderate attitude of profound ethical sincerity of will.
18. The Golden Rule of Confucius.
19. Great love of learning, and the fullest possible "investigation of things," coupled with the doctrine "rectification of names."
20. The doctrine of the mutual necessity of the ultimate reason or principle of reality and the material element (or vital force) and the doctrine of the one in the many and the many in the one, and the impossibility of one without the other.
21. Knowledge and the personal integrity of the individual constitute the root principle of all Chinese thought and culture.<sup>9</sup>

Review of the national characteristics generally attributed to the Chinese people reveals certain distinctive traits. As one example, Fuchs described the Chinese as thrifty, family-oriented, willing to work hard, situation-centered, adaptive, willing and able to forego immediate pleasures in hope of future rewards, and having a strong belief in the benefits of education.<sup>10</sup>

Fuchs, as well as many other observers of the Chinese, drew heavily upon the work of Francis L. K. Hsu, particularly in his book, American and Chinese. In the introduction to the 1972 edition of Hsu's work, Henry Steele Commager noted that whereas Alexis de Tocqueville in his two volume Democracy in America took one theme (equality) and "like a lantern carried it into every nook and cranny of American life," Hsu also took one theme (individualism) and pursued it as thoroughly as Tocqueville had done many years earlier. Commager felt that the passion for equality was more a manifestation of individualism than was individualism a manifestation of equality. Individualism, according to Hsu, was the master key to the American character. Commager stated, moreover, that it was also more distinctive of the American and Western

experience: "equality had not always been a common denominator of the West, but since the Renaissance individualism has been, and still is, a trait that more sharply than any other distinguishes the West from the Orient."<sup>11</sup>

Hsu contrasted American insecurity with Chinese security; American exclusiveness with Chinese inclusiveness, and American worship of the young with Chinese veneration for the older generations. Individualism explained why competition lay at the heart of every aspect of American life, and was the cause of all insecurity. It illuminated the readiness of almost everyone to participate in politics and the conviction--central to the very concept of democracy--that "everyone could exert some influence and deserved to be heard."<sup>12</sup>

Reducing the views of life as seen by the Chinese and the Americans, Hsu arrived at two basic sets of contrasts: first, in the American way of life the emphasis was placed upon the predilections of the individual, a characteristic he called individual-centered. This was in contrast to the emphasis the Chinese put upon an individual's appropriate place and behavior among his fellow men, a characteristic he named situation-centered. The second fundamental contrast was the prominence of emotions in the American way of life as compared with the tendency of the Chinese to underplay all matters of the heart.

These two sets of contrasts are interrelated. Being individual-centered, the American moved toward social and psychological isolation. His happiness tended to be unqualified ecstasy just as his sorrow was likely to mean unbearable misery. A strong emotionality was inevitable since the emotions were concentrated in one individual.

Being more situation-centered, the Chinese was inclined to be socially or psychologically dependent on others, for he was tied closer to his world and his fellow men. His happiness and his sorrow tended to be mild since they were shared.

Hsu asserted that this fundamental contrast between Americans and Chinese was at the core of the unique and deeply imbedded problems and weaknesses which plagued each society, such as racial and religious intolerance in America and economic poverty and bureaucratic oppression in China.

He clarified that the individual versus situational contrast had nothing to do with the popularly known concepts of introversion and extroversion. Both Chinese and Americans may be introverts, persons who deal with reality by thought, or they may be extroverts, persons who deal with reality by action. But the Chinese tended to mobilize his thought and action for the purpose of conforming to the reality, while the American tended to do so for the purpose of making the reality conform to him.<sup>13</sup>

In Hsu's view, man's relationship to man was the most crucial element in human existence. Individualism as practiced in America militated against the sharing of thoughts and feeling, an emotional outlet which the family system in China permitted.

Hsu found that the Americans lacked an anchorage which the Chinese enjoyed, the anchorage that comes from being part of a large unit; they lived in a continuum in time stretching back to ancestors long gone and forward into generations to come, as well as in a network of interdependencies and dependencies among family, clan, village, and neighborhood.

American belief in the necessity for growth and change in the elusive quest for success meant, in Hsu's view, constant upheaval and movement that proved unsettling to all. Yet for all the dour aspects of American individualism, he saw that there were distinct advantages too. Democracy, with all its failings, was much more effective than any governmental system the Chinese had been able to work out. The lot of society could be improved through individual and collective effort. Education could be bent to fit the child and not the child bent to a rigid school system. Any number of American colleges and universities produced more than the normal share of statesmen, scholars and scientists. Even with all the hazards of family life in America, women have more equality and the young were encouraged to develop independence.

Hsu advocated an abatement of selfish individualism, the saving of our natural resources, and more tolerance toward neighbors, the religious faith of others, and all races. America's feelings of moral superiority over all parts of the human race were not consistent with the creeds which most Americans professed to follow.<sup>14</sup>

#### On Being American

The characteristics which served to identify Americans as a distinct group of people were described by Dr. Denis Brogan in an insightful work. The first immigrants to America were European in origin, who found it essential to modify their thoughts, habits and attitudes as they slowly moved westward, settling the land. In the process of adaptation and change, the modern American was created through the interplay of geographic, biological, and historical forces. According to Brogan, the process bred the "temper" of the pioneer, the gambler, the booster, the discounter of the future who is to some extent bound to "be a

disparager of the past." Movement was a virtue and stability a "rather contemptible attitude of mind." From the beginning, life in America was competitive from the top downward. There was no real stability, no real security. To survive took adaptability, toughness, and perhaps a "not too sensitive moral or social outlook." From the first, it was "root, hog, or die." Courage, enterprise, ingenuity were all required, and there was the general acceptance of debt as a normal state of existence.

The American tradition was tied to the idea of progress, and was linked to the dominant Protestant American religion that emphasized an optimistic view of God's purpose in the world and an identification with that purpose with the purpose of the American people. Wealth was accepted as proof of virtue, so much so that prosperity was not merely evidence of virtue; to some Americans, wealth was virtue. The kingdom of God was wealth, material success, and happiness in this world, and did not await some future happening. All of this was tied together with an emphasis on loyalty to the community and by extension, loyalty to the country.<sup>15</sup>

In a classic book, Max Lerner expounded on the theory that Americans became unique as the result of special demands and opportunities arising from the American experience. Furthermore, the experience was not one that had been completed and died away. Rather, it was part of a continuum that made of the process of being an "American," an on-going process of becoming, of creation being accomplished through constant change and flux. The national characteristics of Americans, then, were being constantly changed and created in a dynamic both appropriate to, and the result of, changing conditions of life and thought. Unlike Frederick Jackson

Turner, who saw that America's characteristics were formed by the frontier experience and provided an essentially pessimistic outlook because the frontiers had been reached,<sup>16</sup> Lerner viewed American life as being constantly transformed vertically in the original centers at the same time it was being extended horizontally in the new areas. This led him to conceive of the American experience as a double process of dynamism.

Lerner saw a three-fold melding of activity: industrialism as a technology, capitalism as a way of organizing it, and democracy as a way of running both. Woven from these elements, American tradition took on a special dynamism, and was shaped as part of revolutionary quest for a better life. The conservative strain in Americans stressed "order, inequality, and the authority of the past, as against change, the guarantee of social minima, and the claims of the future."<sup>17</sup>

Self-reliance, courage, alertness, obstinate endurance, friendliness, a democratic informality, are traits that emerged from the continuous cycles of land settlement. A sharp and shrewd aggressiveness, a willingness to take chances, and organizing capacity, a genius with machines, a sense of bigness and of power, an assumption of destiny, are traits that emerged from industrialism and the capital markets of the metropolis. The two sets of traits were fused in the national character because the two strands of development were interwoven in the crucial phases of American history.<sup>18</sup>

He found that the "expanse of space, the mixture of race, the pluralism of region and religion, the fresh start, the release of energies, the access to opportunity, the optimism and pragmatism of a society in motion, the passion for equality--were the crucial shaping forces of the American heritage."<sup>19</sup>

In a review of the first edition (1953) of Francis Hsu's classic work on the American and Chinese cultures, Dr. Stuart Gerry Brown noted that "both are incomplete civilizations, each needing something of what the other has to offer."<sup>20</sup> Fong was molded in a society that had

distinctive American influences despite the impact of early Chinese family training and neighbors of different ethnic stock. He was the product of interchanges between the two incomplete civilizations noted by Brown. In this sense, Fong can be seen as an example of one who grew up with Chinese training and influences (as described by Francis Hsu). Because he was born in an American territory, he took on additionally the characteristics of the dominant American culture (as described by Denis Brogan and Max Lerner), while experiencing the feeling of the "second class" status of the people of the Territory. Fong can therefore be viewed as an example of the dynamic product arising from the interplay of forces, Chinese and American, in a distinctive framework of the emerging Territory of Hawaii as it moved slowly toward Statehood.

### The Literature

For one so recognized and honored, it is perhaps surprising that very little factual information was available to document the earlier events that molded and shaped Fong along the way to the Senate. Chroniclers of the Chinese experience in America like S. W. Kung<sup>21</sup> and Betty Lee Sung<sup>22</sup> mention his achievements prior to election to the United States Senate only in passing, and as late as 1974, Stanford M. Lyman did not list Fong in the index of his book, Chinese Americans.<sup>23</sup> Biographical directories, including those for Congressional leaders, were necessarily sketchy as required by their format.

Aside from a few newspaper and periodical articles, almost nothing has been written about his early years, and he himself did not maintain a diary. His parents were not literate, and his brothers and sisters did not chronicle family events.

When viewed in the light of the paucity of information regarding the whole territorial history of Hawaii, i.e., during his formative and maturing years, it is perhaps not surprising that so little on Fong was available in the way of primary resource materials. As a matter of fact, there is no one definitive history of Hawaii covering its territorial phase from 1900 to 1959. Dr. Brett Melendy's history of Hawaii for this time period is eagerly awaited. There are several books on the general history of Hawaii. While no attempt is made to list them all here, some are noteworthy and are cited in footnotes. These include Dr. Gavan Daws' Shoal of Time and Lawrence Fuchs' Hawaii Pono, which are particularly and respectively strong for the earlier Hawaii historical period, and the sociological history of Hawaii. Dr. A. Grove Day and Dr. Ralph Kuykendall's texts are good sources for general background, while the latter's three volumes on the years of the monarchy remain the classic authoritative work. A history of Honolulu by Dr. Donald D. Johnson provides a broad sweep of the crucial events of this important part of Hawaii which was always Fong's home, excepting the time spent at Harvard and in the nation's capital. Sanford Zalburg's just-released book on the life of labor leader Jack Hall, A Spark Is Struck!, does cover the time period involved, but has a localized focus. It is hoped that his work will be only the first of many more to come covering other important personages in American-Hawaiian life.

On the topic of the Chinese in Hawaii, it can be said that in general, much has been written as compared to other ethnic groups, but much more research and writing needs to be done. Dr. Nancy Foon Young's bibliography, The Chinese in Hawaii (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1973; Hawaii Series No. 4) is only one



of several. It lists more than 660 entries, and yet is highly selective. Much literature was omitted from her work and other publications have since appeared. Definitive studies by Dr. Clarence Glick, primarily on the first generation immigrants from China, were valuable, while articles in Social Process in Hawaii helped to define the cultural and social milieu. Dr. Andrew Lind's population studies included much information about the Chinese.

The governmental and political writings of Dr. Norman Meller, Dr. Daniel Tuttle, and others, helped to provide greater insight into the workings of Hawaii's governmental and political systems, while Dr. Hubert Everly's works on education in Hawaii were also relied upon. The Sandalwood Mountains; Readings and Stories of the Early Chinese in Hawaii, by Tin-Yuke Char, provided fascinating glimpses of Chinese-related experiences in the Islands.

On a broader scale, the perceptions of the Chinese people as viewed by Americans on the United States mainland were helpful in understanding American treatment of the Chinese in America, and by extension, in Hawaii. Harold Isaacs' survey,<sup>24</sup> Scratches on Our Minds; American Images of China and India, was significant, while Stuart Creighton Miller's The Unwelcome Immigrant; The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) was particularly well-researched and readable. Contemporary views of themselves by the ethnic Chinese, as in "Chink!" (edited by Cheng-Tsu Wu. New York: World Publishing, 1972) were also helpful. The same can be said for Longtime Californ', the oral histories of immigrant Chinese in California, edited by Victor Nee. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

Dr. Mary Roberts Coolidge's Chinese Immigration (Taipei: Chieng-Wen Publishing Company, 1968) provided much valuable United States historical information.

### Methodology

The methodology used is inclusive rather than exclusive. Newspaper accounts, periodical articles, government documents, and some book material form the basic printed sources. However, among the most important resources were Senator Fong's own recollections and impressions of what had occurred. The great majority of these were tape-recorded. Joined with interviews (both recorded and verbal) of family members and associates, the oral history materials comprise a large bulk of the primary materials used. With almost no exceptions, these were researched and generated by the author.

Despite oratorical awards, much legal work, and a lengthy public career, Fong never completely lost the unique accent and speech patterns of his Island homeland that marked him as having come from the poor, rural Kalihi area of Honolulu. This was especially true before he was elected to the United States Senate. The years in Washington smoothed his English out considerably. When he was active in territorial politics, however, persons who were fastidious about the use of the English language could always find fault with his use of it. Nonetheless, they never doubted the forcefulness of his rhetoric, or the obvious effect of his oratory upon his audience. The total effect was seen as charismatic. A Honolulu newsman called attention to this phenomenon when Fong first ran for national office in 1959, saying,

There is the inverted word order, the lack of a smooth tie between subject and verb and a lack of freshly minted phrases. Yet there is no question that he is effective as a speaker--blunt, crude, effective.<sup>25</sup>

In order to capture as much of this unique quality despite the limitations of one-dimensional printed pages, much reliance has been placed on quotations taken from oral history interviews with Fong, as well as from newspaper articles and his own writings. Since he was known to most of his contemporaries through the medium of the spoken word, and indeed first attained recognition as the student winner of forensic contests, it seemed appropriate to include much of this material in fairly complete form. While he did some writing, the majority of it was for the purpose of being spoken aloud, and even the student editorials for which he was responsible at the University of Hawaii have the quality of "speaking" to the reader.

NOTES  
INTRODUCTION

(NOTE: All interviews were conducted by the author unless otherwise noted. All single interviews are cited initially with name and date; subsequent entries are cited only by surname or first and last names. Multiple interviews with the same individual(s) are cited by name(s) and dates. Types of interviews (recorded, telephone, personal, and so forth) are so noted only when first cited. All Mr. Fong's interviews are cited as: HLF).

<sup>1</sup>Betty Lee Sung, Mountain of Gold (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 280, 289-291, 315.

<sup>2</sup>Tributes to the Honorable Hiram L. Fong of Hawaii in the United States Senate, upon the occasion of his retirement from the Senate, 94th Congress, 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 94-272 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 7. Hereafter cited as: Tributes.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-38.

<sup>6</sup>Lawrence Fuchs, Hawaii Pono (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), p. 98.

<sup>7</sup>HLF, Personal interview, 18 April 1980.

<sup>8</sup>Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1965), p. 666.

<sup>9</sup>Charles Moore, ed., The Chinese Mind (Honolulu: East-West Center Press; University of Hawaii Press, 1967), pp. 5-7.

<sup>10</sup>Fuchs, pp. 89-100, 102-103, and passim.

<sup>11</sup>Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, American Museum Science Books ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Natural History Press, 1972), p. xxiv.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. xxv-xxvi.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. xxv-xxviii.

<sup>15</sup>Denis Brogan, The American Character (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), pp. 3-4, 5, 7, and passim.

<sup>16</sup>Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

<sup>17</sup>Max Lerner, America As a Civilization (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 43.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>20</sup>Stuart Gerry Brown, review of Americans and Chinese, by Francis K. L. Hsu, Ethics, LXIV, No. 4 (July 1954), 311-313.

<sup>21</sup>S. W. Kung, Chinese in American Life (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), pp. 63, 237-238.

<sup>22</sup>Sung, pp. 280, 289-291, 315.

<sup>23</sup>Stanford M. Lyman, Chinese Americans (New York: Random House, 1974), pp. 209.

<sup>24</sup>Harold Isaacs, Scratches on Our Minds; American Images of China and India (New York: John Day Company, 1958), pp. 63-238.

<sup>25</sup>Tributes, p. 56.

## CHAPTER I

### AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

#### Centralized Government and the Law

The Hawaiian Islands lie some 2,400 miles from the West Coast of the United States and about 4,000 miles from China. The main islands had been settled by Polynesians from the Marquesas some 2,000 years before Hawaii was discovered for the outside world by Captain James Cook in 1778. Local chiefs ruled over the several inhabited islands until subdued in a series of lengthy and bloody battles by King Kamehameha in 1795, but it was not until 1810 that all the chiefs submitted to him. In the meantime, many traders and explorers from around the globe sailed to Hawaii, introducing livestock, manufactured goods, plants, new ideas and concepts, and, incidentally yet most importantly, germs to which the natives had no immunity. With the coming of the foreigners, the Hawaiian people started to die off, and their declining birth rate was of great concern.

When the great king died in 1819, his son and successor Liholiho (Kamehameha II) abolished the local Hawaiian religion. The following year, American Protestant missionaries arrived, were permitted to remain, and embarked upon a literacy and religious program which soon touched every segment of Hawaiian life. Hawaii quickly metamorphosized from a stone-age, absolute monarchy, through restricted constitutional monarchy beginning in 1840, to the status of independent republic from 1894 to 1898, and a Territory of the United States from 1900 to 1959,

at which time Hawaii was voted into Statehood. In the meantime, the missionaries and their descendants had a profound Americanizing effect upon Hawaii.

Throughout Hawaii's history, there has been strong centralization of government. The monarchical system was familiar to the natives, and it provided the foreigners who needed some orderly methods of doing business in the Islands a measure of stability. Foreign ships and officials, sailors, merchants, and natives periodically filled the Hawaiian towns as commerce in sandalwood, whaling, and other commodities ebbed and flowed over the years. There were no laws to speak of, and no police force to enforce them had there been any. In an effort to provide some law and order, the kuhina nui (regent) Kaahumanu, who was a convert to Christianity, proclaimed the first laws forbidding murder, theft, gambling, and profanation of the Sabbath in 1824.<sup>1</sup> Being unwritten and unenforceable, the laws had little effect. King Kamehameha III also agonized over how to please the foreigners, who wanted laws, without giving up monarchical dominion over the land and the people. Seeking advice from counselors, he obtained the guidance of the Rev. William Richards, who, along with others, gave Hawaii its first Code of Civil Laws and its Magna Charta in 1839. The Magna Charta, or Declaration of Rights, began, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."<sup>2</sup> The Declaration was a testimony to the influence of the American missionaries, and formed the Preamble to the first Hawaiian Constitution, which was proclaimed on October 8, 1840. Under this document, the powers and duties of the government's officials, including a judicial system, were delineated under a lawful organization. Qualified persons were elected as representatives to the Legislative Assembly and commoners met with

chiefs for the first time to make laws in Hawaii.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent constitutions further refined and defined the powers of the monarchs and the Assembly and the qualifications of voters.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of Annexation, constitutional government for the Territory was codified in the Organic Act, which was the basic document governing Hawaii until 1959. As citizens of the Territory of Hawaii, her people received the rights and privileges of American citizens; residents who had not qualified for citizenship under the Republic remained aliens. However, the government of Hawaii was still controlled from Washington. The nation's president appointed the Territory's Governor, Secretary, and judges of all Courts of Record; in turn, the Governor appointed the heads of the Territory's several departments. Voters were no longer required to own property or savings in order to vote, and could elect Representatives and Senators for the Legislature as well as a Delegate to Congress. The Legislature met biennially to pass local laws, but had to memorialize the Congress for any changes in the Organic Act or on special matters. Worst of all, the Delegate had no vote in the Congress.<sup>5</sup>

The Legislature maintained great control over the four county governments through the appropriation bills and laws affecting the entire Territory. Over the years, the population on the main capital island of Oahu grew much larger than that on the Neighbor Islands, but somehow the apportionment of seats in the two houses was never adjusted until 1956.

Lawyers and judges had operated in Hawaii from almost the beginning of the coming of the foreigners and had advised the monarchs throughout the years. The missionaries had created a Hawaiian alphabet from the spoken language, and printed not only the Bible and some books but also



the country's laws on the small hand press they had brought with them. In time, local lawyers qualified themselves to practice through formal education and by "reading" the law, coupled with the passing of examinations.<sup>6</sup>

### Commerce and the Oligarchy

The volcanic islands of Hawaii had few natural resources which could be exploited for profit. Changing economic conditions were often regulated from governments across the oceans, and deeply affected the fragile Hawaiian economic base. Between 1811 and 1830, great quantities of sandalwood were cut and shipped to China. When the supply of wood was diminished, fleets of ships, mostly American, on their way to and from the whaling areas, arrived to take up the economic slack. Hawaii also became an important refueling and recreational spot for ships other than whalers and their crews. Meanwhile, many plants were introduced by various visitors and travelers, but only the sugar cane and later the pineapple gave any promise of economic potential. The first permanent sugar plantation began operating on Kauai in 1835. As it succeeded, other lands were acquired and planted. The management of the sugar companies eventually came under the jurisdiction of five major companies, called factors; they became known as the "Big Five," or the oligarchy.

The five companies were American Factors (known as H. Hackfeld & Company until 1918), C. Brewer & Company, Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., Castle & Cooke, Ltd., and Theophilus H. Davies & Company, Ltd. They were either agents or owners of most island sugar plantations, some pineapple plantations, and cattle ranches. Under their control, either by actual ownership or through controlling interests, were the public utilities, steamship lines, railways, docks, banks, department stores,

import agencies, and assorted retail outlets. From control of 75 per cent of the sugar crop in 1919, by 1933 they had 96 per cent of it.<sup>7</sup> Any observer looking at the above listing realized that not a penny could be earned or spent in Hawaii unless one of the Big Five were involved in some profitable way. The rising entrepreneur, Walter F. Dillingham, soon made the group the "Big Six."

Their power seemed even more insidious when viewed at another level. By the very nature of life in Hawaii, the firms also extended control over the political, educational, social, cultural, and economic affairs of the Islands. Their influence, according to Bushnell, also pervaded into and affected the psychology of the Islanders, individually and as ethnic groups.<sup>8</sup> Plantation workers lived on the premises and traded at company stores, paying company prices. Their recreation and other activities were often associated with the plantation.

At the time of Annexation, there was virtually no middle class in the American sense of small independent landholders or small businessmen. "Prestige, power, and status were firmly in the possession of a small haole elite," wrote Fuchs.<sup>9</sup> The Big Five reached the peak of their powers in the 1930's. As a group, the efficient, intelligent management teams comprising about 80 men (all related to each other by blood or marriage, as well as to the old established kamaaina families) banded together to take advantage of the plight of firms like that of James B. Dole's Hawaiian Pineapple Company, which did not survive the Depression years.

The oligarchy and Hawaii's people lived without full statehood status, and actually were not very unhappy about the situation through the 1920's. But the unfortunate Massie case reflected badly on Hawaii,

and the press and others questioned the ability of a Hawaiian government left too long to govern for itself. Then the passage of the Jones-Costigan Act in 1934 regulating agricultural products brought a rude awakening because it discriminated against Hawaii sugar as a "foreign" product. When the companies sued and appealed the ruling, they realized that the Congress had the right to discriminate against Hawaii if it wanted to. At that point, full statehood status became a more popular commodity.<sup>10</sup>

The power of the Big Five was reduced in the 1930's and 1940's. Their decline was made possible by a number of developments, including federal and territorial legislation against monopolies, the success of labor organizations (particularly after 1945 when the "little Wagner Act" permitting unionization of agricultural workers was passed), and the entry of independent mainland-owned competitors, such as the Sears, Roebuck retail outlets.<sup>11</sup>

#### The Oligarchy, the Republican Party, and Politics

It made good sense in the first half of the twentieth century to be a Republican, because the Big Five all belonged to that party. Except for a short-lived Home Rule Party active in the first few years after Annexation, and when the Democrats took half the seats in the House in 1947, the Republican party dominated the territorial legislature during the period under study. From 1900 to 1940, more than 80 per cent of the elected members of the Legislature were Republicans, and anyone desirous of being connected with an effective base of power would not have signed up as a Democrat. Even as the non-haole groups gained in population, they remained remarkably incapable of voting other than in Republican-sponsored ways. As an example, the Japanese represented between a quarter

and a third of the potential voters in the 1930's, but most Japanese refused to back members of their own ethnic group who might wish to oppose the Republicans. The fear of economic reprisals was too great.<sup>12</sup> It would take a second world war and another decade of steady organizational work within the Democratic Party before the oligarchy was replaced at the polls. Until the mid-1950's, the Democrats tended to attract the support of the poorer classes.

Dr. Norman Meller pointed out that

the relationship between the Republican Party and the dominant economic interests in the Islands imparted an aura of respectability...and...assured it the monetary wherewithal to carry on expensive campaigns. It has been a widely-held belief...that the leadership of the Republican Party was merely another manifestation in different guise of the same group which enjoyed economic and social dominance in the community. The heavy components of Big Five and plantation administrators in the Republican legislative majorities of the past materially reinforced the belief. This, of course, tended to have ethnic overtones, as Orientals comprised a larger proportion of the lower socio-economic segments of the Island community.<sup>13</sup>

Dr. Gavan Daws noted that "The Republican Party was a white man's party," and that "No matter what flag flew at the islands, race was the only issue that counted in local politics."<sup>14</sup> Sanford Dole, first governor-designate of the Territory, did not believe that the Orientals in Hawaii were "responsible" people, and attempted to keep the franchise away from them, partly through property qualifications advocated under the draft provisions of the Organic Act. However, Congress would not permit such exclusions.

Until 1938, Island politics to a large extent were native politics. Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians enjoyed a clear majority of voters through the election of 1922. There were more of the natives than any other ethnic group until 1938,<sup>15</sup> after which their declining birth rates and increasing death rates took their toll. Being "native" was a decided

asset at the polls, although most voters did not always follow Robert Wilcox's advice of the early 1900's: "Nana i ka ili" (look at the skin). However, the electorate seemed to vote less by party labels than for the personality of the candidates. This gave rise to what was termed "Personality politics" to describe the Hawaiian phenomenon.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Andrew Lind in 1936 pointed out the importance to the candidates to participate fully in the colorful rallies, singing and dancing the hula along with the musical troupes which always appeared. The crowds came to be entertained as well as to meet the candidates, and woe befell those who did not conform:

Many a candidate has gone down to defeat because he has failed to join the ranks of the entertainers at the political rallies and has thus earned for himself the deadly reputation of being 'high hat.' Party support is essential to the success of any political candidate, but unless he can in addition attract attention and support by his own capacity and color, party regularity alone will not permanently avail him.<sup>17</sup>

United States Senator Daniel Inouye noted that before the second world war, the

Republican grip on the territorial legislature had been ironclad. Economic power was still hard-held by the few dominant Caucasian families descended from the missionaries and traders...the Castles, Cookes, Baldwins, Damons, Athertons, Robinsons, and most pervasively powerful of all, the Dillinghams. Their economic interests were best defended by the Republican Party and their newspapers diligently preached the Republican message and their plantation supervisors hustled the Republican vote. In 1941 they were still tying the ballot pencil in such a way that, even in the privacy of the curtained booth, a field hand voting for a Democrat might just as well shout it from the top of a palm tree. Not surprisingly, few did.<sup>18</sup>

Not all the lawmakers agreed with the social scientists and politicians about the Republican territorial legislature. Former territorial and state legislator D. Hebdon Porteus, who had been an attorney for Alexander and Baldwin before entering private practice, pulled down the 1945 Journal of the House of Representatives and noted the preponderance

of members who were not haole.<sup>19</sup> On the surface of it, it was true that most non-haoles elected then were also members of the Republican Party (but in the words of one renowned contemporary, most of them owed their livelihood to the Big Five and were "stool pigeons" for them). A distinction was also made between Party members per se and elected members who became government officials. The haoles as a group were attracted to the Republican Party, but not all elected Republicans were haole.<sup>20</sup>

Being dominated by the oligarchy at both the gubernatorial and legislative levels, laws passed tended to favor the Big Five's monopolistic interests in matters like taxation, land laws, and centralization of power before World War II.<sup>21</sup>

As the years went on, second-generation American-born citizens of other ethnic groups, supplemented by those naturalized under more enlightened laws, began to enter the mainstream of political life in the Territory. Individuals from all major ethnic groups were represented in elective office by the decade following World War II. Thus, the factors which may principally be seen as geographic, economic, and demographic were changed as they were joined with the democratic structures and institutions of the United States.<sup>22</sup>

### The Chinese in Hawaii

It is impossible to document the arrival of the first Chinese to Hawaii, but as early as 1788 there were Chinese members of the crew of Captain John Meares. Captain George Vancouver observed at least one Chinese residing in Hawaii in 1794. A Chinese was credited with being the first person to boil island sugar, on Lanai in 1802.<sup>23</sup> During the

next 50 years or so, a few Chinese on the outer islands started one-man sugar operations and mills,<sup>24</sup> But China opposed emigration.

For all the restrictions placed upon her citizens by the Chinese Manchu government, there were adventurous Chinese who left the Middle Kingdom. China had always been subject to natural disasters like floods, drought, pestilence, and famine. In the Opium War of 1839-1842, she suffered a great defeat and had to open five ports to Westerners. The Taiping Rebellion of 1851-1864 revealed the extent of internal dissension within her borders. An estimated 20,000,000 lives were lost and there was untold misery and deprivation for her peoples, especially those south of the Yangtze River. The combination of natural disasters and the ravages from foreign and internal strife made the Manchu regime more amenable to permitting the hiring of Chinese workers to labor abroad in 1860. Chinese emigration was legalized with the Burlingame treaty of 1868, but the treaty was subsequently revised to be more and more restrictive against the Chinese.

There were 71 Chinese living at Honolulu in 1852, the year when the Hawaii Legislature passed an act "for the Government of Masters and Servants" permitting the importation of Chinese "coolies" to work in the expanding sugar plantations. Of these 71, 31 were in some sort of trade. While most of the haoles and others living in Hawaii claimed not to understand the Chinese and their ways, it was generally conceded that the Chinese were honest and industrious businessmen. Chinese leaders participated as best they could in the affairs of the Kingdom. A supreme example of this was when a small group of Chinese gave a grand ball, a dinner dance commemorating the marriage of King Alexander Liholiho and Queen Emma in 1856. The evening was a great success, and well worth the

approximately four thousand dollars it cost the Chinese because of the fine compliments the community received.<sup>25</sup>

The great influx of Chinese to Hawaii was inaugurated in response to the demand of the sugar industry for cheap labor as has been noted. In 1850, approximately 180 Chinese were imported from China under special contract to the haole sugar planters. The workers were covered by the Hawaii Masters' and Servants' Act, and under that law an additional 195 Chinese field hands entered Hawaii under a five years' contract for wages amounting to \$3.00 per month plus passage, food, housing, and clothing. In all, some 46,000 Chinese were brought to Hawaii prior to annexation, but that figure was reduced by almost half because many of the workers left Hawaii at the end of their contracts partly due to harsh working conditions. The number of Chinese in Hawaii was so great that at one time, their number was twice that of the white male population. In 1886, the Hawaii kingdom passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, but the varying needs of the sugar plantations for a good labor supply meant exceptions were made under the law. Therefore approximately 15,000 more workers were permitted into the Kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

The Chinese population in Hawaii ebbed and flowed with the need for laborers in the sugar plantations. In 1853, there were 364 Chinese, or 0.5 per cent of the population. By 1872, there were 1,938 Chinese (3.4 per cent). The Chinese population reached a high of 17,937 (22.2 per cent) in 1884, after which it declined steadily while other ethnic groups increased in size. By 1940, when Fong had just completed his first term in the territorial House of Representatives, there were 28,774 Chinese in Hawaii, or 6.8 per cent of the total population.<sup>27</sup>



The Hawaiian Board of Immigration attempted to ameliorate the harsh conditions on the plantations. As an example, after 1872 (the year Fong's father was reported to have come to Hawaii) a laborer was permitted to commute his contract by paying his employer the correct proportion of the amount he owed for passage, and was not required to work beyond the period of his contract. As another example, legislation was passed in 1882 prohibiting the extension of a contract due to desertion. In 1882, the Chinese constituted 50 per cent of the total work force in the industry, but by 1902, they represented less than 10 per cent.<sup>28</sup>

The harsh conditions on the sugar plantations meant that the Chinese left as soon as their contracts were up, or if conditions were especially bad, some escaped (and were severely punished if caught). Most of them eventually found their way to Honolulu, where they congregated and their great numbers caused problems for the community. Jobs were few, so some turned to stealing, while others became gamblers, and still others were accused of setting fire to buildings. At one point, 70 haole businessmen petitioned the government to arrest the Chinese for vagrancy. Anti-Chinese feelings developed and resulted in repressive laws being passed.<sup>29</sup>

Some of the Chinese immigrants married Hawaiian women and began raising taro, from which the Hawaiian staple, poi, was made. While a few of them prospered, the taro industry was largely replaced by rice, partly because of the declining native population and the increasing demand for rice in Honolulu as well as for export to California. In 1876, the Reciprocity Treaty permitted rice as well as sugar to enter the United States duty free. But the rice industry was forced into decline after 1901 due to the pressure of the sugar industry to obtain land, rising costs, competition from California rice growers, and the end of

Chinese immigration. Almost 12 per cent of the Chinese males in Hawaii were farmers in 1890, but there were fewer than 2 per cent engaged in farming in 1940.<sup>30</sup>

The majority of the Chinese males who left the plantations and did not return to their homeland settled in metropolitan areas like Honolulu or the towns and villages of the outer islands. They became servants, waiters, cooks, bakers, tailors, dressmakers, or laundrymen. Many started their own businesses as small shopkeepers, cafe owners, or peddlers, so that by 1889, the Chinese almost monopolized cake peddling, the restaurant business, and the butchering of pork. As the most urban ethnic group in Hawaii, the Chinese made up approximately one quarter of Honolulu's population around the time of annexation, and just prior to America's entry into World War II some forty years later, eight out of every ten Americans of Chinese stock in Hawaii lived in the capital city.<sup>31</sup>

The most successful adjustment of any immigrant group to life in Hawaii was made by the Chinese. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Chinese immigrant was described as "unprogressive" because he retained his Chinese dress, religions, habits, methods, hopes, aspirations, and desires "as long as he lives, and wherever he lives." He looked upon "foreign methods, appliances, and civilization with scorn as inferior to his own." Yet barely 30 years later a visitor to Hawaii from China was struck by the fact that in the Islands, the "unassimilable immigrant stock" were becoming "full-fledged American citizens and contributing to the development of the community in which they were born and where they plan to spend their lives."<sup>32</sup>

Fuchs identified three phases through which the Chinese who remained in Hawaii passed on their way to becoming assimilated and acculturated. The first phase was the "feeling of psychological isolation from Hawaii, internal tensions between the clan and dialect groups and by feeble attempts to keep the religion and values of Chinese village life from disappearing." The second phase was leaving the plantation and going to the city of Honolulu or to a town and realizing that Hawaii was more than a stopping place, that they might never see their loved ones again. In this phase, the immigrants tended to group themselves by clans or villages, and to form benevolent societies for protection and to help serve one another. This was the period when anti-Chinese sentiment ran high.

The third phase began with the emergence of second and third generation leaders, who had been educated in the American system of schools and voted as citizens in American elections. They became the spokesmen for the needs of the group, and helped to establish the claims and goals of the American-Chinese community.

Growing confidence and unity symbolized the third phase. Most Chinese born in Hawaii adopted Christianity, took or were given haole first names, engaged in haole sports, and wore haole clothes. Yet they took a renewed interest in Chinese culture. With the increase in Chinese families coupled with the growing pride in the new Chinese republic, came the increase in Chinese language schools. By 1929, there were 13 Chinese schools in Hawaii (one of which Fong attended on his own following high school). In the beginning, the language schools were conceived as one way to retain the Chinese culture among the children who were seen as becoming too rapidly Americanized. But by the 1920's the schools were

thought to be aids to economic and cultural advancement as well as bridges between the generations.

Also in the third phase, paradoxes became apparent. As the Chinese developed group consciousness, solidarity, and goals, many abandoned their traditional Chinese ways. Western religion, primarily Protestant or Catholic, were embraced with no feelings of guilt. At the same time, the Chinese left Chinatown in ever-increasing numbers. In contrast to the Chinese living in other American cities in the 1920's, less than one-half of the Chinese in Hawaii were living in the ghettos. Ten years later, the proportion fell to below one-third. Dr. Clarence Glick found that in 1930, all but three of 24 residential areas examined reported at least 200 Chinese living there. By 1939 Chinese business and professional families were living in some of the previously reserved haole residential districts.

The essential group goals were dependent upon the values and teachings of the old culture and opportunities in the new culture. To the Chinese, their goal of success (based on economic independence and occupational prestige within the social order) was also the ambition of every other American, so they experienced no conflict in their value system. Even during times of economic stress, the Chinese habits of thrift, diligence and family solidarity enabled many to achieve their goals. Traditional Chinese educational values combined in Hawaii with a compulsory public education system to promote a highly literate and motivated generation.<sup>33</sup>

One reason the Chinese youngsters were encouraged to excel in school and to seek graduate education was that professional status brought not only economic independence, but also honor to the entire

family. In the short span of two generations, six out of every ten American-Chinese were in the preferred professional, proprietary, clerical, or skilled occupations.

The traditional Chinese respect and admiration for education was reflected in the fact that in 1910, a survey disclosed that they spent three times as much on education in proportion to their income as did the haoles. Families pooled their money in order to send the most promising child to school. Usually, the children were sent to both Chinese and American schools. Respect for education, the willingness to study hard, and the desire to please their parents often combined to win for the Chinese children a disproportionate number of school honors. In 1920, the proportion of Chinese children 16 and 17 years of age enrolled in school was larger than for the haoles. Nearly 80 per cent of these children came from homes in which either parent had been born in China.<sup>34</sup>

In the area of business, the Chinese constituted a little more than 7 per cent of the population in 1939, but owned 56 of the 275 manufacturing establishments in Hawaii. Of the 56, 32 were owned by American citizens. Haole banks were too conservative on the most part, to aid in the expansion of Chinese business. In 1916, the Chinese started their own bank, the Chinese American Bank which closed in 1933. Liberty Bank was formed in 1922, and in 1935, the American Security Bank reopened in place of the Chinese American Bank. The Honolulu Trust Company was organized in 1921 with \$100,000,<sup>35</sup> and, as will be seen, was the financial institution at which Fong's partners trained before they formed Finance Factors.

Fuchs indicated that the Chinese achieved success without antagonizing the haole elite prior to World War II. Not one single labor leader, radical intellectual, or left-wing politician came from the ranks of the Chinese in the 1930's. "The Chinese, true to their ancient culture, rarely criticized authority." (While this was probably true for the vast majority of Chinese, Fuchs was probably not aware that Fong had challenged the entrenched Republican leadership as early as 1938.) The Chinese of Hawaii became recognized for their tolerance and ability to get along well with others. This was due in part to their small number, and also because the Chinese merchants saw no reason for antagonizing persons who were current or potential customers. Lawyers and politicians of Chinese heritage like Fong were dependent upon all the ethnic groups, especially the increasing number of Japanese, for law cases and support in the voting booths. Adherents to Chinese ancient culture, which produced "situation-centered" individuals, took no satisfaction, either psychologically, economically, or politically, in being hostile to their neighbors.

Actually, the Chinese were too busy earning a living, saving, getting their children educated and settled in professions to spend much time in fighting their neighbors. Even the old religions taught tolerance, and Christianity itself taught forgiveness of enemies. "The Chinese of Hawaii became quintessentially American, conservative in politics, enterprising in business, conspicuous in consumption, and above all, 'successful.'"<sup>36</sup>

The number of American-Chinese doubled between 1920 and 1930. The Chinese slowly entered politics in the early 1920's. A study revealed that out of 91 positions available in territorial elective office, only

four were held by Chinese in 1928. However, by 1940, nine Chinese were in office. Persons of Chinese ancestry comprised about 10 per cent of the total of elected officials in the years 1942 and 1944. However, by the end of World War II, an equal number of Japanese and Chinese made up about 29 per cent of the total of elected officials. With respect to high appointive positions, the Orientals lagged behind in number of positions held.<sup>37</sup>

Also during the third phase, the political interest of the Chinese turned to the Hawaiian experience as opposed to the earlier concentration upon the homeland. In January 1925, the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association was formed to promote the civic and political welfare of the Chinese, and became the first inclusive Chinese pressure group in Hawaii.<sup>38</sup> Politics provided an opportunity for status and influence, and the voting power of Fong's generation was an important spur to group consciousness as well as to his own world view.

NOTESCHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938), p. 118. Hereafter referred to as: Kuykendall, 1778-1854.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 159-160.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 167-169.

<sup>4</sup>Walter F. Frear, "Hawaiian Statute Law," Report, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu (1905), pp. 15-61.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Feher, comp., Hawaii: A Pictorial History; accompanying text by Edward Joesting for pt. 1, by O. A. Bushnell for pt. 2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1969), p. 355. Hereafter cited as: Feher/Bushnell.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Sakakihara, Recorded interview, 12 April 1979.

<sup>7</sup>Gavan Daws, Shoal of Time (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), p. 312.

<sup>8</sup>Feher/Bushnell, p. 435.

<sup>9</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup>Feher/Bushnell, p. 436.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 435.

<sup>12</sup>Daws, p. 366. See also Sakakihara.

<sup>13</sup>Norman Meller, "The Legislative Party Profile in Hawaii," in Daniel W. Tuttle, comp., Papers on Hawaiian Politics, 1952-1966 (Honolulu: Dept. of Political Science, University of Hawaii, June 1966), p. 111.

<sup>14</sup>Daws, pp. 366, 293.

<sup>15</sup>Fuchs, p. 161.

<sup>16</sup>Andrew Lind, "Hawaii at the Polls," Asia (October 1936), p. 643.

<sup>17</sup>Lind, p. 645.

<sup>18</sup>Daniel Inouye, with Lawrence Elliott, Journey to Washington (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 209.



- <sup>19</sup>D. Hebden Porteus, Recorded interview, 18 April 1980.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Meiler, op. cit., p. 112.
- <sup>22</sup>Daniel W. Tuttle, "A Profile of Hawaiian Politics," in Kamehameha Schools, 75th Anniversary Lectures (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1965), p. 55.
- <sup>23</sup>Chuan-hua Lowe, The Chinese in Hawaii: a bibliographic survey (Taipei, Taiwan: China Printing, Ltd., 1972), p. 22.
- <sup>24</sup>Daws, pp. 179-180.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 179-180. See also Tin-Yuke Char, The Sandalwood Mountains (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1975), pp. 90-91.
- <sup>26</sup>Fuchs, p. 87.
- <sup>27</sup>Lowe, p. 6.
- <sup>28</sup>Fuchs, pp. 87, 90.
- <sup>29</sup>Daws, p. 180.
- <sup>30</sup>Fuchs, p. 90.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 91.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 86.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-93, 98.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-104.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 102-103.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-105.
- <sup>37</sup>George Yamamoto, "Political Participation Among Orientals in Hawaii," Sociology and Social Research, 43, No. 5 (May/June 1959), pp. 359-364.
- <sup>38</sup>Fuchs, p. 97.

FIGURE 1. THE FONG FAMILY, ca. 1910

Left to right: Harry, Violet, Alice, Mother, Rose  
(on knee), Father, Hiram, Henry, Leonard. Courtesy  
of Hiram L. Fong files.



CHAPTER II1906-1914(?)Birth

Hiram Leong Fong was born of uneducated, poor, immigrant Chinese parents in a rural section of the island of Oahu known as Kalihi, then on the outskirts of the main city of Honolulu. The date was October 15, 1906, and the time was 4:45 in the afternoon.<sup>1</sup> However, for many years, Fong believed he was born on October 1, 1907, and used this date in all his official biographical records. Such authoritative reference resources as the Congressional directories, Who's Who, Who's Who in America, Current Biography, as well as the New York Times newspaper index still cite the erroneous date.

Fong's explanation of the difference in dates is highly reflective of the Chinese immigrant experience in Hawaii. Being unschooled, his parents were probably not aware of the necessity to record the births of their many children with a governmental agency. The Fong family (the parents and three children) had been counted in the United States Census of 1900. Ten subsequent births were not recorded except in the Chinese language in a book maintained by the family, but according to Fong, the fact that the book still existed did not come to his attention until he was almost ready to retire from the United States Senate.<sup>2</sup>

The Fongs had to depend upon others for translation of the book. The translation appeared to vary with the translator, or family memories of the dates were not always the same as what had been written down. Almost all the siblings show variations in birth dates. Fong explained,

We were born at home. I presume, outside of the neighbors, nobody knew....When we went to school and were asked when we were born, the Chinese month and dates sometimes were used...And that's why my birth dates have been intermittently changed from time to time, depending upon what the translation was. We didn't have the use of the Chinese calendar as it related to the Western calendar, so we did not know how to figure out birth dates.<sup>3</sup>

When Fong was in the second grade at Kalihi-Waena Elementary School, his teacher, Miss Julia Hilton Haley, recorded his name as Ah Leong Fong and his birthday as August 26, 1907. She listed his age as 7.<sup>4</sup>

An even more variant date of birth appears on the transcript issued by the University of Hawaii, which Fong attended between 1927 and 1930. There his natal date is given as June 3, 1907.<sup>5</sup>

It is generally assumed by the Fong family that the birth dates of the children were recorded for the family genealogy by a literate Chinese man who lived in the neighborhood and operated a store selling poi, a popular starchy Hawaiian staple made from the tubers of the taro plant. Known as the "Poi Man," his name was Chong Lin, but he was also called Ah Lin Chong, or Alina Chong, the last pronunciation being used by the many Hawaiians who knew him and were his customers. In later years, the book came into the possession of Alice Fong, the oldest surviving sister.<sup>6</sup> In 1976, while he was in the United States Senate, Fong had a copy made of the book, and requested the Chinese and Korean Section of the Library of Congress to translate it. The translation was rendered by Mr. Robert Dunn. He provided equivalent names for Fong and his siblings, along with adjustments from the Chinese lunar calendar to the corresponding Western or Gregorian calendar. It was Dunn who established Fong's birth date as October 15, 1906 and listed his given name as Fong Ah Leong.<sup>7</sup>

Fong explained that he let the October 1st date stand uncorrected, "because I have been using it all this time..."<sup>8</sup> For example, when he retired from the Senate, Senator Robert Paul Griffin, a Michigan Republican, inserted in the Congressional Record a biographical sketch which still listed the inaccurate date. Even in his retirement announcement, Fong referred to the old date.<sup>9</sup>

### Name

Not only was there some confusion as to when Fong was born, but there have been variances in his name. These variations were in part due to the fact that different dialects used by the Chinese people have different pronunciations for the same word, in this instance, the surname "Fong." He explained,

I was first given the name of Yau Leong Fong. In the See Yup dialect, the surname Kong is pronounced Fong. All other people pronounce it as Kwong of Kong....So from time to time, my name would be Kong Leong Fong or Fong Leong Fong or Yau Leong Kong or Yau Leong Fong.

And the Chinese, instead of using the first name, usually use the prefix Ah....so when I went to grammar school, I was named Ah Leong Fong...and that continued with me until after high school, until I went to work, and until I went to college. But I still had the several names....so when I was at the University of Hawaii, and I had been elected to be editor of the school paper, I thought it was about time that I take on an English name, an American name. I thought about it, and I thought that the name of Hiram, which was not common then for first names in Hawaii, would be a good name.

Hiram Bingham was the leader of the band of early Christians who came to Hawaii in 1820. He wrote the Hawaiian Bible. He gave the Hawaiian people a Hawaiian alphabet. He established the public school system, and he was a good influence in the Hawaiian Islands. So I thought that would be an appropriate name, as I was a Protestant, a member of the Congregational Church, which was the church the Bingham started.

The first time it was used was when it appeared in the Ka Leo O Hawaii. And from that day on, my name became Hiram Leong Fong.<sup>10</sup>

Another version of how Fong chose his first name was presented by Mr. Yau On Leong, a classmate at McKinley High School in Honolulu. Although they never had classes together, they were both active in the school's Chinese Students' Club and the Hi-Y Club, and would often have the same recreation periods. Leong recalled it happened during their senior year, in 1924:

I was the one who gave him his name. At that time, his name was Leong Fong. And also at that time, Hiram Johnson was the Senator from California...and he was very prominent in the news.

A group of us was playing around, playing a joke on him. We were trying to give him a name, and the name "Hiram Johnson" came to my mind. I signed his name "Hiram Fong"...on a piece of paper... and gave it to him...And somehow the name stuck on him. But it happened so long ago, I don't think he can recall it now...this was some fifty years ago!<sup>11</sup>

While it is not perfectly clear how much influence this incident had on the future Senator from Hawaii (if it had any influence at all) it is interesting to note that the name was also that of a United States Senator of the same political party: Hiram Warren Johnson (1866-1945), Republican from the State of California. Johnson served 28 years in the Senate.

After his Ka Leo days as editor-in-chief, Fong consistently tried to use the name "Hiram" rather than "Ah Leong." His transcript from the University of Hawaii shows his original name typed on, but the name "Hiram" is printed in above by hand.<sup>12</sup> However, his transcript from the Harvard school of law indicates only the name, "Fong, Hiram Leong."<sup>13</sup>

His Chinese name was also subject to his revision. As he told it,

My Chinese name was Yau Leong Fong, [which means] have compassion. [After] I had two years of [Chinese] night school, I thought maybe I should change it--although it sounded the same--so the "Yau" would be "friend," whereas the "Yau" which was given to me was "have," and the "Leong" was a "good companion." So my name was changed from "have compassion" to a "good companion...a good friend," It was more literary that way.<sup>14</sup>

For whatever reason he decided upon the name "Hiram," the name indeed did stick, but it was not formally changed until many years later. When Fong was ready to file for election to public office in 1938, he used the first name "Hiram." That unofficial name appeared on the first ballot, and on all succeeding election ballots. However, it was not until he was in his second term of office in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Hawaii that he petitioned for a formal change. The petition was of "AH LEONG FONG, also known as KONG LEONG FONG, for a decree changing his name to HIRAM LEONG FONG." The petition was signed by J. B. Poindexter, Governor of Hawaii, on April 17, 1942.<sup>15</sup>

For the purposes of this study, the name Hiram or Fong will be used throughout, regardless of the time period under discussion.

### Parents

The chronicle of Hiram Leong Fong began, essentially, with the departure from their native China of two young Chinese to the Kingdom of Hawaii. There they would meet and marry and become his parents. Because of the paucity of official records and the manner in which existing ones were kept, it is difficult to trace back to the exact time, circumstances, and travel conditions of each parent's trip to Hawaii. What sources there were have been verbal, and were based on the memories of the immediate family.

Fong believed that

Father was 15 years old when he came to the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1872. He came from Kwangtung Province because there was a relative who had come to...Hawaii, and went back [to China] recruiting workmen--laborers--for the [sugar] plantations. So he signed up as an indentured laborer....<sup>16</sup>



Fong was not sure of the conditions of his father's labor contract, nor of the exact salary he would be earning, although in later years, Fong gave the figure as "\$12.00 per month," and understood that his father "went to the Island of Maui to work."

There were eleven sugar plantations on Maui in the latter 1870's, and it is probable that the father was at one of the following:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>LOCATION ON MAUI</u>	<u>AGENT/ASSOCIATE</u>
Wailuku Plantation	Wailuku	C. Brewer & Co.
Haiku Plantation	Haiku	Castle & Cooke
Hamakua Plantation	Hamakua	Castle & Cooke
Waikapu Plantation	Waikapu	Green, Macfarlane & Co.
Pioneer Mill	Lahaina	H. Hackfeld & Co.
Waihee Plantation	Waihee	H. Hackfeld & Co.
East Maui Plantation	Makawao	H. Hackfeld & Co.
Hana Plantation	Hana	H. Hackfeld & Co.
Grove Ranch	Makawao	H. Hackfeld & Co.
Makee Plantation	Ulupalakua	W. G. Irwin & Co.
West Maui Plantation	Olowalu	W. G. Irwin & Co. <sup>17</sup>

The Fong family was accustomed to list their father's name as Lum Fong. However, when the United States Census was taken in 1900, the paternal name was written Sun Kong. The census taker also noted that Sun Kong was Chinese, had come from China, and was 40 years of age. Eighteen-sixty (1860) was given as Sun Kong's birth date. His residence was on King Street, Kalihi, in Honolulu, on the Island of Oahu. Sun Kong had a 26 year old wife whose name was noted as Lum, See [Shee]. She was born in China in 1874, according to that census record. They were parents of three children, all born in the Hawaiian Islands: a seven year old son, Ah, Mung (Henry Chang Ming Fong), born in November 1892; a daughter, Kum, Hong (Violet Kam Fung Fong Chow), who was six years old, having been born in January 1894; and a four year old son, born in May 1896, named Ah, Yan (Tang You Fong). Although the names have variant spellings, the birth dates of the children are within the

range of differences between the Chinese lunar calendar and western equivalents.<sup>18</sup> This census document was verified by Hiram Fong as being that of his family.<sup>19</sup>

A variant name and year of birth was entered on Lum Fong's necrology when he died on August 29, 1926. According to the eldest surviving son, Leonard Y. K. Fong, his father's name was Sau Howe Fong and his date of birth was January 17, 1857. At the time of death he was 69 years old. Lum Fong's father was Gung Sung, and his mother's maiden name was Chu Shee. He was buried at Manoa Chinese Cemetery on September 5, 1926, with Silva's Undertaking Establishment on Kukui Street handling the funeral arrangements.<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of this study, the father will be referred to as Lum Fong, and the mother as Lum Shee.

Fong explained that the surname Fong was the pronunciation used by the Chinese in the dialect of the Wong Leong Doo district from which his father had emigrated. In the Cantonese dialect, the pronunciation is Kong, which accounts for the Census entry. Fong said

My father was one of two children. He had a younger sister. When he was very, very young, his father died and he was raised by his mother.

The widow remarried and took her son to the village of her new husband. In the Chinese culture, it was not the usual pattern of life for a widow to marry again, but the fact that she had very young children may have accounted for her second marriage. He said,

They had a very difficult time. My father used to tell me that she would take her basket and go out to pick up the gleanings from the various fields after people had worked the fields. Once [the others] confiscated her basket because they said she had no business picking up the gleanings.

Lum Fong apparently never disclosed any of his work experiences in the sugar plantations or his life on Maui. Whatever Fong learned of the Maui years was

gathered from an old friend of my father's. Long after my father had passed away, I was in a 'jook' store, a Chinese [rice] gruel store, eating...An old, wizened man came in, and he spoke the dialect of my father.

The two men struck up a conversation, in the course of which Fong was told how the Chinese were often mistreated, because

They were coolie workers, and they were expected to work hard, and expected to do the harsh work. He asked who I was and I told him I was the son of Lum Fong. He said, "Oh, I knew your father! We were working together in the sugar plantations, and the luna [the foreman] always would hasten us to work. They used to carry a stick with a nail at the end of it. If we slowed down, they would hit us with the nail and we were all complaining that soon we would all be killed, and that these people had no mercy for us.

Fong learned that his

father thought he would avenge this type of treatment...He caught the luna and beat him up. There was a horse waiting for him, and he jumped on the horse and went up into the Kula mountains, where he worked with other people to grow potatoes, corn, and other farm products to be sold in California.

Fong believed that his father worked on Maui for "quite a number of years" and managed to save "several thousand dollars, which was a lot of money then." Like so many of his sojourner compatriots, his father had not planned to stay in Hawaii, and used any means available to him to earn enough money to return to the ancestral village in China. Fong said, "He was going back to the village to buy some land so that he could be a landlord and have a comfortable life thereafter." Lum Fong then traveled to Honolulu, where he planned to take passage on a ship that would take him back to his family home. But a persistent old habit forced him to give up his plans for an easy life in the land of his birth. Fong explained, "My father liked to gamble. He got into

a game and he lost most of his money, so he couldn't go back to China." It is possible that the father made extra money by gambling on Maui, which, combined with farming profits, provided the means for his planned return.

The tendency of the Chinese, particularly the single Chinese male, to engage in various forms of gambling or games of chance, is a well-known social and cultural phenomenon. Opponents to Chinese immigration and citizenship considered this habit as a vice to be stamped out, and cited gambling as one of the traits which made the Chinese unsuitable and unwelcome in many communities in the United States. However, students of the Chinese noted that gambling was just a result of the unusual circumstances surrounding the Chinese men, who were lonely and away from their homes and families: his moral character was not notably different from any community of hard-working, single men thousands of miles from home and uprooted from their natural environmental codes and moral sanctions.

A sociologist noted in the early 1930's:

The outstanding Chinese vice is gambling. This takes the form of games, such as fan-tan and pie-gow, and also of lotteries, a form of excitement dear to the Chinese heart and not regarded by them at home in China as an evidence of moral turpitude. The moral American attitude towards gambling is that it is dishonest because it involves getting something for nothing, that it breaks down habits of thrift and steady work and therefore results in a disintegration of personal morals; that it has an insidious habit-forming quality which tends to make those who indulge in it become confirmed gamblers and parasites upon society. Moreover, with the novice, it often leads to increasing ventures, which if successful, bring about the demoralization so apt to come from "easy money" and unearned, irregular, highly variable incomes, or when unsuccessful, results in debt, or worse yet, stealing or embezzlement to cover losses. For these reasons, and the added fact that gambling dens are centers where depraved and criminal elements gather and where other crimes are planned, gambling is regarded as anti-social and contrary to American moral standards.<sup>21</sup>

The problems of gambling notwithstanding, the writer also noted the unique attitude of the Chinese toward this activity:

Now it is a curious fact that these evil results, while not absent among the Chinese, are somewhat mitigated by restraining influences in Chinese character and custom. It seems paradoxical that the most hardworking, thrifty race on earth should also be most given to gambling! A psychological explanation would probably lie in the fact that, lacking sports and other forms of release from the tension of hard work and monotony, the Chinese finds in gambling an emotional escape. He gambles primarily for fun and excitement and normally for small stakes...

Professor Walter G. Beach of Stanford University says: "Gambling, as we term it, is for the Oriental a recreation and not primarily a feverish scramble for wealth," and quotes with approval the words of Edmund Mitchell: "A Chinaman in rare instances loses all when gaming with his own countrymen; but, if this result does happen, he goes next day contentedly back to work and is not, like most ruined gamblers of European stock, permanently incapacitated for honest toil."<sup>22</sup>

Having lost the means of returning to his native China and his dreams of a life of ease and honor among the villagers he had left behind, Lum Fong realized that he had no choice but to remain in the Hawaiian Islands and make the best of the situation. It was fortunate that Lum Fong did not decide to remain in Honolulu, although his countrymen showed a marked tendency to concentrate there in what quickly became a Chinatown ghetto. For example, by 1884, the Chinese population of Honolulu had increased to more than 5,000 persons, of whom 73 per cent lived in the Chinatown district. The district itself was a very small area adjacent to the harbor. This period, incidentally, was when anti-Chinese agitation was at its height, and the concentration of so many Chinese, together with their characteristic institutions, gave rise to criticisms of their clanishness and to statements that they could never be assimilated.<sup>23</sup>

Lum Fong's recent experiences in growing vegetables on Maui probably led to a decision to attempt raising taro. He settled in the

Kalihi area, which was inhabited by Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, and a few Portuguese. The Fong family could not supply much information about this phase of his life either. However, with very limited financial resources, it is probable that he took over some abandoned taro patches and tried to work them, and that he banded together with other Chinese to do so. Apparently, the water supply was inadequate and drought conditions prevailed in the islands as they did periodically. Fong said, "He had a very difficult time. He finally went broke because of the drought."

At approximately the same time that Lum Fong decided to go into taro farming, he also took on the responsibility of marriage. He apparently had some standing in the community, or his prospects for the future must have looked greater than the average farmer or the usual sugar plantation worker leaving the fields to settle in Honolulu, because he was one of the very few Chinese bachelors in Hawaii who was able to arrange for a wife.

At that time, there were only a very few Chinese females in Hawaii. In 1876, for example, it was noted that there were 1,831 Chinese males to only 107 Chinese females. While the sugar plantation owners were primarily concerned about acquiring and maintaining a constant source of cheap labor, others in the community were hoping that something could be done to increase the birth rate of the native Hawaiians, who were dying at faster and faster rates. These people noted that the Chinese were not as desirable because they did not bring their women, but the planters' need for workers superceded other considerations. During the two years ending March 31, 1878, only a handful of women came from China, while 3,222 Chinese men arrived.<sup>24</sup>

It should be remembered that the Chinese men who came had no intention of remaining in the Hawaiian Islands, but were duty-bound to return home to China and their parents and families. Even if the ones who came had been married, their wives could not accompany them, for in a society where filial piety was paramount, who would remain behind to take care of the aged parents and in-laws? It was unrealistic, therefore, for any officials in Hawaii to expect that women would emigrate from China at the approximate rate of the males. Furthermore, they were citizens of China, and were expected to remain loyal to their own country's customs.

Lum Fong was indeed fortunate to be able to marry and achieve the satisfaction of fulfilling his sacred obligation to continue the family line. As was the custom of the Chinese, the wedding arrangements were made by a go-between, or matchmaker.

The woman selected through the matchmaker was Lum Shee, who was born on November 24, 1873 in Kwangtung, China.<sup>25</sup> As with the father, records of the mother are not consistent either. When she died on January 30, 1955, the birth date given on her obituary was October 5, 1873, but, as noted, the 1900 census listed 1874 as her year of birth. Lum Shee's father was Lum Sun Lock, and her mother's maiden name was Lee Shee. She was buried at Nuuanu Memorial Park on February 6, 1955, with Borthwick Funeral Parlors taking care of the arrangements.<sup>26</sup> A variant name, Chai Ha Lum, was also given in a local newspaper article.<sup>27</sup>

The Fong family believed the mother came from China when she was about ten years old. She was from the On Tong Village in the Lung Doo district of Kwangtung. For many years, Fong believed that his mother had come to Honolulu to work as a maidservant in the family of Yong Nin

(also known as Young Ah In [Y.. Ahin]), a prominent Chinese rice grower also engaged in the production of sugar cane.<sup>28</sup> However, his sisters, Violet and Alice, said that their mother traveled with her aunt, who was married to Yong In, the younger brother of Yong Nin. In keeping with Fong family tradition, the name Yong Nin is used in this study. Yong In lived in the house of his elder brother. The aunt was probably the sister of Lum Shee's mother. Lum Shee's own family consisted of nine girls and one boy. She was the second in the family. Her father was in the confectionery business.

In the Yong Nin household, the young girl became a companion to the family. As she grew older, she took on the responsibility of helping to take care of the younger children. She was probably in her late teens when the Yong Nin family arranged her marriage to Lum Fong, a man some 14 years her senior. There was no courtship period, and as Fong said, "My mother never saw him until the day she was married to him."

No details of the marriage are available, but it can be assumed that in the prevailing custom of the Chinese of the time, the matchmaker arranged all the details to the satisfaction of the Yong Nin family and Lum Fong. He presented gifts and wedding cakes to the family. On the wedding day, the bride was dressed in bright colors and her entire head and face covered with a large red silk kerchief. Under the headdress, her hair was probably parted in the middle, and in place of the maidenly arrangement of two buns over the ears, her hair was now gathered into one bun at the middle of the back of the head. There would have been offerings to the appropriate deities, and food and flowers and coins. The matchmaker led the bride, her head fully covered so that she could not see, to the room or the house where the bridegroom awaited her. There he would lift the kerchief, signifying the completion of the wedding



arrangements. Already man and wife, they would look upon each other for the first time. At a gathering of family and friends, the bride would serve tea and receive gifts of jewelry and money. In the eyes of the Chinese community, the entire process made the marriage legally and socially binding.<sup>29</sup>

Lum Fong was a large, well-built man, six feet tall and very strong. He had a deep voice, and apparently was a leader among his peers. His wife was of much smaller stature, and in later years would be described as rather stout. After the ceremony, according to Fong, there was some dispute among the Lum clan that the Yong Nin family had permitted the marriage of their ward to a member of the Fong family, but he was not clear as to the exact reasons for the dispute. However, Lum Shee decided to remain with the man she had married.

The attempt to farm taro having proved a failure, Lum Fong had no alternative but to seek employment elsewhere. He found a job at the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company, which built a new plant in 1895 at King and Middle Streets in Kalihi. Fertilizer companies in Hawaii were organized to supply the urgent needs of the expanding agricultural industries, primarily the sugar plantations. The Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company merged with the Hawaiian Fertilizer Company in 1922. Subsequently, the firm's name was changed again, to the Pacific Chemical and Fertilizer Company in 1944. Since then it has undergone more corporate and name changes.<sup>30</sup>

Fertilizer was shipped in by boat in large fabric bags. When a boat was at the docks, the laborers worked from 7:00 a.m. until 9:00 p.m. Bags weighed as much as 200 pounds each, and were brought into the plant on railroad cars. They were unloaded and emptied into wheelbarrows which

were then pushed to a storage area, where raw materials were stored in bins preparatory to being mixed according to various formulae. Tremendous amounts of material had to be moved, and it was all done by man power.<sup>31</sup>

The Fong family was not certain when Lum Fong was first employed by the fertilizer company. There were no company records available anywhere for perusal, but he probably started quite soon after the company began operations in Kalihi. Fong said that his father worked for the company first as laborer and then as night watchman for over 30 years. His work was directly related to his physical capabilities. He was assigned to wheelbarrow materials from the bins to the mixing areas. He was the only Chinese performing this function for many years, recalled Ronald Quay (R. Q.) Smith, the firm's chemist and later one of its chief officers. Born in Sinnemahoning, Pa., Smith arrived in Hawaii in 1919. By 1921, he was assigned to the plant in Kalihi. On several occasions, he was able to observe Lum Fong at work. According to Smith, the big Chinese was known as Kong Lum. By then, Lum Fong was working as night watchman at the factory. The job was essentially a reward for Lum Fong, who had acquired a reputation over the years for "being an excellent worker, a steady man. Everyone admired him. He was intelligent, was able to work alone, and trustworthy. He had no difficulty doing his work," recalled Smith.<sup>32</sup>

Smith provided a description of Lum Fong's work as a laborer at the fertilizer plant. The wheelbarrow was specially-designed, larger than normal and with high sides to carry as much material as possible at a time. According to Smith's calculations, it would have been normal for Lum Fong to transfer some eight tons of chemicals each day. As a

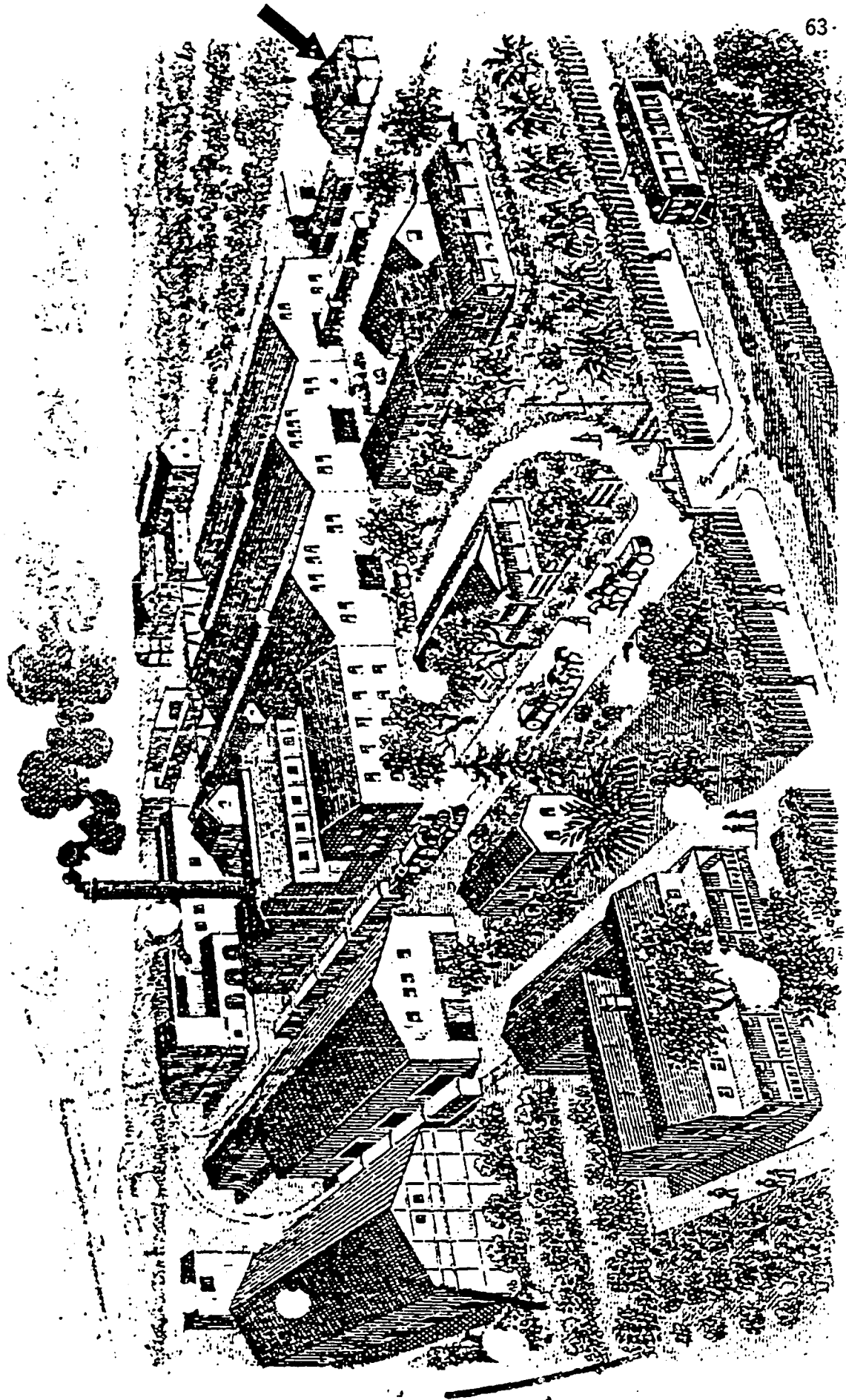
watchman, Smith said that Lum Fong was a steady conscientious worker who "would not fudge on his rounds," which he made between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. The route was a firewatch, established partly because of fire insurance requirements. It took about 20 minutes to hit all the stations in the three-fourths city block area of the plant. If anything were amiss, Lum Fong was to notify the proper authorities. The punched-clocked-in records were audited the next day. Smith noted that Lum Fong did not speak any English, except a few words like "Yes" or "No," but knew exactly what was expected of him. With free housing on the company premises, Smith felt that Lum Fong was "doing well for a laborer" because he was thrifty and was the type of worker who would have something to show for his efforts when he retired.<sup>33</sup>

There were about 100 Japanese workers, some of whom also had housing on the grounds. Most of them went home for lunch during the half-hour allotted them. There were no coffee breaks, nor medical benefits. There was a bath house for the Japanese, and two pools which were also used for swimming. Smith said that he never once saw the big Chinese in either pool.<sup>34</sup> According to Fong, the Japanese, who were of slight stature, called his father "Tonga," meaning "Big Turnip," in obvious reference to his size.

James A. Yuen was a bookkeeper for the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company in the early 1920's. Around 1923, Yuen was responsible for taking the pay envelopes from the main office at Iwilei to the Kalihi plant. The father's payroll records showed the name Kong Lum, not Lum Fong, as Smith had noted. Neither Smith nor Yuen recalled what salary Lum Fong was earning, and as noted, company records for that period cannot be located. Hiram Fong said it was around \$3.00 a day, or \$90.00

FIGURE 2. HOME ON PACIFIC GUANO AND FERTILIZER  
COMPANY GROUNDS, ca. 1900

From Section of company letterhead, courtesy of  
Mr. Edward Joesting.



FACTORY & WAREHOUSES AT HONOLULU, HAWAII.

a month. Yuen later transferred to the Kalihi facility, and on the days when he arrived early, he would join the watchman as he completed making the rounds of the ten stations. Lum Fong was a very friendly man who spoke very little English, so the conversation was in the Chinese Punti dialect. The men would usually speak of mutual friends and the cost of living. A 100-lb. bag of rice cost \$2.00, the ride on the trolley car was five cents, a pound of pork was 15 cents, a bunch of Chinese cabbage was two-and-a-half cents--one gave the grocer five cents, and received a ticket which could be turned in the next day for another bunch of vegetables. A person could live on about 35 cents per day. The mill workers had cottages toward the back of the plant and paid about \$2.00 a month rent.<sup>35</sup>

Yuen said that Lum Fong's usual working attire was a blue shirt and tan or khaki pants. In 1923, he was in the prime of health, having had many years of physical work and eating simple nutritious meals of rice, meat or fish, and fresh vegetables. He was taller than his son Hiram would be, although Leonard Fong would attain his father's size and build. The father had a big, booming voice which later became an inherited asset for his son Hiram.<sup>36</sup>

### Mother

The mother, Lum Shee Fong, was about five feet three or four inches tall. In later years, she was described as a little stout, but she kept herself very healthy and strong until the end of her life. Her children remembered that she was always working, busily cooking, washing, tending the garden, and the flocks of poultry. She made necessities like blankets, pillows and clothing for the growing family. In addition,

she filled orders for work pants made from recycled flour or rice sacks, which she had dyed, cut, and sewn on an old treadle machine. She also made and sold various kinds of steamed glutinous rice dumplings during the holiday seasons.

She never had time to play cards. She did not take up the Chinese favorite game, mah jhong, nor see a Chinese movie, until after the children were grown. Never one to smoke or drink, her main purpose in life was to help her husband feed, clothe, and house their large and busy family. Fong's recollection was that "She was just a plain, common-sense, hardworking lady."<sup>37</sup> A quiet, soft-spoken woman, she was also a kindly lady who often shared some of her Chinese delicacies with the children of the neighborhood.<sup>38</sup>

When she worked outside in the yard and the grounds of the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company, her attire was of cotton, usually a loose jacket worn over baggy Chinese women's trousers. To protect herself from the hot tropical sun, she donned a straw hat trimmed with a deep fabric fringe hanging down around the edge of the wide brim. Other Chinese women wore the same garb. Americans coming to Hawaii around the turn of the century were often shocked to see the apparel of these foreign women. In those days, Western women were still wearing dresses exclusively. The strange sight of Mrs. Fong in her peasant clothing caused R. Q. Smith to experience an unpleasant culture shock when he first saw her on the company grounds. He thought it was "disgraceful" for any woman to be walking around in trousers and tops.<sup>39</sup> Since the women were Chinese, this seemed to emphasize the difference in the American and Chinese cultures even more.

The family home where Fong was born before they had free housing was located on Umi Lane, makai, or oceanside, of King Street. The location is currently the site of the Yamane Shopping Center across from the Kalihi Union Church. The house rented for about \$8.00 a month. Situated on a big, sparsely populated area of some 30 to 40 acres, the two-story house faced two other homes about 200 feet away. There was a roofed lanai, or porch on one side of the house. The house was "old but livable" and had a weather-beaten appearance. All around the few homes were trees such as plum and guava, and algaroba (kiawe; also spelled algarroba) bushes.

Economic and physical conditions governed the living arrangements of the families in Kalihi and necessitated certain chores. As soon as the children were able, they were out picking the algaroba beans, which they sold at ten cents per 30-pound bag. Cattlemen used the beans to feed their livestock. All the children in Kalihi picked the beans,<sup>40</sup> and Fong joined them as soon as he was old enough, around four years of age.

Cooking was done on a wood-burning stove, located outside the house, there being no gas nor electric appliances in the Fong household until much later. The children were sent out to gather a continual supply of twigs and branches, with the older children responsible for cutting small trees for firewood.

There was no running water in the home, nor indoor plumbing. The families in Kalihi used outhouses, and toilet paper consisted of newspapers or papers discarded from the packing boxes of apples and other fruits from the grocery stores.<sup>41</sup> Water for the family's needs was



carried by the children every other day in two five-gallon cans from a well or a spring some 200 yards from the home.

There was no refrigeration. Food that was not eaten immediately was kept in a "safe," which was a box screened to keep out flies, located inside the house. While ice was available by delivery, the Fongs could not afford ice nor an ice box until much later. However, this did not keep them from the enjoyment of ice whenever the opportunity arose. The children jumped on the ice wagon when it stopped in the neighborhood, and looked for stray pieces of ice. There was great excitement when one was found and they could suck on it. The lack of any refrigeration necessitated frequent shopping and food preparation. This encouraged a policy of non-wastage of food. Mrs. Fong had to do the marketing at least three times a week, catching the street car to go into Honolulu for necessities not available in Kalihi stores.<sup>42</sup> A further result, probably unplanned, was the beneficial effect of eating only freshly-prepared meats, vegetables, and rice.

Laundry in Kalihi was done by boiling it in large kettles over a wood fire built in the yard. Then it was rinsed in the nearby stream, and dried on the hot rocks bordering the stream. While the scrubbing and laying out of clothes to dry on the rocks was carried out, the neighbors, especially the Portuguese women, would visit.<sup>43</sup> However, Mrs. Fong had little time for visiting. As a matter of fact, she did not speak English, and could only make herself understood in Chinese and with some Hawaiian words she had acquired.

Furniture in the home was minimal, usually home-made and simply fashioned. Two or three 1' x 12' boards were sawn and nailed to make a table. Another board could be cut in two pieces, with a little triangular

piece cut out to make the chair legs. Two triangular pieces of wood were nailed to the remaining board which formed the seat of the chair, and another triangle cut underneath the chair post. Orange boxes were also used for chairs.

Bedroom furniture consisted of two saw horses over which were placed three pieces of 1' x 12' lumber. A Chinese straw mat went over the boards. Pillows for the children were cloth bags filled with scraps of fabric or raw cotton balls picked from the plants which grew wild in the open fields around the houses. These cotton plants were remainders from the attempts to grow cotton as a viable crop in the 1800's.<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Fong had a traditional hard Chinese pillow. She made blankets from various cloth remnants sewn together. There were no mattresses and the "beds" were hard. At night, mosquito netting surrounded the sleeping platforms to keep out the insects. No centipedes bothered them.

Housekeeping was simplified also in the old house, Fong recalled. "When we swept the floor, the dust and debris never reached the front door because they fell through all the cracks in the floor!" Alice Fong felt that so much open air circulation was one reason why the immigrant family was so healthy.<sup>45</sup>

From their garden, the Fongs harvested winter melon squash, Chinese cabbage, and other vegetables. They grew bananas and sugar cane, and raised ducks, chickens, pigeons and squabs. They bought pork and a little beef to cook with the vegetables. To supplement their purchased meat, the Fongs also caught fish in the nearby stream, which had an abundance of 'O'opu, or goby, a small tasty fresh water fish about six to eight inches long.<sup>46</sup>

When he was a little older, Fong and his friends of various nationalities in the neighborhood would get together, buy a nickel's worth of crackers, get a lard can with some lard in it, and with their catch of 'O'opu, go among the hau bushes to fry the fish which they ate with the crackers. This activity was one of his fondest memories of growing up in Kalihi among the Hawaiians, Portuguese, and Japanese. "I don't remember any Caucasians, except the Portuguese," he said.<sup>47</sup>

Fong also supplemented their home-grown products by looking for vegetables that were growing wild. By the time he was about 12, he had acquired with his own earnings an old bicycle, which he rode to an abandoned farm in the Fort Shafter area. There was a ditch there in which a lot of what the Chinese called oong (ung) choy (swamp cabbage) was growing. About twice a week, Fong filled a basket with swamp cabbage, which supplied the family with enough vegetables for three or four days. It was a regular source upon which the family depended.

The children also went crabbing. They used a net the mother had made, and asked the grocer for "throwaway meats" to use for bait. They would tie the meat scraps onto the net with pieces of string. Fong went crabbing on Saturday mornings. After a successful haul, his mother cooked the crabs in a way he particularly enjoyed. She cleaned them and removed the shells. With a mixture of sugar, cornstarch, soy sauce, vinegar and mashed salted black beans, she steamed the crabs for a delicious entree. Fong said, "I've never seen that done by anyone else."<sup>48</sup>

Like all immigrant families who were poor, the Fong children were expected to help the family survive by working and gathering food where they could. Their task was easier in a rural area. Fong said of this time in his life, "there were a lot of things that we wouldn't have to

buy because the place still had a country atmosphere and there were many things that could be gotten if you really wanted to look."<sup>49</sup>

Chinese mealtimes were different from American ones. Unlike American families, the Chinese did not speak at the table. No matter how hungry the children were, the family waited until the father came home from work and had bathed. Fong said,

We always waited for Father to sit down before we started to eat. We never ate, never picked on the food until he sat down. He had to start because this was the reverence we paid to him<sup>50</sup> [as the wage earner and head of the family].

In many American homes, where some parental decisions are made following family discussions at mealtimes, the children might influence the decision to some degree. While at the turn of the century an American father often made decisions for the family without input from his children, at times he would take their expressed wishes into consideration. By way of contrast, the principle of filial piety precluded family discussions in the traditional Chinese family which practiced Confucian ideals. It was expected that the children would be home for meals but talking was not encouraged. In the Fong household, it was thought that "if you carry on a discussion between children and father, and everybody talks in the family, pretty soon there would be no feeling of filial piety."<sup>51</sup>

It was also at meals that Chinese children learned two other lessons. The first was to respect each other's rights. The food was placed on the table, and one picked with one's chopsticks a piece of meat or fish or vegetable from the part of the serving dish directly in front of where one was sitting. One could not pick a choice morsel to enjoy from an area outside of his allotted space. If there were chicken necks in front of the child, that child was expected to eat

the neck of the chicken without complaint. Early lessons in territoriality were reinforced with the father's chopsticks by a swift whack on the knuckles of an offending child. While in some families the father received the choice morsels, Lum Fong did not exercise that prerogative.<sup>52</sup>

The second lesson learned was that chance or fate controlled one's lot in life. One was expected to be patient, to wait for yet another meal when one's choice would undoubtedly be better. Meanwhile, one accepted the present circumstances, and, moreover, learned to be content within them.

### Siblings

Fong's parents had 13 children, but two boys died in their early years. Although their births were probably recorded by Chong Lin, the "Poi Man," these records were destroyed upon their deaths, as was the custom of the times. Fong had no recollection of these brothers at all. According to Alice Fong, when Henry Fong passed away, his birth record was also removed.<sup>53</sup> That accounts for the fact that Henry's name does not appear in the document sent to the Library of Congress for translation.<sup>54</sup>

Fong was the seventh child and fifth son. His memories of growing up with his brothers and sisters were indicative of a traditionally-oriented, close-knit, hierarchical Chinese family.

Father was the provider and was obeyed without question. Mother was responsible for matters relating to home and children and to assist her husband in any manner she could. In turn, the elder children were instructed to take care of their younger siblings, and each child was expected to contribute to the welfare of the family as a whole. This organization of the Fong family and the way they assisted one

another is also representative of all the Chinese and most of the Oriental immigrant families in Hawaii during that period of time.

The special relationships Fong had with each brother and sister are told below in his own words.<sup>55</sup> Except for Henry's, their Chinese names, as rendered into the western alphabet by Mr. Dunn, follow the Western names in parentheses. Fong recalled:

My oldest brother...was Henry Chang Ming Fong. He worked on the inter-island steamship, and he traveled from Honolulu to Hawaii, to Maui, and to Kauai. He would be away for a few days and then he would return home....I couldn't understand why...until later....

Like so many of the Chinese in Hawaii, the Fongs saved their monetary resources to try to establish a business of their own. Henry worked as a steward or cabin attendant on the ships until he was able to get a job with the Honolulu Shoe Store, which was owned by a Mr. Young, selling shoes and clothing. The shoe company was located on Nuuanu Street, just below Hotel Street. Later, Henry was transferred to Waipahu, where a branch store was established, and he became its manager. The site of the Waipahu store is now the current location of the Arakawa store.

Henry was an "obedient son." He traveled back to China to marry a Miss Lee from another village in the same district from which his father had come. Henry received very little education. Fong had pleasant memories of running errands for his mother out to the shoe store in Waipahu when he was around 11 years old:

I would catch the train from the depot at Aala Park and ride through Puuloa, Aiea, Pearl City, and get to Waipahu....On the sea side of the train station was a big, big, Chinese temple. It was a wooden frame building, but I never entered...and it is since gone.

I would sleep in the store on a bench because he [Henry] lived in the back, upstairs. I remember there was a mango tree there, and right at the back of the store was a Japanese bathing establishment. The Japanese people would come and have their furo [a deep tub in which they bathed and soaked in hot water], and once in a while I would peep in....

[Henry] did a wonderful business there, because it was during the time of the first world conflict, when prices of sugar were at their height, and the Filipino workmen in the plantations were making a lot of money. They went into fancy clothing and fancy shoes. They would buy silk shirts that would cost \$18.00 apiece, and there was a lot of profit to it.

Henry became successful enough for the Fongs to buy the store, which he continued to run. But then he became ill with tuberculosis, and the family had to sell the business. Henry, his wife, and their three children moved back with his parents, who were then living on the grounds of the Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company. Henry "languished at home for quite a while....He slept on a bed in the living room by himself. His family was in the back." Although the home was crowded and Henry could have received hospital care, the Fongs, like so many other immigrant families, had a mistrust of Western hospitals: "...you know how the Chinese families were; they didn't want to send their people to the hospital. Maybe he could have been saved..." Although medical doctors did come to the Fong home to treat Henry, he did not survive his illness and died at the approximate age of 26.

Fong speculated: "I have often wondered, if we had kept the store, and...made a lot of profit...what would have happened to me? Would I have gone through school the way I wanted to, or would I have to still go to work?" Had the shoe store been profitable for the Fongs, it is highly likely that he would have been employed in the family business and unable to go on to achieve the higher education which was instrumental to his success.

Henry's family was supported by the rest of the Fongs in the time-honored tradition of the extended Chinese family. Although the Fongs were poor, there was no question that the widow and her children should remain in the family home until her children were old enough to "go out and have employment. That is when my sister-in-law left our home." Keeping the immediate family going, and staying together to pool their resources was perhaps even more important to the Chinese in Hawaii than if they had remained in the land of their progenitors. In China, other family members would have been available to assist the widow and children.

His parents followed the prevailing cultural burial practices as well, living as they were in a country that was not their "permanent" home. Their tendency was to keep family members together, even in death. Henry was buried in Manoa Cemetery. After seven years, following the Chinese tradition of exhuming the bones in preparation for shipment to the home village in China, his bones were disinterred and placed in a crock. However, they were never returned to China. Fong later saw to it that his brother Henry, and his mother and father were buried in the same cemetery, the Nuuanu Memorial Park Mortuary.

Violet Kam Fung Chow (Fong Kum Fung) was the elder sister whom Hiram visited a few times in Hilo, Hawaii, where she moved following her marriage to Chow Keong, a shoemaker. Violet was born on September 17, 1895, and died on June 7, 1977. Fong reported that she "never went to school at all, being the second oldest in the family....She stayed home and helped Mother take care of the children." As was the Chinese custom, her marriage was arranged by a matchmaker. Fong was very young when



she was engaged. It was customary for the bridegroom to deliver to the family of the bride-to-be

a roast pig and several hundred, maybe a thousand, wedding cakes of different types. I remember distinctly that there was this egg cake that the Chinese relish so much....I put quite a few of them in a basket, and put them in a closet...later, when I went to look for them, they were gone. I think I must have cried!

he recalled.

Fong traveled steerage to Hilo and was often seasick during the trip. He laughingly told about the time when he was about nine years old, during one visit:

We used to see this Japanese woman bathing in a big tub, back of the store, and...mischievous little fellow like me, one day, I got some cold water in a cup, ran around the corner and splashed it on her!...I didn't get caught, but I think [the lady] probably knew who did it!

An indication of what the immigrant families considered important in their lives can be seen in the way Fong described Violet's life in Hilo:

She had four sons and three daughters, and quite a few grandchildren....Although she spoke English, it was still sometimes grammatically incorrect, but she was able to make herself understood. She was a hard-working woman, brought her children up well...had a nice home...she grew a lot of vegetables and had some citrus on her property. So she really enjoyed her life.<sup>56</sup>

Third in the family was a brother, Tang You Fong (Fong Fang You). Born on July 21, 1897, Fong died on April 7, 1950. His obituary, however, gives his birth date as June 22, 1897.<sup>57</sup> He had been sent back to China to live for a while with his paternal grandmother and to fulfill the custom of "bringing her back to the family village." Following her first husband's death, Fong's grandmother had married a man from another village. He also died. T. Y. Fong was about eight years old when he represented the Fong male lineage in leading his twice-widowed grandmother back to the village home of her first husband.

When he was 18 years of age, T. Y. returned to Hawaii, "knowing very little Chinese. I don't think he studied very much in the village," Fong said.

T. Y. worked for several stores in Honolulu, and later became an independent truck driver. He developed "a pretty good trucking business" known as T. Y. Fong. He married Hattie Young of Honolulu, and they had four sons and one daughter. The oldest son, Clarence, practiced law with his uncle Hiram's law firm of Fong, Miho, and Robinson. One son became a dentist, and another an engineer, while yet another worked for the Post Office. Their daughter, Lillian, became an assistant city clerk for the City and County of Honolulu. Following T. Y.'s death, the trucking firm was closed down.

Hiram Fong speculated on T. Y.'s efforts in business:

I've always wondered, if he had a little more help, capital-wise, whether...his family today would be running a very large express business....The fact that he had three professional men, one engineer, one dentist, and one lawyer, attested to the fact that he did well for his family.

To the Chinese, doing well for one's children was a very necessary matter; when accomplished, it meant one had met family obligations and become a source of clan pride.

The next sibling influenced Fong the most: his brother Leonard Y. K. Fong (Fong Yong Kong). Leonard was born, as were all the Fong children, at home in Kalihi. The date was April 16, 1900. However, when Leonard died on October 14, 1965, a news story gave his natal date as March 17, 1900.<sup>58</sup> Leonard had a great impact upon his younger brother's economic and political careers, and was a big influence on his desire for higher education. Fong remembered him fondly, yet objectively:

Leonard...had the most capabilities of all the children in the family. He was the most able. He was sharp in his thinking, very logical, very, very bright and intelligent....It was really he who helped me in my oratorical contests...when I was in grammar school, when Principal Isaac M. Cox would call upon me to deliver a speech...I would go to Leonard, and he would write the speech for me. Then I would memorize...and deliver it.

Leonard...would have done well if he had gotten the education. He only went up to Junior [grade] in high school. He had to leave because World War I was on us, and we needed him to help support the family....

At the time Leonard had to leave school, he was studying at Saint Louis College, which was actually a high school in Honolulu. Leonard became a Catholic, as did several of Fong's sisters, while Fong himself became a Congregationalist. St. Louis College was noted for its commercial courses, notably bookkeeping, an occupation to which many Orientals aspired at the time because it had "status." Leonard joined the work force at Pearl Harbor, and became chief bookkeeper at the U. S. Naval Station. He left that position to become accountant and cashier of the Laie Plantation on Oahu, from 1921 to 1924. Moving into public service, he was an accountant and statistician, deputy income tax assessor, and marriage license agent for the Territory of Hawaii from 1924 to 1945. Honolulu's Mayor Crane appointed him Auditor on November 2, 1940, and a few days later, he ran for and was elected to that position. He was successful in getting re-elected, until swept out of office in the Democratic landslide of 1954.

Leonard made headlines when he refused payment to contractor James Glover for the Bingham Tract sewer project in 1952, and was jailed briefly by Territorial Judge Jon Wiig because of it. Later that same year, Leonard did authorize payment, but became embroiled in legal suits. Four years later, following a lengthy court case, he was assessed for his actions.

Judge Wiig, a Democrat, later became a United States district judge. He claimed that the Leonard Fong case cost him the lifetime position when Hawaii achieved statehood. Wiig believed that the new Senator Hiram Fong blocked his nomination with Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower because of Leonard's incarceration. However, this was denied categorically by Senator Fong.<sup>59</sup>

In 1961, Hiram appointed Leonard to the position of branch manager for the Small Business Administration in Honolulu. Leonard remained in that position until he resigned to become Assistant to the President of Finance Factors (Hiram Fong) in January of 1962.

After achieving these several positions of responsibility in both the private and public sectors, Leonard enrolled in evening classes at McKinley High School to complete requirements for a high school diploma. He achieved this goal in May 1963, when he was 63 years old. Another honor came to him when he was selected Model Father of the Year by the Chinese community in Honolulu in 1965.

Another colorful brother was Harry (Fong Yau Lee). Born July 28, 1902, Harry left home at a very early age to join the United States Navy. Fong said, "The United States fleet was then in Pearl Harbor, and the U.S.S. New York, which was a coal burning battleship, was [there]. They were recruiting people...so he joined...right after [he graduated from] Kalihi-Waena School." Harry resembled his father in height and physical capacity. Harry also probably inherited some of the adventurous spirit which had combined with economic necessity to bring Lum Fong from Kwangtung to the sugar cane fields of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Harry left the Navy after three or four years, but remained in California, returning to Hawaii only from time to time. He entered two occupations unusual for a Chinese. Fong recalled,

Harry--I don't know why--became a prize fighter. He fought under the name of Hong Fong Lee, Chinese heavyweight. He would send us periodicals...boxing magazines...which would show his picture... He fought for several years, and he won some and he lost some. He was quite a fighter. I always wondered why he got into that kind of business.

Certainly, Harry had the strength and the physique for it, weighing about 190 pounds and fighting at about 175-180 pounds. Traditionally, prize fighting was never a popular endeavor for a person of Chinese ancestry.

Another rather unusual activity of Harry's was acting in movies. According to sisters Alice Fong and Amy Fong Yee, he had been "a good dancer" who also became a player in some of the "Our Gang" comedy series.<sup>60</sup> Acting was also a profession not highly regarded by the traditional Chinese. Harry also enjoyed gambling.

He married Rose Dunn, a Korean girl born in Hawaii. They had one child, a daughter named Rosemary, who became a teacher in California. Harry died in California, but was buried in Hawaii, so that he is with the Fong family in death even though he lived apart from them in life.

As with his other brothers and sisters, Fong speculated if more education could have changed the course of Harry's life:

Harry was very resourceful. It was too bad that his talents were turned the other way. He didn't have an education. If he had gotten the education, he would have been a real comer. He would have done well...[However], when he made some money, he invested in real estate. He bought two homes in Hawaii. He had several apartments over in California, so that when he passed away, his wife was well-settled. So Harry, from that standpoint of keeping his family going, was a success.

Alice Fong (Fong Kum Ngan) was born on May 1, 1903, a year after Harry and three years before Hiram. Like all Chinese girls of the period, she was expected to help with the housework and take care of the younger children. She had to quit school in the sixth grade to do

so, since Violet had married and moved to Hilo. Before and after school, Alice and the other children picked algaroba beans, as noted. Later, she got a job at the W. W. Hana Print Shop, waiting on customers and performing other chores. She also worked in a laundry; later she was employed by the Chong Silk House as a salesgirl, as well as at a fabric store.

She was the only sibling who baby-sat for the neighbors after school, earning about \$12.00 a month. She saved her earnings carefully, but on several occasions had to give the money to her parents when the need arose. Her salary at the print shop was about \$30.00 per month. Often she would take her meals at the home where she took care of children, thus making one less person to feed in the Fong household.<sup>61</sup>

Fong was advanced two grades at Kalihi-Waena School, so that he and Alice ended up together in the same class in the fifth grade. Fong reflected on Alice's contributions to the family, and of how he had met his obligations to his sisters:

You know, I don't remember her being in my class. But subsequently, 'way long after graduating from Kalihi-Waena School, a classmate had a picture of our fifth grade, and here, I was in it and my sister Alice was in it. So I must have caught up with her in the fifth grade.

She contributed what little she could to the family. She never married...I built a home on a lot contiguous to my home...for my two sisters, my sister Alice and my sister Amy. I gave them a lease on the land and the home for \$1.00 for their lifetimes, so that as long as they live, they will have this home free of charge and my children can't throw them out. I don't think my children will throw them out, but I want to be sure my sisters are taken care of.

They are now getting a good income from my mother's property. Both of them are getting half of the income, and with whatever social security they have, they are well off. They have money to spend. My sister Alice is enjoying life very much.

Three years after Fong's birth, his sister Rose (Fong Kum Oi) was born on September 23, 1909. Fong's memories of her childhood are not clear, because she went to live with their sister Violet in Hilo when Rose was around five years old. She stayed there until she was about 12 years old, attending public schools and going to the Hilo Union Church with Violet. Rose's favorite church hymn was "Jesus Loves Me," and it was through her helping out in a Sunday School following her return to Honolulu that she met her future husband, Ernest S. Chun. Mr. Chun became an accountant with Honolulu Iron Works, and later established himself as a public accountant. Following graduation from McKinley High School, Rose worked for Wing Wo Tai, a general merchandise Chinese store.<sup>62</sup> Fong recalled that "she was getting, I think, \$40.00 a month, something like that," and that she also helped to support the family.

The Chuns had two children: a son, Ernest Chun, Jr., a senior engineer with Douglas-McDonald, an aircraft company, and a daughter, Yvonne. Yvonne became an elementary school teacher in the Los Angeles public school system, and married Charles Young, a mechanical engineer with the United States Department of Defense.

The next sibling, a sister named Amy (Fong Me Oi), was born on January 7, 1913. Amy attended Kalihi-Waena School, and graduated from Smith-Hughes Vocational School in 1939. She held cafeteria positions in several public schools in the Honolulu area, and was employed for a short time at Pearl Harbor during World War II.

Fong said his sister Amy

retired several years ago [in 1971], because of disability, and she is receiving retirement benefits. She is living with my sister Alice at the home I built for them. She [was] married [to] Arthur Yee, [an architect]. They have one child, Cynthia. Cynthia is married to Gordon Bronson, [an attorney], and is practicing law here in Honolulu.

Two years younger than Amy, their brother Herman (Fong Ah Sum) was born on January 1, 1915. Herman was the youngest son. He and Fong were the only surviving male members of their generation at the time of this study. Like his brother, he had some confusion as to his birth date, which he gave as January 9, 1914.<sup>63</sup>

A graduate of Kalihi-Waena School in 1927 and of McKinley High School in 1931, Herman had many pleasant memories of growing up. Although the nine year age difference between Fong and himself almost precluded having the same circle of friends and the same interests, Herman remembered that Fong would drive him out to visit their elder brother Leonard, who was then employed at the Laie Plantation. They would stay overnight, and the two boys would milk the cows and ride the calves at the small ranch connected with the plantation. He remembered that Fong enjoyed milking the cows. Being the youngest boy, he did not have any chores around the house, but all the children picked algaroba beans in the Fort Shafter area and around Moanalua.

The Fongs were ambitious for their youngest male member. In 1931, the widowed mother, Leonard, his wife and their son Bernard, Alice, and Herman made a pilgrimage to the paternal home in China. The trip had two purposes: to visit the Fong ancestral village and to enroll Herman at Lingnan University. Although it was planned that Herman should become a doctor, Leonard decided that Lingnan University was inappropriate and Herman was not enrolled in Chinese schools. Since Fong wanted advanced schooling, it was upon their return that he asked for and received permission to go to Harvard University.<sup>64</sup>

The Great Depression was having its full effect in Hawaii at that time, so Herman worked at any job he could find. Later he was employed



at the Post Office for five years. When World War II broke out and Fong and some partners took over a nightclub called "Hawaiian Town," Herman was asked to manage it, as will be discussed in a later chapter. When the Hawaiian Town was discontinued at the end of the war, Herman acquired his own nightclub, the Club Polynesia, which was on "Nuuanu Street across from the Liberty Theater" on the outskirts of Honolulu's Chinatown. He operated the club for some 17 years, until he felt that his livelihood was inconsistent with his service as a volunteer lay minister for the First Presbyterian Church. He sold the Club Polynesia shortly before becoming ordained as a deacon in the Church. He was without employment for about four months, but was able to secure a position with the local Post Office. He worked there for about nine months, until his brother Hiram won re-election to his Senate seat after a hard-fought campaign against Thomas Gill in 1964.

The following year, Herman was appointed State Executive for the Senator's Honolulu office. He served in that capacity for the next 12 years, retiring at the time his brother chose to relinquish his seat in the Senate. As State Executive, Herman Fong was the liaison between the citizens of Hawaii and Fong's office in Washington, D. C. While some individuals may have criticized this appointment, there were many others who insisted that Herman's community services, his past business experience, and his ability to establish rapport with the great majority of the populace (comprised of the "ordinary working class") was a strong factor in the Senator's success as a politician.

Herman married the former Elsie Kama, who was of Hawaiian-Caucasian ancestry. They had two daughters, Lynette and Carolyn, and two sons, Wendall and Randie, and an adopted son, Reginald.

Fong wanted to see that the family received more education, but was unsuccessful with respect to Herman. Returning to Honolulu after completing his legal education at Harvard law school, he offered to help defray Herman's expenses should the latter wish to go to medical school: "I told my younger brother, I said, 'Why don't you go to school and be a doctor, and I would help you,' but somehow he never took my advice, and he got married and that was it." Herman himself said of the proffered opportunity that he "had made his bed and thought [he] should lie in it."<sup>65</sup>

Herman retired and received a pension from the government. But it was important to Fong that Herman be "gainfully employed," so Herman assumed a position as Assistant Secretary of one of Fong's companies. "He helps me manage Market City, Ltd., so that he has sufficient income to take care of himself and his family," said Fong.

The last child in the Fong immigrant family was Beatrice (Fong Chuck Yee), who was born on August 17, 1916. Fong said of her:

Beatrice is the only one [of my brothers and sisters] who finished college. She...got her fifth year [teaching] certificate [at the University of Hawaii] and became a teacher in the public schools in Hawaii. She married Larry Ching, who is...in the contracting business, and doing very well. She has retired. They have two children, Randall, who is an engineer working with his father, and Thalia, who is a school teacher. [Thalia] is married to Darryl Choy, a lawyer. As she could not get a teacher's job because people are not producing children (laughter), she is with her father in the contracting business.

Beatrice had many fond recollections of growing up as Fong's youngest sister. Among them was the reception following her wedding to Mr. Ching. It was held at the Hawaiian Town, and when the time came to pay the bill, Hiram advised her, "No, no. I've paid it already," Her brother also employed her in his law firm as a typist before he

took on Katsuro Miho as his law partner in the early months of World War II,<sup>66</sup> as will be discussed.

It was evident in the recounting of the activities of the Fong brothers and sisters and their respective families that Hiram Fong had been well-indoctrinated in the Chinese cultural tradition of placing the family first and foremost in his life. From the time his older brothers married and moved away from the family residence and their father's death in 1926, the family said Fong had provided opportunities for his siblings to improve the qualities of their lives. They noted that he met their needs most appropriately and in concert with their individual desires. Fong himself evaluated his efforts:

I have always taken care of my family and my brothers and sisters. When my sister Beatrice was going to school at the University of Hawaii and I was going to law school, I saw to it that she had enough money to go to college even though I went through a tough time. I provided for my sisters, so that every one of them now is well taken care of, and in that respect I can look my sisters and brothers in the face and feel that I have been a good brother to them. I feel that if you do not relate to your brothers and sisters, how can you relate to your wife, who is supposed to be a stranger to you, and then, how can you relate to a friend? In that respect I would say that I am very loyal; I am very loyal to my family....If you can't help your family, whom could you help? If they can't depend on you, who can depend on you?

If I choose a friend, I like to see that he is good to his family. Now, if he is good to his mother and father, good to his brothers and sisters, he can't help but be good to other people. If he is not good to his family, how can you expect him to be good to anybody, because [the family] is closest to you. They grew up with you. They share your hopes and they share your aspirations. They share your sorrows and they share your depressions. They are the ones you fall back on. When the hours are darkest, they should be there. So this is the way I have always felt. I had to somehow take care of them, and I have always tried to help, to see that they are taken care of, and I have done my job. (emphasis added)

Being clear in his own mind that he had done his duty by his family, Fong felt no restrictions on his own efforts and no sibling jealousy. He experienced no regrets which might have constrained him

in his various enterprises. As a whole, the family which grew up with him in the rural section of Kalihi felt proud of his accomplishments, and in the words of Beatrice, "It's a glory to be his sister."<sup>67</sup>

#### Lessons in the Home

In addition to the mealtime "lessons," Fong acquired a sense of ethics and lessons in moral and religious behavior from two basic sources during his early years. The first was in the Fong household, where parental guidance took the form of maxims expounded to the growing children.

The peasants in China, as they did in almost all countries, tended to look at life in fairly simplistic, basic terms. Their needs were essentially to provide for themselves in order to survive and to ensure that the race was carried on. This caused them to view life in terms of the immediate situation surrounding them. Their problems were to find solutions for the circumstances at hand. Practicality and pragmatism were valued more than esoteric thinking. Philosophy was well enough and good, but if it did not provide a workable solution which they could immediately understand and apply, such thinking should be left to the learned scholars and the rich men who had time for such mental explorations. Their thought processes were, then, of necessity, geared toward the pragmatic responses which helped them exist in a world over which they knew they had little control. Being unlettered and unschooled, the peasants could not pass on their culture and learning in writing. They had to rely upon the oral tradition to teach their children what they had learned through trial and error, and which formed the basic tenets guiding their lives.

Lum Fong and his wife Lum Shee instilled as many of their beliefs as they could in their large family. Not only did the father and mother set examples for hard work by their respective behavior at the fertilizer plant and around the house and garden, but the father emphasized those maxims and sayings which his parents had taught him. To the laborer living a simple life in Hawaii, the teachings still applied. The ones Fong translated into English and remembered best included the following:<sup>68</sup>

"There is nothing impossible in the world. Everything depends only on man's determination." While an impressionable youngster, Fong came to believe that the world was open to him, if only he attempted what he wanted with enough determination. If he had sufficient perseverance and stamina, he could indeed accomplish "the impossible." Bolstered by the teachings of his family, Fong was able to persevere in his dream for an education and later for high political office. This maxim provides a key to his ambitions. He learned early in life to aim high, and not to be satisfied with second place. It also gave him courage to attempt what others had not tried before. He said, "I was never afraid of anything."

"If you were poor, people won't believe you if you said the rock rolled down the hill. But if you were a rich man, even if you said the stone rolled up the hill, they would believe you." Government in China was decentralized, with local officials having much autonomy over the residents of the villages. It was a sad fact of life for the peasant that the wealthy man found it not only easier to "get the ear of the

magistrate," but also to enjoy greater credibility in any case being tried. Graft was rampant in China during that time, and every official expected some amount of monetary payoff for a favorable decision. Having little or no means, the Chinese peasant had no status and therefore little chance for equitable redress. The poor Chinese quickly saw the concomitant advantages of being wealthy: it meant power and success and a life of ease. For them the attainment of wealth had a special direct impact on their daily lives. Although many aspired to wealth, and some like Lum Fong left their native land in order to find it in places like the Kingdom of Hawaii, very few were able to achieve it. Lum Fong never became wealthy, but the lesson was not lost on his fifth son.

"A knife does not have two cutting edges. A needle does not have two sharp points." These practical observations pointed out that many times only one solution could be applied with success, and that it had to be found at all costs. Another interpretation was that an individual might have talents in one direction, but not in others. Nature provided for a balance in all things, even men's abilities. Just as the knife can have only one edge that is sharp, neither can the cutting edge stand alone. It needs that part of the knife that is not razor keen in order to perform its proper function. As with the knife, so it was with the needle. Fong came to understand that every person has both strong and weak points, and that one usually did not exist without the other. It made him more tolerant of others, and helped him maintain an objective view of life. For the emerging politician, who would have to work harmoniously with individuals of all types of nature and abilities, this was an invaluable lesson.

"A man should not have too many pots and not enough covers."

Taken from the everyday experience of cooking, this maxim provided a clear lesson in not overextending one's activities. Over-commitment was to be avoided, for it meant that not all of one's efforts would succeed, nor be as beneficial as they might. Fong came to know that he must attempt to do only those things which he could reasonably look after, or supervise adequately. He explained, "You may have ten pots and only eight covers. How can you cover them all?" This maxim is at least one reason why his business endeavors, while very profitable locally, have not been extended very far beyond Hawaii.

"You do what is right because if you do what is right, you will be happy." Fong never forgot this saying of his father's. Lum Fong followed this maxim closely, and supported his family, his village, and his homeland faithfully by remitting monies to his family in China throughout all the years of his life. During times of drought or floods, or economic disaster in China, Lum Fong joined with his fellow countrymen to send money home to assist their families in need. According to his culture, this was right and proper, even though it meant his wife and all his children had to work hard to provide for the necessities of life in Hawaii. Another instance Fong recalled of the application of this philosophy was when his father sent money home so that a close relative's first son might be married. While the son was on a trip to the Philippines, the second son took the money and was married. When the first son returned, he was deeply disappointed. Lum Fong then paid for another marriage from the money which had been carefully set aside for his own return to China. He never got to see his homeland again

as a result of fulfilling his family obligations, but he never regretted his action.

### Religion

Growing up in the Kalihi neighborhood, where many of the Portuguese families were Catholics, the Japanese were Buddhists, the Chinese were Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists, and the Hawaiians were mostly Protestants, Fong became appreciative of all religions and tolerant of the various cultural practices around him.

Life in the Fong household was regulated to some extent by the cultural and religious practices of the mother. Fong noted that his mother practiced a combination of Taoism (which taught conformity to the cosmic order), Buddhism (which taught right belief, right resolve, right word, right act, right life, right effort, right thinking, and right meditation), and the teachings of Confucius (which taught filial piety, benevolence, justice, propriety, intelligence, and fidelity).<sup>69</sup> He also said she was an "animist." While Lum Fong as a rule did not go to the Chinese temples to pray and seek to know the future, his wife not only went regularly to the temples but also maintained an altar in the home. Her favorite temple was that of Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, which was located on Vineyard and River Streets. According to the religious practices associated with Kwan Yin, those seeking guidance prayed and lit incense, which was then placed in a large container at the front of the temple to continue burning, wafting prayers to heaven. The statue of Kwan Yin was then approached in the presence of a monk or nun. After reverence was paid by bowing three times, more prayers



were said. Three small pieces of bamboo inside a container were shaken and then thrown out at the base of the figure of Kwan Yin. Guidance was provided and the future was foretold by the manner in which the pieces landed. Interpretations were made by the monk or nun after consulting a "code" book.

Fong said that his mother "would go there and seek the oracles. She would ask about different things." Prayers were said for the welfare of the children and various enterprises. If the problems were related to health, the monk or nun also prescribed medication or combinations of herbs which were then purchased from the herb doctor in Chinatown.

When Fong entered public life in 1938 he encouraged his mother to seek knowledge of what was coming up for him. He recalled, "When I ran for office....She would go there [to the Kwan Yin Temple] and see whether I would be successful or not." According to his sisters, Fong himself would ask his mother to seek guidance, particularly if he knew that he had a difficult campaign ahead.<sup>70</sup> Fong, ever the pragmatist, did not limit his efforts to succeed to Chinese practices alone. He was aware that others prayed for him according to their own faith and beliefs, and he never discouraged their efforts. Rather, he said that he was always grateful for their help. He noted,

When I ran for office, I couldn't see how I could lose, because Mother was an animist and she consulted the temple. And when Mother passed away, I had my oldest sister-in-law, who came from China [doing] that...Mrs. Lau Kun, [who founded the grocery store which became the Foodland chain of supermarkets]...took me really as a son, and she would do that for me--go to the temple and ask. And then the Protestants would pray for me, and the Catholics would pray for me. I had a lot of Buddhist friends, and many of them would say, 'Well, I will pray for you.' So, with everybody praying for me--praying to their gods--I just didn't see how I could lose!

Not only did Mrs. Fong go, to the Kwan Yin temple to pray, but she also followed the prevailing custom of the majority of the Chinese immigrants and maintained an altar in the home. This practice was primarily to pay respect and honor to family ancestors. Once in the morning and again each evening, incense was lit by the family members and inserted in a small red and gold painted square box filled with sand. The names of the ancestors were inscribed in gold calligraphy on red paper, and placed prominently near the box of burning incense. On the first and the fifteenth of the month, offerings of food and drink were also made in addition to the incense. Obeisances were made during each burning of the incense, a practice in which all the young Fongs took part. Although in later life Alice became a Catholic and Amy a Protestant, the sisters maintained the family altar in honor of their parents.

The practice of honoring one's ancestors served not only to keep the memory of their forebears alive, but also to encourage the channeling of family energies into those activities which would bring honor and glory to the family name. This encouraged self-awareness and self-discipline among the family members. The young Chinese child learned early that if he behaved in ways which were acceptable to his family and community, his memory would also be honored by his progeny in future years to come. This was true primarily for the males in the family. In Alice Fong's words, the shrine was "the boy's good luck." Male family members had a constant reminder that those who had gone on before them had performed their duties honorably. If they also discharged their responsibilities to the family adequately and did not disgrace the family name, someday their names would also be inscribed on red paper,

and homage paid to them for generations to come. This cultural practice gave the Chinese males a particular sense of surety, a true sense of belonging to a unit centered around their family. The unit was then expanded to the community, and from there to the state, nation, and world. Each male was virtually assured of a place within the family genealogy, a secure "niche" in the ongoing family chronicle.

Like the young American Chinese who wrote in 1937, Fong could also say sincerely,

the happiness I found and the culture I received in my home are equal, if not superior, to the culture that could be got under any other family culture. I can say with a deep sense of pride and gratification that the teachings and training of my parents were of the highest order. Although educated in the American manner, it is my firm belief that my life [was] guided by the truths taught me by my parents, for their teachings were sound.<sup>71</sup>

### Entertainment

In Kalihi, few if any of the Fong's neighbors entertained in the usual sense of the term. The immigrant families struggled to provide sufficient housing, enough food on the table, and clothes on the growing frames of their children. There was precious little money to save for emergencies or for the future. Nor was there time left over from work and daily chores to spend in purely social activities. Fong said, "Mother never entertained; Mother never gave a party." On the one occasion when a relative of the father's came to Honolulu from San Francisco, there was some consternation as to how best to handle their social obligation. He was an official of a steamship company, and in their eyes, "a great man." The father was "really up a tree" as to what to do, but because the man was a cousin, a member of the Fong clan, family ties meant the occasion had to be observed. The decision was made to entertain him at home. Hiram Fong recalled that important day

for a number of reasons; it was the first time they had entertained at home, there was both chicken and duck on the table to eat, and it was "the first time we bought some ice cream!"<sup>72</sup> He was approximately ten years old at the time.

The family had little real entertainment. In later years, Fong would play on the grounds of the Kalihi Union Church, which was across the street from his home. There were ball games of all sorts, and young Hiram would join in them whenever he could. Martin "Timo" Phillips, an elementary school classmate who lived in close proximity to the Fongs, recalled seeing Hiram, carrying his shoeshine kit, pass by where the other boys were playing ball. He would sometimes put down his kit, play for a few minutes, and then pick up his equipment and continue on his way.<sup>73</sup>

The father in a Chinese family was the most important member of that family, as noted. Life centered around his work schedule, and his wishes were paramount not only to the children but to his wife as well. It was significant that activities Fong considered entertainment also centered around his father. Lum Fong went to Honolulu every Saturday after work. Once in a while he would ask young Hiram if he would like to go along. Of course the boy was delighted to be included in the outing. At times, the two took the streetcar, which cost five cents a ride, or they walked to town. The usual order of the evening was first to visit one of Lum Fong's cousins, who lived in the Palama district in a building which served as a lodging house or an old folks' home. This cousin was "incapacitated," and Lum Fong's purpose in going

there weekly was to see how his relative was getting along, and to give him money, often \$5.00 or so, for this care.

Having accomplished his familial duties, the father then walked with his son to Chinatown. They went down to Maunakea Street, where another cousin had a tailor shop. The men visited in the store for a while. If the father needed a hair cut, he and his son went to the barbershop located next to the Wo Fat restaurant. The barbershop was a large concern employing about ten barbers, and a popular spot where the Chinese men congregated. For many years, until the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, most of the Chinese men in Hawaii and elsewhere wore their hair in long queques, or pigtails. The Manchu rulers required all their subjects at home and abroad to wear the queque as a mark of respect for their authority. Fong recalled that his father kept his queque coiled around his head when he was at work.

In the back of the barbershop was the other reason why "the older generation" assembled there regularly in large numbers. Games of chance flourished in the back rooms. As has been noted, the Chinese men, mostly single, had little else to do in their free time. Chinese culture was more tolerant of gambling than the Puritan mores of the Americans who had taken over Hawaii. The Chinese engaged in gambling for social reasons as well as in the hope of making a windfall that would make it possible to leave their foreign workplace and return to their families in China. "Once in a while, Father would go in the back," and try his hand at games like Chinese Sky Dog and Fan Tan, recalled Fong. He said that he waited outside, but it is entirely possible that the mischievous Hiram, who had splashed cold water on the Japanese lady bathing in Hilo, would peek in on the games once in a while or would want to try his luck.

Then the two went to the American Theater, which was located in a small lane off Hotel Street. Seating was on long benches with back rests. Fong said, "Funny thing about the American Theater--nobody sat on the benches. They all sat on the back rests with their feet on the benches." Movies were often in serial form at that time, and Fong's favorite was called "The Crimson Eye." While there were no color movies at that time, whenever the big "red" eye was depicted, the audience reacted with great excitement. "It was quite a serial. Entertainment--that was the extent of our entertainment," explained Fong.

Entertainment for Mrs. Fong in the early years consisted of visiting the Yong Nin family, on Sundays. As noted, the Yongs were affluent, being rice growers and millers who also planted sugar cane in their fields in the Palama district adjacent to Kalihi. Their home was a large building at the end of Auld Lane. Across the street from the home was the mill. A waterwheel powered the mill, and there was a pond where many fish swam. The most common variety of fish was the 'o'opu. The Yong Nins often had many guests on Sunday, and it was not unusual for dinner to be served to 20 or 30 people. There being so many Fong children, the mother would "hire a hack" to transport the family there, but the Yong Nin's Pierce-Arrow automobile was used to convey them home. Fong said once he was sitting on the jump seat, the extra seat, in the car driven by a son, Sin Yit Yong (Sen Yet Young), who later became head of the first department of aviation in the Republic of China. The young driver did not see a streetcar at the intersection of King Street and Auld Lane, and ran into it broadside. On impact, Fong fell onto the running board, causing his nose to bleed profusely. The next day Sin Yit Yong came to see how he was feeling, but the boy was so scared he ran away and hid.<sup>74</sup>

Mrs. Fong was apparently a favorite of the Yong Nin family. She called Mrs. Yong Nin "Mother," and the little Fongs called her "Grandmother." Mrs. Fong was liked and respected "because Mother was always a good worker and never complained, and I think that's why they got along so nicely."<sup>75</sup>

Mrs. Fong was careful to follow the Chinese custom of bringing along some gifts whenever she went visiting. She brought items which she had produced herself, since gifts costing money were beyond her means. There were duck eggs preserved in brine, vegetables dried and salted, as well as fresh produce from the garden. Also following custom, the Yongs never let the Fongs go home empty-handed, often gifting the children with Chinese delicacies.

But these pleasant occasions ended when the Yong Nins returned to China after a few years. Their land became too valuable for rice and sugar cane growing; moreover, hauling the cane to the Aiea mill was not profitable. In time the mill closed and the sugar cane fields were abandoned. However, as long as sugar cane was transported to the mill, the children in Kalihi eagerly awaited the passing of the railroad cars. The train went by between 2:00 and 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Fong said with a grin, "We would all stand on the track and whenever the cars passed by, we would try to pull out whatever cane we could. And that was Yong Nin's cane!"<sup>76</sup> Since every child ran after the train, pulling out a stalk here and there, it did not seem to be a "crime" to take the cane. Alice Fong recalled, laughingly, "It wasn't stealing. We just helped ourselves!"<sup>77</sup>

## Discipline

According to Fong, there was no discipline problem in the household. Every member was busy at chores or working to supply the family's needs, and these gainful endeavors occupied them sufficiently so they did not have time to get into trouble. There was, however, one incident Fong remembered that demonstrated to him how important it was not to take something belonging to others. When he was around ten years old, he was with a group of boys from Kalihi, and they stole pineapples from a truck passing by. When young Hiram took the fruit home, his father, upon learning how he had acquired it, became very angry, "came after" his son and threw the pineapple away. Fong ran away from his father's wrath, which was considerable, and did not return until the parental temper had cooled down. Fong said, "That taught me a lesson, that Father was a strict man, that he was an honest man, and that he didn't want us to take anybody else's property....It made a very indelible impression upon me as a youngster because after that I really went straight!"<sup>78</sup>

Discipline was handled by example and by the mother's talking to the children. Fong did not recall an incident in which real discipline was meted out to him or his brothers or sisters. The reason for this was the hierarchical arrangement of power in the Chinese family structure. According to Fong:

You respect the elders because they were older than you and they know more and whatever your brother said, you followed him. You didn't sass him. You didn't sass anybody. You just respected your elders, and it was that way in our family. We respected our eldest. Nobody tried to say, "Well, I think I know better than you do." We just went along. Like clothes, for example, we just handed them down from one person to the other. And you never said, "well, I don't want this because he wore it." You just accepted it.<sup>79</sup>



Knowing that they were poor and of immigrant stock, Fong said they quickly learned their station in life. In a sense, this knowledge made it possible for them to accept life as it was, with less tension and frustration. They also recognized that if they wanted anything, they would have to earn it themselves. No public assistance of any kind was available then. Fong indicated,

We were never frustrated because we didn't know any better. Of course, we'd see people driving cars. We'd feel that he was lucky in that he had a car to drive or he had a home which was better than ours but we just accepted life as it was. We didn't have a yearning. We didn't feel that we were deprived of anything because we had enough to eat, we were free, we did what we wanted and if we wanted money, we could earn it.

We felt that we weren't deprived at all. I have never felt deprived at all. I have always felt that if there is anything to be done, I can go and do it. For example, when I found that I couldn't go to college, and it was so difficult, I went to work. There was no question that was the way to do it. I couldn't go out and ask a charitable organization to pay my way through. I went to work and when the time was opportune, I went back although I didn't have anything to go back with. I went to college with nothing, but it was the opportunity to go. And when I couldn't go to law school, I went to work again. Of course, I tried. And afterwards when I had finished two years, then I borrowed some money. But, you provided for yourself. It was a self-dependency. You didn't feel that anybody owed you anything. You were lucky that you had the opportunity to work. There was lots of opportunity to work. So, that was the philosophy which we followed.  
(emphasis added)

### Chong Ah Lin, and Work

While his father was undoubtedly a great influence on Fong, another Chinese man set examples of behavior which remained with the impressionable young boy and added to his practical philosophy of life. This was Chong Ah Lin, the "Poi Man." As noted, Chong was the literate Chinese who assisted in the naming of the Fong children. Chong was the proprietor of a store at the corner of King and Umi Streets, about 400 yards diagonally across from the house where Hiram Fong was born. Chong was

essentially a retailer. He leased his property from the Richards family, whose sons, Michael and James "Honey" Richards, had a horse and wagon which they used to deliver the poi.

The stores operated by Chong and similar merchants served unique functions in the Chinese immigrant experience. In addition to their normal purpose, the stores served as banks (where the immigrants could safely deposit their funds and obtain loans), as post-offices (where the storekeepers would write letters, remit and receive mail and monies to and from China), and as social centers (where the immigrants could congregate with friends and clan members to chat and meet newcomers as well as to transact their business). In 1896, there were 118 general merchandise establishments and 35 retail grocers in Honolulu alone. Of these, 72 were located in Chinatown, presumably catering to mostly a Chinese clientele.<sup>80</sup>

The land on which Chong's store stood sloped from King Street down toward the sea, so that the store was one story tall in front and two-storied in the rear. The front part was used for business, and the back for living quarters. This living arrangement, with the place of business in front and the living area in the back or above the premises, was also typical of many of the Chinese businesses in Hawaii at the time.

For about two years, around the time Fong was in the seventh grade, the Fongs did not rent a separate house. They lived in a triplex rooming house also operated by Chong, which was adjacent to the poi store. They did not have indoor plumbing, but they did have separate cooking and eating facilities.

There were a number of poi factories in the Kalihi area. Chong bought the poi ready-made in large barrels from the manufacturer and retailed it by weighing and dispensing it in bags of various sizes. The bags were made of white fabric, probably reclaimed flour sacks. The insides of the bags were wetted down with water before they were filled, which kept the viscose poi from sticking to the sides. This made the bags easier to fill and empty. Poi was sold in one, two, three, five, and ten pound bags. Empty bags were returned to be washed, dried, and refilled. Fong recalled going to the place where the poi was manufactured. There the tubers of the taro plant, from which the poi was made, were washed and steamed, and the skin removed by hand. The taro was then pounded to a paste with poi pounders, which were usually rocks but later made of iron. He saw groups of employees sitting around on low stools, mashing the tubers in a shallow wooden trough or tray, and adding water until it was the right consistency to eat with the fingers. Most of the customers, as might be expected, were the Hawaiian families in the Kalihi area, although some Chinese and Portuguese families ate poi also. At that time, poi cost about ten cents for three pounds. Later it became five cents and then 25 cents per pound.

Chong also imported some dried mullet, akulekule and octopus from fishermen friends in Molokai. The Hawaiians bought these delicacies along with the poi.

When he was about ten or 12 years old, Fong was hired to work after school and on Saturdays by this "Poi Man," at a salary of 50 cents per day. He did this until he went to high school. He rode the wagon driven by the two Richards boys, and reported to Chong how

much and to whom the poi was delivered. When he was not delivering, Fong worked in the store. One result of the delivery work, going house-to-house in the Kalihi district, was that he became well-known to the Hawaiians and other families. Fong turned this exposure to great advantage when he later became an attorney and then entered politics.

The literate Chong also taught the young boy his first lesson in business and economics. The Hawaiian people did not pay cash, so Chong had to keep written records. Although he could not read Chinese, Fong observed how Chong kept his books. Fong recalled, "If he sold something, he just put down that he sold so much and he would put the man's name [opposite it] because he was on a credit sales program."<sup>81</sup>

Chong was also good at customer relations. He always conversed with the Chinese who came into his shop. Fong was not able to understand all that was said, and of course never entered into the conversation, because, like all Chinese youngsters of the time, he respected his elders, and "knew his place."

The "Poi Man" was a teacher in other ways. Fong learned how to cook the plain, simple food of the peasant Chinese. Rice was their staple diet, and dried fish of different varieties the other mainstay. Fish that was salted while quite fresh was firm, while fish that was left to "cure" and then salted was like "limburger cheese." While the rice was cooking, a piece of salt fish was put into a small dish that fit inside the rice pot. Over the fish went a slice of fresh ginger root, and a little oil. When the rice was almost cooked, the dish of fish, ginger, and oil was placed on top of the hot rice, and the pot covered. By the time the rice was cooked, the fish was ready to serve.

With the rice (starch) and fish (protein), Chong often stir-fried a favorite Chinese vegetable, such as white-stemmed cabbage cooked with dried shrimp or scallops. He often ate preserved mustard cabbage, or bitter melon (balsam pear) cooked with pork. Sometimes he prepared chopped pork or beef with sugar, soy sauce and cornstarch. He also fried eggs so that they were still soft, and served them with a dash of soy sauce or oyster sauce over a bowl of rice. When pierced with a chopstick, the yolks flowed over the rice and made a delicious protein-rich meal. Soup was often prepared with watercress, a few slices of pork, and fresh ginger root. A steamed duck eggs and pork dish was another mainstay of his diet. Thousand year eggs (eggs preserved in lime and other minerals so that the whites turned black) were a delicacy which Chong never denied himself. Fong said, "Chinese believe in eating. Never mind what they do--they may not dress well, they may not have a nice home--but when it comes to eating, they're very lavish...Alina was not frugal in his eating habits at all--he really spent money on his food."

Fong's association with Chong accrued benefits in other ways, for the merchant was a popular man. Perhaps it was because Chong was a bachelor who lived alone, and liked children. They often waited around the store for him to come home, for on his daily rounds he picked fruits and brought them back to share with the children. There were mangoes and oranges in season. During the time of greatest Chinese festivity, the annual New Year's celebration, Chong was prepared to treat the many children who dropped by his store to wish him prosperity and good fortune in the coming year. The Chinese wished one another "Kung Hee Fat Choy," but the children in Kalihi had their own version of the

greeting. They sang out, "Alina, Konna Hee, Konna Hee" whereupon Chong dipped into some large barrels of cookies, lichee nuts, watermelon seeds, and candied lotus root, carrots, and squash, and passed them out generously. He purchased the delicacies with his own earnings, and even if some children came back several times a day during the two-week holiday season, Chong never turned a child away empty-handed. Fong observed that the gifts of "Konna Hee" cemented good relationships among the Chinese and their neighbors in Kalihi.

Chong also loved flowers. Several weeks before New Year's, he imported narcissus bulbs from China. He put them in water in a wooden container, changed the water daily, and kept them in a dark cool spot. Sometimes Chong carved the bulbs so that when they bloomed, the flowers formed fanciful shapes, like crabs. Soon Chung had fragrant, delicate blooms to display in his store and living quarters. Fong said, "To me, that was a sign of something very fine in him."

No matter how parsimonious a Chinese individual might be throughout the year, his culture dictated that he be generous in distributing sweets and other gifts in response to Happy New Year greetings. Tradition also required that he pay all his debts before the end of the old year, so as to start the coming months with a clean record. Not to be generous nor to clear up one's debts meant that good fortune would be elusive in the future. This cultural activity built up a reservoir not only of good will but also a reputation for trustworthiness for the Chinese among the various ethnic groups in Hawaii. Fong recognized this phenomenon, and said,

Chong was a generous man, and so were the Chinese farmers. I sort of feel that it was the generosity of the older generation that really created a lot of good will for the Chinese people, so that afterwards, when we went into politics, for example, the good will was there.

Another Chinese merchant for whom Fong worked was Chong Chin, who had a small grocery store and soda fountain at the corner of Kamehameha IV Road and King Streets. The pay was also 50 cents per day, but Fong earned more because he worked there every day after classes at McKinley High School, selling canned goods and fresh vegetables. He also made sodas and sundaes at the small fountain. On Saturdays, Fong went crabbing, and then caddied on the golf courses in the afternoons because he could earn more money that way than at the store.

The Kalihi community was a settled one, with almost everyone knowing everybody else. There were few transient residents. Neighbors trusted each other, and storekeepers like Chong Chin trusted his customers. While most of the Japanese and Chinese paid cash, the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians charged their purchases, as noted. Chong Chin trusted his charge customers to the extent that he permitted each to have a little notebook in which to record purchases. The "amazing" thing was that the account books were the property of the customers, who brought them in every time they shopped. They handed the books to Chong Chin, who entered their purchases and costs. Then he returned the books to the customers until the next shopping trip. Whenever they could, they came by to pay Chong Chin as much as they could afford. Some customers moved away, and some died, which meant their debts were never paid. Yet, Chong Chin kept his business going because enough customers were trustworthy.

Instead of sleeping late on Sunday mornings, Fong was up early to shine shoes and to caddy. His favorite location was in front of the Chong Chin store, where he tried to intercept people on their way to church. He finished shining shoes by 8:00 or 8:30 a.m. Fong then waited

on the corner until the first person for whom he was to caddy that day came by to pick him up, and they would drive to the golf links. There was one realtor who was a steady customer. Fong earned 25 cents per round at the nine-hole golf course. His day consisted usually of four rounds or 36 holes. There was often a 25 cent tip at the end.

Fong emphasized that those were "tough times." He also stressed the fact that "everyone who was able was out working," and that it was not he alone who was supplementing the family earnings.

### Kalihi Union Church

The second strong influence on Fong came from outside the home and was a direct result of missionary efforts in the Kalihi area sponsored by Central Union Church. Fong became a member of the Christian faith, beginning with Sunday School at the Kalihi Union Church. Organized as a separate church in 1913, the Church had its beginnings as the outgrowth of the Kalihi Settlement, which was started in 1908 as a branch of Central Union Church. Fong spent as much time as he could spare from his various jobs participating in church-supported sports on the large playground and in Sunday School classrooms. By 1913, 148 children were already enrolled in the Sunday School. In 1917, a two-story building was erected which took up about one-third of the almost seven acres of church land. The remaining portion was cleared for a playground, which was equipped, in time, with swings, teeter-totters, and a baseball diamond. A church historian later reported,

About 1,500 children swarmed the playground weekly....For the needy children, free dental care, breakfasts and lunches were given. Nutrition classes were offered to the neighborhood mothers who were untrained, unlearned....For the social and moral needs, a 'bank' was conducted to encourage the children's spirit of thrift. The Library of Hawaii organized a branch in the parsonage. Boys' clubs and scout troops used the church as their headquarters.<sup>82</sup>



Church records were destroyed when the present facilities were built, so that it is unclear when Fong attended Sunday School there. However, he recalled that the Reverend W. B. Coale was minister at the time. Coale served from 1917 to 1920,<sup>83</sup> so it can be established that Fong received instruction in the Congregational denomination when he was about 11 to 14 years old. This early association with the Congregational Church was to continue throughout Fong's later years in Honolulu as well as during the time he served in Congress. He said that he was the only person of Chinese descent in his Sunday School class, the others being eight to ten children of Japanese ancestry.<sup>84</sup>

The principles of fair play learned on the church playgrounds and the teachings of Christianity assimilated in its classrooms combined to educate Fong in American principles. They helped to frame his world view and influenced his future attitudes and behavior. The Congregational Church taught Fong that man's relationship to God was an individual one, independent of intermediaries. It was one of the more liberal Christian groups, and Fong found that he experienced no real conflict with the religious and cultural practices of his parents and those of other faiths. He said his early religious training reinforced his sense of individualism and led to his well-known tolerance of all faiths and religions.<sup>85</sup>

Each Congregational church had the right to govern itself, although it belonged to a larger association which directed business affairs, nominated church officials, and performed other duties related to church operations. While the youthful Fong was probably not aware of this specific freedom enjoyed by Congregationalists, he may have sensed that the Kalihi Union Church had a certain amount of autonomy in the conduct

of its religious affairs merely by the absence of restraints placed upon it by any larger organization. These "silent" lessons helped formulate his belief in self-government, in democracy, and in the inherent right of the individual not only to form his own beliefs but also to speak up for himself in defense of those beliefs.

A student historian of the Kalihi Union Church wrote, "Who, indeed, can measure the benefits of this institution not only from the physical, social, moral and religious standpoints, but in creating in the minds of its young members a healthy attitude toward life, their government, and the world conditions."<sup>86</sup>

NOTESCHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Chi Wang, Letter to the Honorable Hiram L. Fong, 19 May 1976, from the Head, Chinese and Korean Section, Library of Congress. Xerox copy.

<sup>2</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 24 March 1977.

<sup>3</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 2 November 1977.

<sup>4</sup>Julia Hilton Haley, "Class Roster, 2d grade, Kalihi-Waena School," ca. 1914. Xerox copy courtesy of Mr. Edmund Toma, current Principal, who advised no other attendance records for Fong could be located.

<sup>5</sup>University of Hawaii, "Transcript of Hiram L. Fong." Xerox copy issued 19 September 1977. Hereafter cited as: UH "Transcript."

<sup>6</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 27 April 1977.

<sup>7</sup>Wang, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>HLF, 27 April 1977.

<sup>9</sup>Tributes, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 13 April 1977.

<sup>11</sup>Yau On Leong, Recorded interview, 13 December 1978.

<sup>12</sup>UH "Transcript."

<sup>13</sup>Law School of Harvard University, "Record of Hiram Leong Fong." Xerox copy issued 20 September 1977. Hereafter cited as: Harvard "Record."

<sup>14</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977.

<sup>15</sup>"In the Matter of the Petition of AH LEONG FONG, also known as KONG LEONG FONG," Decree issued by the Secretary of Hawaii, 17 April 1942. Xerox copy.

<sup>16</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 9 March 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 54-63 were supplied on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>17</sup>"Sugar Plantation Agencies," All About Hawaii (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, 1879), pp. 68-69.

<sup>18</sup>United States Census, 1900. Microfilm copy at the Hawaii State Library.

- <sup>19</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 30 March 1977.
- <sup>20</sup>Vital Records Section, Department of Health, State of Hawaii. Hereafter cited as: VRS.
- <sup>21</sup>Albert W. Palmer, Orientalism in American Life (New York: Friendship Press, 1934), pp. 21-23.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup>Andrew Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), pp. 53-54.
- <sup>24</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), pp. 120-122.
- <sup>25</sup>Wang, loc. cit.
- <sup>26</sup>VRS.
- <sup>27</sup>Tributes, p. 54.
- <sup>28</sup>Clarence Glick, "The Chinese Migrant in Hawaii," Diss. University of Chicago, 1938, p. 72. See also "Young Ah In (Y. Ahin)," The Chinese of Hawaii, 1 (1929), 194-195.
- <sup>29</sup>May Lee Chung, Dorothy Jim Luke and Margaret Leong Lau, eds., Traditions for Living (Honolulu: Associated Chinese University Women, 1979), pp. 20-28, 38-40.
- <sup>30</sup>Edward Joesting, The Greening of Hawaii (Honolulu: Brewer Chemical Corporation, 1976?), p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 6.
- <sup>32</sup>Ronald Q. Smith, Recorded interview, 22 May 1978, and subsequent telephone calls.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup>James A. Yuen, Recorded interview, 4 December 1978, and subsequent telephone calls.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 64-71 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.
- <sup>38</sup>Martin T. Phillips, Telephone interview, 30 January 1979.
- <sup>39</sup>Smith, loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup>Rose Baker, Agnes Hiromoto, and Adeline Johnson, Joint interview, 14 September 1978.

<sup>41</sup>Anonymous interview.

<sup>42</sup>Alice Fong and Amy Fong Yee, Recorded joint interview, 30 April 1977. Information primarily supplied by Alice Fong, and is so cited.

<sup>43</sup>Baker, loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup>Kuykendall, 1778-1854, pp. 174-177, 183-184, 314.

<sup>45</sup>Alice Fong, loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>William A. Gosline and Vernon E. Brock, Handbook of Hawaiian Fishes (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1960), pp. 265-266, 269.

<sup>47</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>48</sup>HLF, 27 April 1977.

<sup>49</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>50</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 6 April 1977.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977. See also, Alice Fong.

<sup>53</sup>Alice Fong, loc. cit.

<sup>54</sup>Wang, loc. cit. All references to dates for the Fong family on pp. 71-84 are from this source unless otherwise noted.

<sup>55</sup>HLF, 30 March 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 72-93 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>56</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 8 June 1977.

<sup>57</sup>VRS.

<sup>58</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 14 October 1965, p. A-1. See also Honolulu Advertiser, 15 October 1965, p. A-1. Hereafter cited as HSB and HA, respectively.

<sup>59</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 1 February 1978.

<sup>60</sup>Alice Fong, loc. cit.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Rose Fong Chun, Telephone interview, 21 March 1979.

<sup>63</sup>Herman Fong, Recorded interview, 17 August 1978.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Beatrice Fong Ching, Recorded interview, 30 August 1978.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>HLF, 8 June 1977.

<sup>69</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 20 April 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 90-94 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>70</sup>Alice Fong, loc. cit.

<sup>71</sup>"A Chinese Family in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, III (May 1937), pp. 50-55.

<sup>72</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977.

<sup>73</sup>Phillips, loc. cit.

<sup>74</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>75</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Alice Fong, loc. cit.

<sup>78</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>79</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 98-106 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>80</sup>Bung Chong Lee, "The Chinese Store as a Social Institution," Social Process in Hawaii, II (May 1936), 35.38.

<sup>81</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>82</sup>Mrs. G. C. Yeo, "Origin and Pioneer History of Kalihi Union Church" (Honolulu: 191-?), p. 4.

<sup>83</sup>Eileen Lum, "The History of Kalihi Union Church" (Honolulu: 195-?), p. 3.

<sup>84</sup>HLF, 13 April 1977.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Lum, p. 6.

CHAPTER III1914(?) - 1927Kalihi-Waena School, 1914(?) - 1920

It was fortunate for Fong that the same religious forces in New England that shaped the national pattern of education in the United States also influenced the first missionary group to reach Hawaii in 1820. The Calvinists believed in the doctrine of salvation through individual contact with the holy scriptures. This belief was the basis for their insistence upon supporting universal literacy. In Hawaii, the missionaries rose to high advisory positions to the rulers and government officials, with the result that free public education was made available for island children.<sup>1</sup> Truant officers were assigned to enforce school attendance in the country districts as well as in Honolulu.<sup>2</sup>

Fong credited his education with making it possible for him to achieve his goals. Whatever success came to him, he indicated in later years, could be directly attributable to the schooling he had acquired. Because of the confusion over his birthdate, he was not positive how old he was when he first enrolled at Kalihi-Waena School. He said that he was seven years of age, but he may have been a year older.<sup>3</sup> When he graduated in 1920, he was 13½ years old according to the corrected birth record. He had also skipped two grades, as noted. It is likely that Fong was one or two years older than his classmates.

Several of them recalled that he seemed more mature and more serious about his studies than his contemporaries.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that his family did not send him to school until the truant officers came around, but this cannot be verified.

Started as a Government Common School in 1888 for the teaching of the Hawaiian language, Kalihi-Waena School had classes for grades one through eight. It was located at what is currently the Kalihi Valley Recreation Center, around 1911 Kamehameha IV Road. In 1910, Isaac M. Cox was appointed Principal of the School. He held multiple positions at Kalihi-Waena, Kalihi-Kai, Kalihi-Uka and Moanalua Schools until 1913, about the time Fong probably started school. A later school principal wrote of Mr. Cox, "He was a diligent worker. He built up a fine library for the young people in the district, [and] determined a scale of weights and heights for children of different nationalities. He had a splendid program of organized play for all grades."<sup>5</sup>

Fong grew up during a time in the history of the Territory and the United States mainland when patriotism ran high and it was popular for Principal Cox and his teachers to imbue in the youngsters a love of their country, pride in its accomplishments, and loyalty to its endeavors. Fong never lost this love of patriotism, and credited early school training for it. Not only were there special birthday observances in honor of important Presidents, but each school day started with a salute to the American flag before classes. The Department of Public Instruction of the Territory of Hawaii in 1915 issued as part of its course of study for the elementary grades "A Suggestive Exercise for Morning Flag-Raising." Approved activities included the following: the children marched to the flagpole to the drum or to recorded music, and



grouped themselves in orderly fashion around the pole, with a few students directly in front of it. One student speaker recited:

Hats off!  
 Along the street there comes  
 A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;  
 A flash of color beneath the sky;  
 Hats off!  
 The flag is passing by.

At the command, "Color guard, forward march!," the color bearers and other speakers marched from the schoolhouse to the flagpole with the whole school standing at salute. When the colors arrived, the command "Attention!" was given, and the hands were brought sharply to the sides. While the color bearers were fastening the flag to the halyards and raising it, a second speaker recited:

Now raise the starry banner up,  
 Emblem of our Country's glory,  
 And teach the children of this land  
 Its grand and wondrous story,--  
 Of how in early times it waved  
 High o'er the Continentals brave,  
 Who fought and made this Country free,  
 The one true home of liberty.

Then a third child came forward and said:

Salute the flag, O Children,  
 With grave and reverent hand,  
 For it means far more than the eye can see--  
 Your home and your native land!  
 And men have died for its crimson bars  
 And its field of blue with the spangled stars.

Then the command was given, "Pledge Salute!" when all repeated in concert:

We give our heads and hearts to God and our Country,  
 One Country, one Language, one Flag.

Alternatively, another Pledge might be given:

I pledge allegiance to my flag and the Republic for which  
 it stands; one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and  
 justice for all.

At the last word of the Pledge, all children pointed to the flag, after which, at the command "Attention!," all hands were dropped smartly to the sides. Then the whole school sang, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," or another patriotic song. The fourth speaker then concluded the program with:

This flag that now waves o'er our school,  
Protecting weak and strong,  
Is the flag that vindicates the right,  
And punishes the wrong.

The children marched back to the schoolhouse in an orderly way to the strains of a march.

The instructions concluded with a reminder that the flag must never under any circumstances touch the ground, and that frivolity among the members of the Color Guard or anyone else while handling the Colors was not allowed.<sup>6</sup> Fong and his classmates were duly impressed with the importance of the flag and what it symbolized.<sup>7</sup>

When Fong was in the seventh grade, the United States entered World War I, and school children marched from all over town to Thomas Square for a mass rally to show support for their country, singing school and patriotic songs along the way. It was a heady experience for them all.<sup>8</sup>

Principal Cox was the person most responsible for Fong's entry into public speaking. Already showing signs of the deep, full voice which later was described as "stentorian," the boy was called upon by Cox to deliver speeches on patriotic days. Fong was not sure of the reason. He said, "How I got into it, I don't know; maybe the principal...knew of my scholastic work...and probably he thought that I could do it. Frankly speaking, I don't know why." At first he asked Leonard to write his speeches, but later he wrote his own material, as has been

noted. In the process, he gained valuable lessons in self-confidence and began developing a stage presence at large gatherings.

Classmates Mrs. Rose Baker, Mrs. Adeline Johnson, and Mrs. Agnes Hiromoto remembered that he memorized and presented the Gettysburg Address "very eloquently" for the birthday ceremony honoring President Abraham Lincoln in the fourth grade. They said that Fong was the best student in their grammar classes. However, he was not one to speak up except when called upon to recite by their teacher, a Mrs. Barnes.<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Baker recalled that Fong never seemed to have to study hard. Having once been instructed, he seemed capable of assimilating the new information without any difficulty. She said that if he carried any books home to study, he certainly did not take very many of them! His classmates remember his friendliness, even though they had teased him about his Chinese accent and his clothes, which were usually home-made and hand-me-downs made from rice bags. He was barefoot most of the time, like his classmates. Later, as his older siblings earned extra money for the family, he dressed in black or dark trousers and white shirts.<sup>10</sup>

Fong's teachers included the Clark sisters, Mrs. Walsh, Miss Sousa, Miss De Harne, Mrs. Helbush, Miss Barnes, Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Mañoe, Mrs. Cullen, Mrs. Vivas, Mrs. Stewart, Mrs. King, and Mr. De Corte. Fong acknowledged that they

were very influential in my life, although I didn't think so at the time. They were very conscientious in their work. They saw to it that we studied. They rewarded us, gave us gold stars.... We were so close to them. After all, it was not such a large school.

Although many of the teachers came from the United States mainland, stayed a few years and then returned to their homes,<sup>11</sup> there were a few

local ones who provided stability by continuing for many years at Kalihi-Waena School. Because so many of his brothers and sisters preceded him, Fong felt that the close and warm association he had with his teachers was due in part to the fact that his family was so well known in the small community. School, then, for the most part, was a very pleasant place.

Of the female teachers, Fong said he liked Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. Barnes, who "always took great delight in seeing that I was a good speller." Mrs. Vivas "took a liking to me too." Like any normal boy, Fong was not immune to feminine beauty and charm. He recalled Mrs. Edwards, "who was a very beautiful teacher. I think I fell in love with her...in the sixth grade. She would read to us...and was a very, very charming teacher."

He was most impressed with the one male teacher, Manuel De Corte, who had not let his handicap of a crippled arm keep him from leading an active life or dim his interest in youth work. A graduate of the Territorial Normal School, De Corte taught for 33 years at Kalihi-Waena School. He was a volunteer playground worker, as well as a baseball and track coach. He played a prominent role in the development of barefoot football, including managing the famed "Kalihi Thundering Herd." With almost no facilities for vocational instruction and practice, De Corte encouraged an interest in carpentry for the boys, and school and home gardens for both boys and girls. Fong later said of him, "He was very close to the boys."

Fong always wanted to try new things, although he did not always succeed in them. According to classmate Alvin Isaacs, who later became a well-known musician in Hawaii, "as we advanced in age and schooling,

he became more reserved and didn't care for too much foolishness. He was a bright student, and serious about his accomplishments." Isaacs was responsible for beating the drum for the daily ritual of flag raising and marching. Fong was intrigued with the drum, and asked Isaacs if he could perform the drum rolls. Fong never learned to play any musical instrument well, and Isaacs recalled, "It wasn't long when I had to relieve him" of the drum.<sup>12</sup> Fong himself said that he was "deficient in music."

Kalihi-Waena School did not have a strong program in music. Fong remembered that a teacher came about once a month to instruct the children, and that he learned only one song. Singing was never one of his accomplishments. As for art, Fong said he appreciated it but did not study art for aesthetic enjoyment much beyond the brief introduction he acquired in elementary school. Nor did he read for pleasure. Even in later years, Fong never developed the inclination to sit down with a good book. Although his fondest memories of elementary school involve teachers reading stories to him in class, his own endeavors centered around more physical activities necessary to help support the family. Learning was a pragmatic exercise; he went to books to learn facts and to find answers which could be applied to problems at hand.

The principal came to know and trust Fong as a child. In addition to featuring him at school functions, Cox also had great faith in Fong as an individual. One year, probably in the sixth grade, a drinking fountain was broken. Fong was accused by "some girl" as being the culprit, but claimed he was not even near the fountain when the mishap occurred. The principal took Fong's word for it. Fong said, "Isaac

M. Cox knew me. He told me, 'Well, if you said, "no," you didn't do it; it couldn't be you'."

In sports, Fong "played a lot of baseball, a little basketball, but hardly any football....Being Chinese and coming from a large family, and facing economic struggle, Hiram was unable to stick around for things like football...yet he was tall and large enough," recalled Isaacs.<sup>13</sup> None of his classmates considered him a real athlete, even though he obviously enjoyed the ball games. He was never much of a swimmer, although he played in the streams around Kalihi. With his friends, he crossed from one side of a stream to the other on floating banana stumps. He also participated in many of the sports activities sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association.

Fong said that he grew up "never afraid of anything." When he was about 14 years old, he attended a "playday" held at the Central Y.M.C.A. in Honolulu for all the youth groups associated with the "Y." It was there that a fledgling boxer, William "Lefty" Freitas, who was later to become a champion lightweight fighter, issued a challenge for anyone to spar with him. No one in the crowd responded. But after a few moments, Fong impulsively stepped forward and declared he would box Freitas. Martin "Timo" Phillips, a classmate at Kalihi-Waena School who also lived across the street from the Fongs and often walked to school with him, observed later, "Much to my surprise, Hiram decided he would fight Lefty!"<sup>14</sup> Phillips was probably echoing the surprise of everyone present, for Fong had never had any boxing lessons nor had he engaged in anything resembling the sport.

Fong chose Phillips as his second. Phillips taped his hands, fitted on the boxing gloves, and gave him a few basic tips while doing

so. The fight began. It was obviously a mismatch, but somehow Fong lasted three rounds. Fong got his nose bloodied, but was never knocked out. Freitas did not appear to suffer much in the bout.<sup>15</sup> After the fight, Fong returned home, there to be chastised by Leonard, who advised him that he "had more guts than brains."

Fong's motivation in agreeing to fight the experienced Freitas was caused less by a belief that he could win than by the feeling that, in his words, since "no one else would fight him...so, I would fight him." It is also possible that Fong was hoping to emulate his brother Harry, the fighter.

Although Fong played with the boys from Kalihi, there was no real time for sustained recreation, nor many outside activities away from the family. Phillips said that he himself ran around with a "rough gang" of boys from the area, but that Fong was not one of them. The boys had gang fights, but Fong was too busy shining shoes, selling newspapers, and studying, to be with them on their various escapades.<sup>16</sup>

In Fong's words,

Kalihi was not supposed to be a very, very good district to be brought up in. It was a tough district...lots of gangs there. There were a lot of juvenile pranks and things like that. Kalihi was not a very affluent, disciplined district, nor a very law-abiding district.

Due largely to his Chinese upbringing, which stressed a deep respect for one's countrymen and elders, Fong developed very early in life his own sense of propriety, a feeling of what he considered right and wrong concerning the activities around him. With respect to the adventures of the "boys from Kalihi," he learned to exclude himself from some of them. Remembering his father's reaction to the stolen pineapple, Fong said he decided not to steal any more. He recalled that this reluctance saved him not only embarrassment, but physical retribution.

One of the Chinese farmers in the Kalihi area grew cucumbers, which were great favorites with the boys. They had entered the farm on several occasions at night to take vegetables and had never been caught. However, on one foray, they went in under cover of darkness while Fong waited outside. He claimed he never liked cucumbers and so wouldn't steal them, but it could just as well have been his respect for his father's wrath and his fellow Chinese which caused him to desist. At any rate, Fong waited while the other boys entered the vegetable patch. Soon they came out howling, alternatively holding their feet and hopping up and down. The Chinese farmer had gotten exasperated with the thefts, and that night had left wooden boards with nails sticking up among the rows of cucumbers. The booby traps worked effectively, much to the despair of the boys from Kalihi. Fong recalled with a grin that he was "spared" that experience.

Fong also became fatalistic in his thinking early in his childhood. As noted previously, his mother went often to the Kwan Yin and other temples to have the future divined. He learned to believe in fate. "Some things are foreordained for you," he said. Fong believed in the presence of a "guardian angel," although he never expressed it in so many words during his childhood.

One of the activities in which he did join the boys from Kalihi was in catching free rides on the streetcars. The boys became expert at running alongside the cars and then grabbing hold of a bar and swinging onto the moving vehicle. When they reached their destination, or when one of the two motormen discovered them, they had to jump off as quickly as they could. In Fong's words, they became "crackerjack" at jumping on and off. One evening when he, Willy Palau, and other friends had stolen



rides, a motorman came after the boys so quickly that they had to scramble to jump off. Willy Palau was so anxious to escape that he misstepped and fell in front of an approaching automobile, ending up in a hospital. The lesson was not lost on Fong. He realized that it could just as easily have been himself lying in bed, injured and in pain. He remembered not only that he was grateful that his mother's prayers and his own "guardian angel" had looked after his safety, but that fate and chance had also played their parts.

Fong's last year at Kalihi-Waena School was also the year when he began to make some of his own decisions. As has been stated, Leonard was a strong influence in the family, and Fong generally followed the desires of his elders. However, he asserted himself when a real problem arose. He described the situation:

When I was in the eighth grade, my brother Leonard wanted me to go to St. Louis College (high school). So I went to St. Louis College. At that time he wanted me to be a bookkeeper. All the bookkeepers came from St. Louis College because they had a good commercial course there.

It was there that they learned good penmanship. It was there that they learned to be good bookkeepers. The only fault with St. Louis College at that time with all my peers was that they were confined--[it was an all]-male school, and as soon as [the boys] got out, they fell in love with the first girl that came around and they got married!

But having been in a co-educational school, a free-thinking school, I was very, very frustrated, very unhappy when I was at St. Louis College. On Good Fridays or Fridays when the Catholic boys would go to communion, we "heathens" were called upon to do our homework but the Catholic boys were allowed to skip their homework.

Brother Adrian, who was a Hawaiian brother, knew that my brother Leonard was a Catholic, so he wanted to make me a Catholic [too]. I didn't want to become a Catholic, because I had been around the Protestant people in the Kalihi Union Church, so I felt that I shouldn't be a Catholic. Besides, you had to recite part of the catechism; [that] didn't sit well with me.

Because I was afraid of my brother, I wouldn't quit. One day I got enough courage to approach my father. I said, "Do you know what they are trying to do to me, Dad?" He said, "What?" I said, "They are trying to make a Christian out of me. I want to quit." He said, "You quit."

With the old Chinese, one of the greatest things you can have is to hang on to your own religion. If you embraced the religion of a foreigner, this was something they couldn't understand. To become a Christian, for a Taoist, was something unheard of. So he told me to quit. I had enough courage to quit.

So I left St. Louis without telling my brother and went back to Kalihi-Waena School...I saw my principal and told him I wanted to come back. The class was full so they put an extra seat in front of the class. So I went back to Kalihi-Waena School and graduated in 1920.

Because he was a good student, his teachers advanced him quickly. He explained, "I think I skipped the second grade, went to third grade, skipped the fourth grade, and went to fifth grade....I don't know why they skipped me, but they just shoved me up."

Although he took time to study at home, he never received help with his homework, for his mother and father left these matters to the children. Even if the parents had wished to help, or had the time to devote to seeing that their children completed their assignments, the parents' inability to read and write would have precluded any assistance. Actually, he was rarely home. Fong stated that he "was always out, doing things," from the time he was about ten years old.

For all his public speaking and scholastic achievements, and many sisters at home, Fong was apparently shy with female classmates. Although he attended the school commencement dance at which Alvin Isaacs led the school band, he was observed to be all "decked up," but not dancing.<sup>17</sup> His graduation picture showed him looking serious, wearing a Knickerbocker suit of short breeches gathered at the knee, and shoes.

The curriculum at Kalihi-Waena School was designed to instill a good knowledge of reading, grammar, composition, arithmetic, history, geography, physiology and hygiene, and music. In addition, students were taught practical lessons in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and had actual experience in citizenship through their daily experiences in the "school county" and "school city."<sup>18</sup>

#### Summer Employment

During the years Fong spent at Kalihi-Waena School, his world began to expand beyond the confines of his home, the poi and general stores where he worked, and the Kalihi Union Church playground and Sunday School. During the summers, along with many other school children, he worked in a pineapple cannery. At that time, there were several small pineapple plantations and canneries on Oahu. Fong found employment when he was about ten or 12 years old, at the Thomas Pineapple Company, Ltd., which was located in Puuhale, Kalihi. The Thomas cannery had a plantation at Wahiawa, and an office and cannery in Kalihi at the time.<sup>19</sup>

He earned the "magnificent sum of five cents an hour" at the Thomas cannery. He had various duties, among which was the running of the peels of pineapple through a machine which extracted much of the remaining fruit. The mashed fruit was placed in big pots, and the boy trucked the pots to the place where the fruit was boiled and processed into pineapple jam. Fong recalled that he worked ten hours a day, making 50 cents per day. The boy working near him was making six cents an hour, and Fong said that he "was envious of him that he got six cents an hour." As with all the money he earned, he turned his small salary over to his parents to help with the household expenses.

### McKinley High School, 1920-1924

The first federal survey of education in Hawaii was conducted in 1920 and was chiefly related to the expanding needs of the growing population, particularly for public schools at the secondary level. At that time, the four public high schools in the Territory enrolled less than 1,200 pupils, or about three per cent of the total school population. It was also noted that the pupil drop-out rate seemed to imply a policy described as "deliberate slaughter." The curriculum was heavily geared toward rigorous selection for college preparation, as the American public high schools of the time were not vocationally oriented. However, federal vocational assistance programs were being sponsored following the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.<sup>20</sup>

When Fong took and passed the qualifying examination for entrance to McKinley High School in 1920, he became one of the select three per cent noted above. McKinley High School was the only public high school in Honolulu at the time. The class of 1924, of which Fong became an illustrious member, later became known as the "miracle class" because so many of the persons graduating that year went on to achieve high positions in business, the professions, and in governmental affairs. Classmates included Chinn Ho (who became a millionaire developer and businessman), Hung Wai Ching (later a real estate magnate, member of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii as well as a strong supporter and worker for the Young Men's Christian Association), Masaji Marumoto (who went on to become one of Hawaii's first State Supreme Court justices), Modesto Salve (the first person of Filipino ancestry to graduate from a public high school in Hawaii), and George Hara (later Honolulu's

Postmaster). The same class also contributed at least seven physicians, three dentists, several dozen successful businessmen, and as many as 50 school teachers.<sup>21</sup>

McKinley High School had evolved over the years from a small private school started in about the year 1834 for the few English-speaking children in the Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> As the student body grew and changed, so did the curriculum and the school's location and name. At one time it was called Honolulu High School. The commissioners of education approved a new secondary school campus at Victoria and Beretania Streets adjacent to Thomas Square in response to the increasing demand for public education. The school was named in memory of United States President William McKinley. Groundbreaking was held in 1907, and the building was completed a year later. However, insufficient legislative funding meant that it could not accommodate the growing student body.<sup>23</sup> Construction began on a new campus located on King Street (its present location) half-way through Fong's tenure, in 1922. Four classroom buildings were completed in 1923, but there was no auditorium so assemblies had to be held out-of-doors.<sup>24</sup> A swimming pool was dug with the assistance of student labor and fundraising, but it was not completed until 1927.<sup>25</sup> Fong, along with Chinn Ho and others, participated in the dirt-moving project.<sup>26</sup>

At the time Fong entered McKinley High School, additional emphasis was placed on "Oral English and the value of self expression." Fifteen minutes per day were set aside for every student to drill in Oral English. The purpose was not just in mechanical English drills, but also to develop self-confidence and the ability to think quickly and clearly. In 1920, the teachers also sought to present "information and ideals that will be of benefit to all." Contests were held upon such subjects as

"The American Meaning of Thanksgiving," "My Idea of Character," "Civic Improvement of Honolulu," and so forth. The outcome of the contest on the topic of Thanksgiving showed clearly that "all races in Hawaii can get the English language if it is given to them in an interesting way." The senior class winner was a Japanese boy, the junior competition was won by a Chinese girl, an American (Caucasian) boy headed the sophomore contest, and first place in the freshman class was won by a Chinese-Hawaiian girl. There were 40 different races and mixtures of races at McKinley, and the school administration and teachers felt that all had equal opportunities to win the English contests.<sup>27</sup>

Educators stressed the importance and lasting effect of citizenship and character training. Facts learned from text books might be forgotten, but students would not forget the training in character building they received. Facts were considered only secondary to a successful life; the latter was fundamental. This work was carried on through class discussions, outside speakers, various school clubs, athletics, and the like.

Citizenship training was provided in at least five ways: 1) experience in student body organizations, including practice in voting, performing the duties of an officer, parliamentary law and procedure, and so forth; 2) the Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps cultivated a deeper respect for America; 3) cooperation with the city government by student junior traffic police and special deputies; 4) students enrolled in civics as freshmen, and every senior received instruction in the fundamental principles of county, territorial and national government; 5) special instruction and emphasis was given to development of loyalty to the school. Loyalty thus gained would later find expression in community loyalty.<sup>27</sup>

During Fong's tenure, enrollment in McKinley High School skyrocketed. From 376 students in 1915, the enrollment grew to 970 in 1920, 1,103 in 1921, 1,360 in 1922, 1,647 in 1923, and 1,914 in 1924. The number of teachers also increased, but not proportionately. Teachers at McKinley numbered 14 in 1915, with 39 in 1920, 52 in 1921, 49 in 1922, 59 in 1923, and 70 in 1924, but they were insufficient for the enrollment. Classrooms were crowded and certain programs such as art and music suffered for want of staff and facilities. Even the Principal did not have an office in 1924.<sup>28</sup>

What Fong and his classmates did not lack was the dedication of teachers to public school education. Fuchs described it well when he wrote that many of them came from the United States mainland, stayed a few years, and imbued their charges with patriotism and idealism before returning to their homes. This turnover in teachers assured an almost constant emphasis on textbook democracy, which the immigrants' children, many of plantation workers, took to heart. These lessons ultimately fueled the rise of the Democratic Party after Hawaii's World War II veterans returned from the war.<sup>29</sup>

Patriotism as taught in the public school system made a profound and lasting effect upon Fong and his contemporaries. Much of the change from the plantation mentality and the overthrow of the rule of the Republican oligarchy can be traced back to the teaching of American civics and government in the schools of the Territory. Like Fuchs, Stuart Gerry Brown discovered this as a constant factor among leading Democrats who came to power in the 1950's in their memories recorded for the John A. Burns Oral History Project.<sup>30</sup>

At McKinley High School, Fong's most memorable teachers included Mrs. Grace W. Coale, whose husband had been in charge of the Sunday School at Kalihi Union Church. Fong recalled that she taught arithmetic, and that she always assigned a lot of homework. Mr. Charles B. Luce taught penmanship, about which more will be said. English teacher Miss Marian E. Maynard, later Mrs. Theodore Merriam, was also a favorite. Capt. Coleman F. Driver was in charge of the Junior ROTC, an activity which Fong "dreaded."

Scholastically, Fong was a good student while at McKinley High School, but not a distinguished one. The transcript issued by the school indicated that in 1920-1921, Fong received an A in Physical Training; A- in Arithmetic; a B- in General Science; C+ in English I, and C- in French I and in Penmanship. The following year he improved his academic standing with an A in Physical Training; A- in Algebra; B's in Geometry and Biology; a B- in English II; and a C+ in French II. It is interesting to note that his math grades were good, even though he took both Geometry and Algebra at the same time. His grades went down in 1922-1923; he received no A's at all. His highest grade that year was in a non-academic subject, ROTC, in which he earned a B+ as the drummer; he received a B in History II and in Algebra II; a B- in English III; and a C in Chemistry. In his senior year, 1923-1924, History IV was his best subject, for which he received a B+; he earned a B- in English IV, C's in Geometry and Trigonometry; and flunked Typing. He also dropped out of ROTC in the first semester after receiving an F.<sup>31</sup>

Not only did he fail to make the honor roll at graduation, but he was not chosen for membership in the prestigious McKinley Citizenship Club (M.C.C.), to which "all the football players and the class officers



belonged." However, Chinn Ho, who was not very athletic nor a class officer, managed to get in.<sup>32</sup>

An indication of Fong's relatively unimportant standing can best be gained through various articles in the school newspaper, The Pinion. His name does not appear in a list of foremost students on May 31, 1923, nor was he singled out for his public speaking abilities in a story published on September 27, 1923. He was not listed as an active participant in the Chinese Students' Alliance conference as reported on December 13, 1923.<sup>33</sup>

The Chinese Students' Alliance was a very active literary, debate and dramatic organization on the McKinley campus, 200 members strong in 1924. Members were "doers, not dreamers." Educators of the time stressed the importance of the various ethnic groups in Hawaii to become Americanized, and C.S.A. goals included the development of each member's potentialities.<sup>34</sup> Every encouragement was made to bring this about and to aid the local Chinese through the acculturation process. In the spring of 1924, the C.S.A. sponsored an essay contest which any Chinese student attending a public or private school above the grammar school level was eligible to enter. It began on January 7 and lasted for eight weeks. Suggested topics for the essays included: 1) the place of Hawaii-born Chinese in the community life of Hawaii; 2) how to improve the social conditions of the Chinese family in Hawaii; 3) how to bring a closer relationship between the Chinese parents and their Hawaii-born children; 4) the evils of the social life of the Hawaii-born Chinese and their remedies; and 5) how should the Chinese students avail themselves of the educational opportunities in Hawaii. Essays were to be

between 750 and 2,500 words long, with the winners receiving gold, silver, and bronze medals. None of the winners was Fong.<sup>35</sup>

The C.S.A. unit of McKinley High School also engaged in interschool activities, such as debates with other high schools. On March 1, 1924, the C.S.A. team, consisting of Sunny Lai, Captain Elsie Ting (who was later to become Mrs. Hung Wai Ching), and Titus Fong, spoke on the affirmative side of the topic "Resolved: That the Reduction of Arms as Adopted by the Washington Conference is not Conducive to World Peace." Taking the opposing position was a team from Punahou School. "Ah Leong" Fong and Gertrude Nipp were the substitutes for the McKinley team. This marked the first time that Fong's name figured in the pages of The Pinion with respect to a scholarly activity.<sup>36</sup>

The C.S.A.'s goals of developing each person's potentialities was in keeping with the principles of democracy and rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States of America. Fong was nurtured on these principles, not only in the classroom, but in social activities sponsored by the school until they were part and parcel of his life.

Fong made news that same year in a much lighter vein. In an article headlined "Ye Gods! What Next! McKinley has a Bachelor Club," several senior boys were reported to have instituted a new social organization. President of the new club was Fong; other officers were Ah Kahn Wong, Vice President; Tadashi Murakami, Secretary; and Takeshi Ito, Treasurer. The club's "drastic membership rules" limited eligibility to "only single boys ignorant of the significance of love." All "He Vamps" and "Vaselines" (a reference to the slicked-down hair attributed to those who had knowledge of the significance of love!) were

barred. All members had to immediately drop all interest in girls, and anyone violating that rule was to be dealt with according to the nature of his offense. The group met every Thursday afternoon at "places remote from the presence of any girls," claiming, "We must be real bachelors." The article concluded with the statement that the new group was in need of a suitable advisor, who should be an "experienced bachelor."<sup>37</sup>

The next time Fong's name was mentioned in the pages of The Pinion was on May 2, 1924, when a notice appeared regarding the Bachelor Club. The group was to have a camping party at Fong's home at "Kawaihapai, Wailua," for which he was willing to provide transportation. The camp cost \$2.00 each. There was to be competition in the following categories: 1) the biggest eater; the man on a diet; 2) the laziest bum; the most energetic fellow; 3) the sleepy head; the stay-up night hawk; 4) the noisiest braggart; the silent man; and 5) the dirtiest bunk; the cleanest bunk. A prize was offered also for the champion fisherman, cook, and cane chewer.<sup>38</sup> Many years later, Fong said the whole matter was a joke, and there was no party; certainly he had no country home!<sup>39</sup>

But the fun was carried out to the end of the year. In the back of the 1924 school annual was a section for "Jokes." Under this heading was the entry for the Bachelors Club. Instead of photographs of the officers, there were sketches of the leaders and their respective titles: "Ah Leong Fong, Bachelor Primus; Ah Kahn Wong, Bachelor Secundus; Takashi Murakami, Bachelor Tertius; and Takeshi Ito, Bachelor Quartus." Murakami, who was the Secretary of the Club, attributed the article describing the Club to Fong himself.<sup>40</sup> It displayed a light-hearted,

somewhat self-conscious style which was not entirely inadvertent, as the writer poked fun at the civic-minded, social and cultural clubs on campus:

Here we are, the Bachelors Club of McKinley High School. Although still in our infancy, we can asseverate audaciously of our incredulous ability to drag our fellow brothers from the gutters of matrimony into the halls of eternal happiness, liberty and freedom. We have done what others have tried; we have succeeded in what others have failed. We have seen the light of true life; we have followed the gleam. We have broken all obligations demanded by fickle-minded, hare-brained, flippant, ungrateful female bipeds. We have chosen faithfully leaders such as Ah Leong Fong, president....

The only thing we have not succeeded in obtaining is an advisor; a misogynist who could be trusted with the great responsibilities of this wonderful organization, the first of its kind in the territory.<sup>41</sup>

According to Murakami, it was Fong who started the group. The reason was that the boys were all the "bashful type, girl-shy."<sup>42</sup> Ito, the Bachelors' Treasurer, recalled that they met at Thomas Square one day and decided to go ahead. Although they had planned some parties, nothing much really happened. Most of the boys had to work after school, so extra-curricular activities were out of the question.<sup>43</sup> As for Fong, he was either not particularly proud of the club, or it was so insignificant in his world view that he had no memory of it.

Both Murakami and Ito recalled they were in Fong's senior grade class in English. It met in the first period, and they thought he was one of the "brightest" pupils. There were 30 in the class, mostly football players and athletes, and the teacher, a Miss Adams, flunked 17 of them. Ito said that none of the athletes studied very much, and when they were called upon in class to recite, they would surreptitiously encourage Fong to join in the discussion so the teacher wouldn't have time to become angry at those who didn't know the answers. He was good at beating around the bush: "Once Hiram started talking, he could talk for a long time!" said Ito.<sup>44</sup>

Murakami said that up through the ninth grade, the boys at McKinley wore short pants which ended at the knee. However, by the time they were in the tenth grade, all of them wore long pants, and shoes.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the Chinese Students' Alliance, the other important group to which Fong belonged was the McKinley High School Hi-Y Club, of which Chinn Ho was also a member. The Hi-Y members were dedicated to the "creation, extension and maintenance of high standards of Christian character." They actively campaigned to propagate throughout the school the four "C's" of clean speech, clean athletics, clean habits, and clean scholarship. Toward this end, the organization collected and provided food for three needy families at Christmas time, and also entertained patients at Leahi Home.<sup>46</sup>

Of the nine high school organizations Fong joined, five were connected with athletics. A strong athletic program was required at the school, so it was not surprising that Fong participated in so many sports-related clubs. However, he did not specialize, taking only one year in a specific sport; i.e., he was on the Midget Football Team only in 1923, and was not active in organizations outside of sports until his last two years. He joined the non-racial, non-church related group, the Commercial Club, in his last year at McKinley.<sup>47</sup>

The Hi-Y and the McKinley Girl Reserves were among the more serious-minded as well as social organizations on campus. Members were asked to define the "Ideal Boy and Girl" of McKinley High School in 1924. As suggested by the girls, the Ideal McKinley Boy had the following characteristics: 1) gentleman, polite, kind, helpful; 2) neat in dress, not slovenly; 3) self-controlled, master of himself; 4) frank in speech and action; 5) loyal and trustworthy; 6) pleasant and

cheerful, not necessarily handsome; 7) sound and strong, physically, mentally, and religiously; 8) masculine, not a "sissy" nor a coward; 9) a comrade, equally friendly to boys and girls, without becoming sentimental; 10) clean in speech and thought.

The Ideal McKinley Girl, as suggested by the Hi-Y Club, was 1) loyal; 2) democratic; 3) balanced; 4) feminine; 5) responsible; 6) frank and sincere; 7) scholarly; 8) of winning personality; 9) clean in mind, body and soul; 10) neat in dress.<sup>48</sup>

Fong was a Hi-Y during this time, so he presumably subscribed to the group's standards for boys and girls. While the Bachelor Club episode is one he said he could not recall, he might have started it as a result of the above standards. It was at McKinley High School that Fong began to exhibit some of the leadership qualities that would mark his future years. In 1923, a contest to select a school song was held by the McKinley Hi-Y. There were many excellent entries, including one by Alvin Isaacs. The successful entrant was written by Edward Himrod, journalism teacher and advisor of The Pinion. Set to music by Walter R. Maygrove, McKinley band director, it was played for the student body at an assembly. "Immediate student reaction to the song was not entirely favorable. Ah Leong (Hiram) Fong, on a soapbox in Thomas Square, was one of the few who protested the adoption of "Hail, McKinley, Hail" as the alma mater."<sup>49</sup> Isaacs recalled,

On the day of the announcement, after the songs were played, my song sounded better than the winning entry and the student body liked it...Hiram asked for an opportunity to speak and when he got up in front of the student body, he told them that the winning song sounded like a funeral dirge. That was [one of] the first times that Hiram demonstrated his ability to orate and he was tremendous.<sup>50</sup>

McKinley's school song is as follows:

Hail, McKinley, hail,  
 Hail, McKinley, hail,  
 Thy sons and daughters sing thy praise,  
 And loyal serve thee all their days.  
 Alma Mater, thee alone we love  
 And thy colors floating high above.  
 Hail, McKinley, hail,  
 All hail, all hail.<sup>51</sup>

While the words were inspirational enough, Fong objected to the music. More spritely scored, the song would have been faster-paced and more in keeping with Fong's ideals. In any event, Fong was self-confident enough to get up at the assembly and speak his mind. Although he was not successful in changing the selection, he obtained the satisfaction of having his opinions heard and gained recognition for frankness and courage.

The senior class of 1924 was much concerned for the future. In the Black and Gold yearbook, some choice words appeared which reflected this concern. The future was an unknown quantity, but the class should know that the future held "something big in store for us." What it was could be called the "heritage of youth and the duty of optimistic and vigorous manhood to probe into this mystery." Some of the class members "will solve it and will rise on the wings of success to dizzy heights of fame, fortune and position." Others,

less fortunate, will fail and fall into the abyss of despair and inertia, forming the very dregs of humanity. Some will solve the mystery of the future more thoroughly; and these will enjoy the deep spiritual beauty and eloquence of simple home life....For us, the future of struggle and of independent living is at hand. The time has come when we have to fight our battles alone and reap our own destinies. Luck be with every one of us!<sup>52</sup>

In an article on "Student Initiative," the seniors were reminded that such initiative was the "one indispensable factor in the make-up

of any man." The class was also reminded that their efforts in digging the swimming "tank" or pool was a benefit to the future students of McKinley High School, and that soon they would "see happy youngsters with wet quivering smiles--marching forward to a clean and vigorous type of manhood and womanhood."<sup>53</sup>

The temper of the times was one of high dedication to oneself and to the community. Patriotism, concern for one's fellow men, high standards of moral and ethical living, participation in community and home affairs, and living to express one's best efforts were part of the idealism taught to the children in the Hawaiian Islands. The period between the first World War and the Great Depression was one of high idealism, and the heritage of the Woodrow Wilson years were the dreams of world peace and plenty. Fong and his classmates dreamed the same dream of other Americans.

Several classmates attempted to provide foresight and hindsight on Fong as a high school classmate. According to Hung Wai Ching, Fong was an aggressive and creative individual who displayed innate abilities while at McKinley High School. Although he was initially shy, as his sisters Alice and Amy remember him, Ching described Fong in these words: "Shy? Not him!" Modesto Salve, the first Filipino to graduate from a high school in Hawaii, recalled that Fong was very popular. Salve could not engage in extra-curricular activities because he had to work after school and walking back and forth from his humble home took a part of each school day. He was also aware of the ethnic differences, recalling that he, as a Filipino, was not included in the club activities of the Chinese and the Japanese. Salve said that Fong was a "fast learner" in his English class, and "brilliant" in math. He did not



consider the Fongs to be affluent at the time, but remarked that they were better off than some, because the older brothers, such as Leonard, and sisters, like Alice, were working to help the family. This eased the burden for Fong. Salve felt that Fong was "aggressive" and a natural for politics, as he was quite an orator.<sup>54</sup>

With Fong's record at McKinley High School a non-distinguished one, it is easy to understand the opinion of some of his classmates--that they were surprised that he rose so high and accomplished so much in several fields. According to Yau On Leong, he "never dreamed" that Fong was to rise to such prominence, and if someone would have told him that while Fong was in high school, Leong "never would have believed it." It was not until after high school that Fong, in Leong's words, "blossomed out." While they were in school, Fong was "shy, and quiet." Although Fong was not considered a strong leader in those days, Leong did feel he had promise as a politician, because Fong "liked to talk... debate," but Leong "did not expect it of him" even though Fong was a "good speaker." Tadashi Murakami and Takeshi Ito felt much the same way. And if Fong had any great dreams for his future, he did not mention them to his friends. There were, of course, students of his own ethnic background whom he did not know as well as others. For example, Tin-Yuke Char, who later became an eminent historian of the Chinese in Hawaii, said he did not have any particular memories of Fong during their mutual years spent at McKinley. Alvin Isaacs recalled that when they were Freshmen, there was a big inter-class oratory contest, but his classmates were not successful in getting Fong to enter.<sup>55</sup>

It was one thing for Fong to be asked by the principal of Kalihi-Waena School to present a prepared speech in front of the student body,

but it was another thing for him to participate in speech contests at McKinley High School. His speaking ability was recognized by his being chosen to represent his major room in secondary level speech competition. However, his first attempts in declamation were unsuccessful. Asked to recite a poem, the "Wreck of the Hesperus," he did not perform well at all.

Fong recalled another incident in which he also performed rather badly. In that event, he had to write his own speech. It was on the Monroe Doctrine. How he came to choose that topic, since he was not very interested in American history nor in government at the time, is unclear. It may have been an assigned topic in class. When he came to discuss the main points of the Monroe Doctrine, he said that there were three principles that "every stammering school boy knows." He gave the first and then the second points logically and clearly, but when he attempted to recite the third, disaster struck the young speaker. His mind went blank, and he could not continue. One can imagine his consternation and the reaction of his audience.

Fong talked about the incident with great humor, claiming a lesson in the embarrassment that he endured. "Then I learned that the next time I got on a stage, I'd better know my speech well. Yes, it was funny--'every stammering school boy knows,' one--two--and when I came to the third principle, I forgot!"

#### The Commercial Associates

Students at McKinley High School in the 1920's were enthusiastic and committed to their educational campus. The Class of 1924 planned a money-making project to purchase a gift for the school, but lost money instead. However, Fong and other dedicated students led by Chinn Ho

banded together in a group called the Commercial Associates for the purpose of paying off the class debt and providing the class gift. The Associates accomplished their goal and 55 years later, were still meeting together, having monthly socials and other activities.<sup>56</sup>

There being no auditorium on campus, the Commencement was held at the new Central Union Church on June 19, 1924 beginning at 7:30 in the evening; Dr. Monroe H. Alexander was the Commencement Speaker. The girls wore white dresses, shoes and stockings, and carried bouquets with a slight touch of pink. The boys wore black suits and ties, and white shirts.<sup>57</sup> Fong's diploma read: "Ah Leong Fong has successfully completed the College Course of Study." Despite the wishes of his family, notably his brother Leonard, Fong had switched over to a college preparatory course rather than continue with the commercial course. He had begun to exert that independence of thought and action which was to characterize his later years.

The clubs in which he participated were as follows:

Student Body 1921-24

Athletic Association 1921-24

Interclass Basketball 1924

Midget Football Team 1923

Interclass Track 1924

Hi-Y 1923-24

Commercial Club 1924

Chinese Students' Alliance 1923-24

Interclass Volleyball 1923

Fong's graduation picture depicted him in a very serious, unsmiling mien. His eyes looked very cool and direct as they gazed

from a face topped with straight black hair combed back from his forehead. He was dressed in a dark jacket, white shirt, and dark tie.<sup>58</sup>

Fong's own statements concerning his secondary education best describes his performance: "I was a member of the Hi-Y, I was in the oratorical contests, I was a member of the drum and bugle corps. That's about all, in high school."

He recalled that family desires influenced his choice of curriculum when he first registered at McKinley High School:

When I went to high school, I took the commercial course. You had to take arithmetic. You had to take penmanship. Only a few of the freshman class were excused from penmanship because they wrote pretty well. For us who didn't write well, we had to take penmanship.

And I remember getting a C-minus from C. B. Luce--"One, two, three, four, swing." He would always say, "One, two, three, four, swing, one, two, three, four, swing." I was quite incensed that I should get a C-minus in school because I was a pretty good student.

But, I still had an eye towards college. So, I took physics, I took chemistry and I took trigonometry. I took geometry and algebra....So I was prepared to go to college. Unfortunately, I couldn't go.

### Summer Employment

During the several summers when Fong was in high school, he worked at the closest pineapple cannery which was Libby, McNeil and Company, at the corner of Waiakamilo Road and Nimitz Highway. Mr. Bung Chun Choy, Libby's warehouse superintendent at the time, recalled that "there was no union in those days...you just chose your man." He hired Fong and about 20 other youths to be "truckers," including W. F. Zane (later to be head of Liberty Bank). The work of a "trucker" was to move the cooled cans of pineapple from the cooling platforms to the warehouse interior to be stored. The cans were placed in trays of 24 cans each,

and stacked about five or six feet high. It was Fong's job to take a five foot tall hand truck and move the stacks from the cooling area to their proper destination. He arrived in time for the 7:00 a.m. shift, stopped for a half-hour lunch at noon, and went off the job about 5:30 p.m. Occasionally there would be overtime assignments.<sup>59</sup>

Fong worked nine hours per day for ten cents per hour, six days a week. In those days, Fong was young, "not too strong," tall, but still a "big boy." Some employees were stationed inside the rest rooms and if workers stayed too long, "they were yanked out...or they lost their jobs." Choy recalled that Fong was a "fine boy, a good worker." He added, "They had to be good workers for me to keep them; they worked hard for me. Hiram Fong and Zane never gave me any trouble. Today every time they see me they call, 'Hey, Boss!!', while other successful people don't know you."<sup>60</sup>

The girls in the canning department earned six cents an hour; a packer got seven-and-a-half cents per hour; the forelady received ten to twelve cents an hour. There were few amenities. For example, there was no cafeteria. A Japanese hand wagon operator sold rice cones for five to ten cents each. Automobiles were few.

Of his job, Fong said, "It was a pleasant job, not too tedious and there was a lot of camaraderie around...people talked to one another."<sup>60</sup> To Fong, it was important that "people talked to one another." He was loquacious, especially among his Chinese friends.

#### United States Navy Employment, 1924-1927

While Fong was in his senior year at McKinley High School, he was advised by his brother Leonard to take the federal civil service

examination. The plan was for Fong to seek full-time employment as soon as he graduated and to contribute earnings to the family. Although he wanted very much to continue his education at the University of Hawaii (which at that time did not even charge tuition) he could not afford to do so. He had no choice but to accede to his family's wishes. Accordingly, he took the examination, and passed it with no difficulty. His first job interview was at Schofield Barracks for a clerical position, but he was not chosen from the field of candidates. An older, more experienced worker named Harry Kong was selected instead.<sup>62</sup>

He later was interviewed at the United States Navy Yard Supply Department located at Pearl Harbor, and hired. His brother Leonard had worked there previously. The Navy Yard Supply Department was established following a long history of United States' involvement in the Hawaiian Islands. Fong was 16 years old when he graduated from McKinley High School and began working for the Navy. He began at the rank of Clerk "D" on July 18, 1924, as an Assistant Purchasing Clerk on probation. His salary was \$4.16 per day. Six months later, he was promoted to a higher salary, \$4.56, but his rank remained the same.<sup>63</sup> For an active young man, the work in the office was not challenging nor enjoyable, and he continued to dream of bettering himself by going back to school.

At the end of his first year as a civil servant, he asked Leonard if he could quit working to go to the University. Leonard persuaded him to remain in his job. On July 19, 1925, he was promoted to a salary

of \$5.04 per day. He performed satisfactorily, so that on December 1 of that year, he was promoted to Clerk "C," and became an Assistant Storehouse Clerk, earning \$5.52 per day. However, Fong was still not happy with his employment and asked Leonard again if he could quit to go back to school. Once more, Leonard advised him that he should stay and work, because he had a "good-paying job." And so Fong continued on at Pearl Harbor.

In the meantime, Leonard, T. Y., and Harry had married, and moved out from the family home, providing little support for the family. Lum Fong had died in 1926, leaving Fong as the oldest boy at home. Effective July 1, 1927, Fong was rerated, but remained in the same rank and step. However, he earned one cent more per day, or \$5.53. He was then an Assistant Supply Clerk under Kong Lung Mau.

Mau had known the Fongs as early as 1920, when he and his brother Allen, a close friend of Leonard's, visited the Fong household. He recalled that the Fongs were "nice" people, although they were "poor." Mau was head of the Receiving Division at the Navy Yard Supply Department. During Fong's three years at Pearl Harbor, he had worked under several supervisors. The last was Mau, who supervised him less than one year. Promotions were difficult to come by at that time, and there were no benefits other than the approximately 15 days of vacation time per year.

Mau considered Fong an "average" worker, but an ambitious, enterprising, self-confident individual. He found Fong to be a "likeable chap, a good mixer." Mau said that Fong liked to talk, and was friendly to everyone.<sup>64</sup> Fong did not like his job assignment, which was to record the requisitions made against the ships' supplies. He was responsible

for checking the requisition, stamping a number on it, and then recording the transaction in a ledger. Fong recalled, "It was a very tedious thing. It didn't keep me busy at all." Imbued with the Protestant work ethic learned in the public schools and at Kalihi Union Church, Fong decided to keep himself occupied during the times when his work was slow. He remembered the deep personal disappointment he had felt when C. B. Luce had graded him with a C-minus for penmanship. This he resolved to correct by diligently practicing his handwriting while at Pearl Harbor. It is doubtful that his superiors approved of his extra-curricular endeavors while on the job, but Fong persisted in his penmanship exercises: "One, two, three, four, swing," he went. Before long, he had earned a certificate in penmanship. Later, he further righted the record by qualifying for a teacher's certificate, and later an advanced certificate in penmanship. It might be said of Fong that he over-compensated for his C-minus grade, but it was indicative that he saw himself as capable of doing better work. Although the writing expertise did not make an appreciable difference in his future success, he did take special pride in the fact that while he was in the United States Senate, he was told that his signature was among the better-written ones in the Congress.

While employed during the day at Pearl Harbor, Fong found time to take Chinese lessons during his free evening hours. He enrolled in the Mun Lun School, picking up a basic knowledge of Chinese words and phrases so that he could speak some of the more classical words in Chinese. He felt this helped him "tremendously," because "at home, we spoke a very plain Chinese without literary form." In the two years Fong studied there, he learned to recognize the different parts of



some Chinese words, and was able to differentiate the components to ascertain the meanings and pronunciation.

The decision to attend Mun Lun school was Fong's own. When he was of age to attend elementary school, his Father had told him that it was up to him if he wanted Chinese language training. His brothers Leonard and Harry had both gone to Chinese school, leaving home at six a.m. every day, and returning around eight or eight-thirty. Then they would have their breakfasts, and go to the American public schools by nine o'clock. In the afternoons, around two o'clock, they would go back to Chinese school and not come home again until five or six o'clock. On Saturdays, they went to Chinese school all day, and on Sundays they had morning Chinese classes. After seven or eight years of this routine, it was discovered that neither could write a letter back to their grandmother in China. Fong's father was so discouraged that he advised his fifth son, that even if he chose to go, he would not be able to write letters home either. Since Fong was not forced to attend Chinese school, he had declined to go on his own.

Being employed and an eligible young man, it was natural that his mother and father thought that he should be married. They made at least one attempt to arrange a marriage for him. According to Chinese custom, his parents wanted their children to marry someone from the same village or from the same section of the country from which they had come. Whenever there was a girl of marriageable age from a family of the same district, negotiations took place among the elders. But while his parents told him they wanted to see him married, they did not insist upon it. Moreover, they had seen so many intermarriages take place among the ethnic groups in Hawaii that they did not insist

that their children marry one of their own race. According to Fong, "They brought somebody to take a look at me, but I didn't pay much attention to them....I wasn't ready to get married. I had my eyes toward going to school. It was too premature for me to think about it."<sup>65</sup> He was spared any future endeavors at matchmaking.

At the end of his third year at Pearl Harbor, Fong no longer felt any obligation to consult with Leonard about his desire to return to school. Certainly, if he were to advance in life, he could not do it while working as a clerk. The future seemed very bleak to someone as ambitious as he. It was during this time in his life that he experienced the most frustration. He felt trapped because he did not see how he could support the family and still achieve the education he desired and knew that he must have it if he were to make anything of himself. He recalled how desperate he felt at the time: "One day I was in my room, crying, and my mother came in, and she asked me why I was crying. I said, 'Gee, I want to go back to school.'" His mother understood his needs, and told him that if he could get a part-time job and contribute partially to the family, she thought they "could make it."

With his mother's understanding and blessing, he decided to quit his job at the Navy Yard. When he announced his decision, some of his fellow workers derided him. As he was explaining his plans to the chief clerk, John Myers, the timekeeper, Mrs. Bass, a "cantankerous old lady," looked at him sharply and asked, "What you goin' back to school for--get DF degree?" Fong was mystified, and asked her what did she mean by a DF degree. Mrs. Bass snapped back, "Damn Fool!" Fong then turned to Myers, whose desk was very close to his. He said, "Mr. Myers, if I flunk out of school, you'll give me my job back, won't you?" Myers replied,

"Sure, if you want to come back, I'll give you your job back." Then Fong said, "In that case, what have I to lose except a year or two?"

Fong resigned effective October 31, 1927. It is very interesting to note that, even as a young man, Fong was careful to have a fall-back position in the event his plans fell through. He made sure that he would have employment in case he failed in his attempt to get a college education. However, he never doubted that he would succeed.

NOTES  
CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Hubert Everly, "Education in Hawaii--Yesterday & Today," The Kamehameha Schools 75th Anniversary Lectures (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1965), pp. 45-48.

<sup>2</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Dept. of Public Instruction, Report (Biennial) of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor (Honolulu: The Department, 1902), p. 17. Hereafter cited as DPI.

<sup>3</sup>Hiram Leong Fong [HLF], 9 March 1977.

<sup>4</sup>Rose Baker, 14 September 1978.

<sup>5</sup>Mary Walsh, "History of Kalihi-Waena School" (Honolulu: 7 January 1952), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Dept. of Public Instruction, Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of the Territory of Hawaii (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1915), pp. 16-18.

<sup>7</sup>Baker, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 282-285.

<sup>12</sup>Alvin Isaacs, Recorded interview and typed notes, 1 September 1978.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Martin Phillips, Telephone interview, 4 December 1978.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Isaacs, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>DPI, 1902, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup>Polk's Directory of City and County of Honolulu (Honolulu: Polk, 1910, 1920).

- <sup>20</sup>Everly, p. 49.
- <sup>21</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin [HSB], 7 May 1979, p. B-1.
- <sup>22</sup>DPI, 1910-1912, p. 70.
- <sup>23</sup>DPI, 1908-1910, p. 31.
- <sup>24</sup>DPI, 1924, p. 43.
- <sup>25</sup>McKinley High School, A Hundred Years, edited by Henry Y. K. Tom, Linda Y. Furushima, and Paula T. Yano (Honolulu: McKinley High School, 1965), p. 31. Hereafter cited as: MCKHS.
- <sup>26</sup>Chinn Ho, Recorded interview, 14 March 1978.
- <sup>27</sup>DPI, 1924, p. 30.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 43-44.
- <sup>29</sup>Fuchs, pp. 282-285.
- <sup>30</sup>Stuart Gerry Brown, statement regarding John A. Burns Oral History Project, 28 February 1980.
- <sup>31</sup>McKinley High School, "Transcript," xerox copy.
- <sup>32</sup>Ho, loc. cit.
- <sup>33</sup>The Pinion, 31 May 1923; 27 September 1923; 13 December 1923.
- <sup>34</sup>Black and Gold (Honolulu: McKinley High School, 1924), p. 103.
- <sup>35</sup>The Pinion, 17 January 1924, p. 3.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., 6 March 1924, p. 4.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., 29 May 1924, p. 3.
- <sup>39</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 25 June 1979.
- <sup>40</sup>Tadashi Murakami, Telephone interview, 26 June 1979.
- <sup>41</sup>Black and Gold, 1924, p. 138.
- <sup>42</sup>Murakami, loc. cit.
- <sup>43</sup>Takeshi Ito, Telephone interview, 26 June 1979.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Murakami, loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>Black and Gold, 1924, p. 89.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>The Pinion, 20 March 1924, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup>McKHS, A Hundred Years, p. 31.

<sup>50</sup>Isaacs, loc. cit.

<sup>51</sup>McKHS, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>52</sup>Black and Gold, 1924, pp. 13-14.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Hung Wai Ching, Recorded interview, 31 August 1978. See also Modesto Salve, Telephone interview, 9 May 1979.

<sup>55</sup>Leong; Murakami; Ito; and Isaacs, loc. cit. See also Tin-Yuke Char, Telephone interview, 5 February 1979.

<sup>56</sup>Ho, loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup>The Pinion, 17 June 1924, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>Black and Gold, 1924, p. 24.

<sup>59</sup>Bung Chun Choy, Recorded interview, 6 August 1979.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977.

<sup>62</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>63</sup>General Services Administration, United States, "Transcript/ Statement of Federal Service," xerox copy issued 16 May 1979. All wage and classification information about Fong's work at Pearl Harbor on pp. 144-145, 149 was from this source except as noted.

<sup>64</sup>Kong Lung Mau, Telephone interview, 3 December 1978.

<sup>65</sup>HLF, 6 June 1977.

CHAPTER IV1927-1932The University of Hawaii

For many decades after the arrival of the American missionaries in Hawaii, higher education was available only to the select few whose families could afford to send them to the United States or elsewhere for advanced work. It was inevitable that other students less well-off financially would want further education. Dedicated teachers, interested families, and ambitious individuals attempted to influence the members of the Legislature to establish a local college. The general population saw the need, but the rulers did not consider it advantageous or necessary to educate the children of plantation workers.<sup>1</sup>

As a Territory of the United States, Hawaii did not qualify for agricultural college land grants under the Morrill Act of 1862, but it did fall under the provisions of the Morrill Act of 1890, which provided land-grant colleges \$25,000 a year in support. Various plans for an institution of higher learning were advanced in the territorial legislature, but it was not until 1907 that one was authorized as the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. First classes were held the following year on the McKinley High School campus. In 1912, the College moved to its present location in Manoa Valley.<sup>2</sup> The first advanced degree, a Master of Science, was awarded in 1914, and the first honorary degree was conferred in 1919.<sup>3</sup>

A man of Chinese ancestry, William Kwai Fong Yap, is credited with being the insistent force behind the conversion of the College to a

full-fledged University. His initiative in contacting appropriate community and college leaders resulted in the Act of Establishment being drafted by prominent attorney Arthur G. Smith, a member of the Board of Regents, and College President Arthur L. Dean. The Legislature passed the necessary law in 1919. The College became the University in 1920, despite some opposition in the community from influential persons like Edwin P. Irwin, editor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. Irwin wondered if Hawaii's limited funds might better be expended to educate all the youth of the Territory along "practical" lines rather than a very small number in "calculus, Ovid, and other branches of higher education."<sup>4</sup>

#### 1927-1928

The cost of a college education at the University of Hawaii during Fong's tenure was minimal. Residents were not required to pay tuition, as noted, while non-residents paid \$25.00 per semester, or \$2.00 per credit hour. Both residents and non-residents paid a registration fee of \$10.00. For residents, it was their only fee. Steel book lockers could be secured by depositing \$1.75, 75 cents of which was refunded upon return of the key. All students had free access to the swimming tank, or pool. Summer session fees were greater.<sup>5</sup> In Fong's case, higher fees would have meant that he would have had to extend his time in Manoa by taking fewer courses and working longer hours, at the least, or, at the worst, not being able to obtain family permission to enter the University at all. There were Chinese Community Scholarships available, which were funded by an endowment of over \$3,000 started by William K. F. Yap and members of the Chinese business community. They were



to be used to assist three students (two boys and one girl in the Junior and Senior classes) of Chinese ancestry,<sup>6</sup> but Fong's grades at McKinley High School and his lack of widespread extracurricular activities probably did not qualify him.

When Fong returned to the educational milieu, he was at least three years older than most of the other students. Fong was quite aware that he had to utilize his time and efforts as fully as possible, because time was a very important factor. Every year that he spent in school meant that his and his family's finances would remain at the subsistence level.

Fortunately, his sisters Alice and Rose were working, bringing in about \$30.00 to \$45.00 a month each. From their earnings, each gave their mother \$5.00 or \$10.00 a month. But the family needed more than his sisters could provide. Much of the responsibility for their daily expenses still fell on Fong. He said of his Pearl Harbor salary, "I gave all my money I had, outside of what I needed to go to work and buy my lunch...to my mother..."<sup>7</sup>

Unable to have set aside any money for education, Fong had only one financial asset: his vacation leave. He had not taken many days off from his civil service job, and had therefore accumulated about 55 days of vacation leave. With the proceeds from that paid to him in one lump sum, Fong bought a Model T Ford which "ran on three cylinders." He used the car for part-time work while attending the University. Leonard got him a job (through his friend Joe Zell) collecting debts owed to Aloha Motors, an automobile dealership. Zell was then bookkeeper and

accountant for Aloha Motors. Every afternoon of the work week, Fong collected money, earning about \$65.00 a month. However, he had to pay for his own gas and the upkeep on his second-hand car. Another part-time job which Fong assumed was writing news stories for the Honolulu Advertiser, during his junior year at the University. He was paid ten cents a column inch.

During his sophomore year, a particularly enjoyable position he had was that of temple tour guide for a Chinese photographer and travel agent named Yew Char. Born in Kohala on the Big Island of Hawaii on January 19, 1893, Char had been the first Chinese member of the Territorial House of Representatives. A Democrat, he was first elected in 1926. Char paid Fong about \$2.00 per night to meet the tourists at the Moana Hotel in Waikiki on Tuesday and Friday evenings. They traveled by bus to the Hongwanji temples, the Japanese Shinto Shrine (then on Liliha Street), the Howe Wong Miu (or Mew) temple on Fort Street, the Kwan Yin Temple on Vineyard Boulevard, and to stores in Chinatown such as the candlemaker's on Nuuanu Street, and other places of interest. Some of the places visited were not ordinarily open to the public at large, and it was reported that the tourists flocked in large numbers to take advantage of the opportunity to go with the guide. At each point of interest, Fong, "who had made a deep study of religious philosophy and the history of these shrines," explained the details and answered questions.<sup>8</sup>

Yew Char selected Fong out of all the young Chinese men he knew because "he was a very able speaker." Fong was "very happy" to be asked to work, and "did a very good job." Char equipped Fong with an outline of what to point out at each attraction, but the young guide refined it

and researched it "to fit his lecture." Fong also asked the temple keepers to explain the finer points so that he could "wise up more." With the advent of the Depression of 1928-1929, the tourist trade dwindled, and Char gave up the temple tours. According to Char, he employed Fong for about four or five months.<sup>9</sup> From the necessity to research religious beliefs and his early life experience growing up in Kalihi, Fong developed a greater tolerance for the religions of the world. A happy bonus was when occasionally he earned a dollar tip, or a particularly wealthy and indulgent tourist gifted him with a five dollar bill.

Registration for the class of 144 freshmen in 1927 was on September 12-13. There were 991 students in all.<sup>10</sup> Instruction began on the 14th. On the 12th, the incoming freshmen were welcomed by university president David L. Crawford in Gartley Hall. In his statement, Crawford told the new students,

We furnish the material; it is up to you to select and combine it in a serious, worthwhile, unselfish program of self education.... Stretch your mind as you stretch the muscles of your body...take time to plan your work... have some definite objective in view. It is the drifters, taking a little bit here and a little bit there, putting in time, for the purpose of adding a degree to their names, who become discouraged and form the great tragedy of the American people today....Remember that daily contacts constitute a valuable part of your college life. Every day matters. Don't think your failures don't count, but use them as a means to success. Ask yourself...whether you are building for yourself, out of your daily experience, an education that is broad and enduring.<sup>11</sup>

It was a speech that Fong could appreciate.

Coach Otto Klum encouraged all freshmen to turn out for football or some other form of athletics. Klum later asked Fong if he would try out for the football team, but Fong was not able to play because of his heavy class and work schedule. Fong would have been a likely prospect

for football, having grown to his mature height of 5'10" and weighing about 160 pounds. However, he did play volleyball.

During the initial week, Crawford issued a brief aloha statement to new and returning students, wishing them "a year of real education for you all, worthy of the sacrifice which many have made to give you this opportunity."<sup>12</sup> Crawford was referring to the many parents and families, especially Chinese and Japanese, who ate less rice and meat so that a few pennies could be laid aside for educating their brighter sons and daughters, a phenomenon Fuchs observed.<sup>13</sup>

Fong enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences, which had a two-fold purpose. The first was to prepare students for an understanding of American and world civilization through a study of fields of thought and achievement in the humanities and the social sciences. Its second purpose was the provision of elective courses to prepare the students for professional activities such as law, medicine, teaching, journalism, commerce, and public and social service, rather than technical activities.<sup>14</sup>

Fong elected to take an accelerated course in pre-legal studies. While the maximum number of registered hours permitted was listed as 18 in the university catalog, he always enrolled for at least 20 credit hours during his college career. In that manner he was able to complete his college education in three years and one summer session. It was imperative for him to graduate as quickly as possible, for he still had to get through law school. He felt lucky in that most of his brothers and sisters had grown up already, and "the dependency was not so great." Since the Fongs owned their home by then, their primary expenses were to provide money for food and a few articles of necessary clothing. He

stated that, "it was not too difficult at that time, and with the ambition that I had to go to school, I think that kept me going."

Fong's schedule the first two years at the University of Hawaii was to concentrate his classes in the mornings. In the afternoons he worked for Aloha Motors, as has been discussed. Charles Kenn, his classmate and fellow member of the University unit of the Young Men's Christian Association (and later to be declared Hawaii's First Living Treasure), recalled that Fong "was not on campus very much," and that he did not "mingle" with the other students. The reason was that Fong always had to leave campus early to go to work.<sup>15</sup>

When Fong later was asked how he managed to take so many courses at once, work, and still qualify for membership in Phi Beta Kappa (the organization recognizing the highest scholarship in the nation's colleges and universities), he replied, "The amazing thing is that probably the professors didn't work us too hard!" The University of Hawaii had been a full-fledged institution for only seven years in 1927. During those years faculty members were being assembled, courses designed and expanded, and it was very probable that the demands of the faculty were less than they have been since. It was also possible that the concept of education and the attitude of the faculty was one of great helpfulness toward the children of local residents. The missionary teachers' benevolent feelings toward their charges undoubtedly continued on in some degree in the classrooms and laboratories at Manoa.

Certainly the college students were circumscribed by rules of behavior which were prevalent in society at the time. The 1927-1928 Circular of Information for Students at the University of Hawaii was required reading for all freshmen. Fong and his classmates learned that

attendance would be taken. Absences were reported by the instructors to the Deans concerned. "Tardiness annoys others. Be prompt in your class engagements." Moreover, "Silence in the library is the first rule." No more than six books could be checked out at a time for a period of two weeks and a two-week renewal. Fines were two cents a day, with 25 cents per day being charged for overdue reserve books. The library hours were 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, and on Saturdays from 8:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.<sup>16</sup>

Students were advised that the reputation of the university was in part made up by the social activities of its students, and each individual student should feel under obligation to make his or her conduct above reproach. Social affairs at the university where both sexes were present could not be held without notification of the Dean of Women, and chaperones had to be present at school dances.<sup>17</sup>

Grading was on a percentage basis, with 60 a passing mark. Examinations were held under the honor system. Most classes were taught by the lecture method. The instructors were not required to be in the classroom during examination time except to answer questions at the beginning of the examination. All examinations, and all written work done in class which counted for more than a recitation, were conducted under strict rules. At the end of each paper, the student was required to write and sign the following pledge: "I have neither given nor received aid during this examination." No paper without a pledge would be graded; however, the pledge could be made later and then the paper graded. If the pledge were not completed, the paper would be discarded and the student marked absent from the examination. If there were any question, or any reason to believe someone had either given or received aid, the

students or instructor could write to the Student Council, providing evidence. The Council could notify the student of the charges, and request a written statement. The Council could call for hearings. Punishment if found guilty could range from loss of credits, suspension or isolation, or dismissal.<sup>18</sup>

Fong recalled one incident in which his professor found widespread cheating in a freshman examination. The course was Geography 151-- Economic Geography. Taught by Professor Harold S. Palmer, the subjects were the principles governing the production of raw materials and manufactures of the world and their impact upon commerce. Fong said that the course was a "tough one," and students resorted to widespread copying during the mid-year examination, which was a "difficult" one. Palmer lectured the class severely afterwards. Fong said he noticed that others were copying from him, but he took no action. Palmer apparently trusted Fong, because at the end of the scolding, when class was over and he was leaving, Palmer said to Fong, "Of course, I didn't mean you!" Fong's grade at the end of the course was a 92.<sup>19</sup>

Other courses Fong took during his first year at the Manoa campus included English 100, a basic composition course covering the principles of exposition, description and narration. Taught by Assistant Professor Charles H. Neil, Fong earned a 75 grade in both semesters. He did better in Political Science 100, achieving an 80 and an 85 in the American Institutions class taught by Professor of History and Political Science Karl C. Leebrick. Fong received a grade of 87 in Economics 150 and 92 in Economics 151, both basic economic courses. Mrs. Marguerite Rand, Instructor in the Romance Languages, gave him grades of 85 and 85 in French 101, which covered selected French novels of Hugo, Daudet, Balzac,

Sand and others of the 19th century. He took Geography 150 with a grade of 83, and Geography 151, and earned a 90 from Professor Harold S. Palmer. A general course in History 140 covered American history from discovery to date. He earned twin semester grades of 90 in History. Each semester he took 20 hours of work, earning an average of 81 the first semester and 84 the second.<sup>20</sup>

As has been stated earlier, there was widespread concern for the correct use of the English language throughout Fong's public schooling, resulting in special classes in Oral English at McKinley High School. This concern was also manifested at the University of Hawaii in 1927, when President Crawford specifically advised his students on the importance of good English. In an article which appeared in the school newspaper, Crawford emphasized:

Pidgin English and incorrect grammar have no place in a college program, not even in the informal conversation of students. Peculiar accents and mis-pronouncing of words are habits which can be overcome, with constant attention and helpful criticism.

English is our medium of communication and a college graduate is expected to use it correctly and effectively--a limited vocabulary reduces the effectiveness. If a student has grown up in a home where English is not much used it is a disadvantage, but it can be overcome by giving special attention to it during school and college years. To help such, all the instructors in the University have been requested to take special note of the spoken and written English of their students and report those who are careless or ignorant so that they may receive special attention and help. This is not a means of exclusion of those who have had less opportunity for learning the English language, but rather a means of helping them.<sup>21</sup>

Fong was one of the students who was determined to improve his spoken English. To do so he entered a number of speaking contests as soon as he enrolled at the Manoa campus. It was fortunate for Fong that he entered the university when he did instead of immediately upon graduation from McKinley High School. By 1927, the institution at Manoa



had experienced some seven years of growth and development. Assuming that Fong would have followed the same accelerated academic program if he had enrolled in 1924 as he did in 1927, he would have graduated by the Summer of 1928. The need to complete all requirements would have meant that he would have missed the opportunity to participate in a very important event. This was the chance to be in the first intercollegiate debate among American teams to be held in Honolulu. An experienced group of three debaters, Jack Hempstead, Benoit McCroskey, and Avery Thompson from the University of Oregon stopped in Honolulu on their way to the Orient and a world tour in October 1927. Their two-week stay in Honolulu was highlighted by a debate with the University of Hawaii debate team. Tryouts were announced by the Hawaii Union, the university's honorary forensic society which was also in charge of local arrangements.<sup>22</sup>

Hawaii Union was organized by Dr. A. L. Andrews in 1924 and was affiliated with the Oxford Union. Membership was comprised of undergraduates who had distinguished themselves in some form of forensic activity. The purpose of the society was to discuss and debate vital problems concerning not only the University but those of local, national and international concern. Meetings were held semi-monthly at the homes of honorary members. In 1927-1928, these members were Dr. Andrews, Professor John M. Baker, the speech coach, and honorary members Mr. Charles R. Hemenway and Arthur G. Smith. It will be recalled that Smith had been instrumental in upgrading the college to university status. Hemenway was an important figure in business circles, being Vice-President of Alexander and Baldwin. In 1928-1929, the speech coach was

Mr. N. B. Beck. Throughout Fong's university years, the same honorary members assisted in guiding the members of the Union.

The Hawaii Union lacked sufficient financial resources to cover the guarantee of \$150.00 requested by the University of Oregon. Walter Mihata and Hung Wai Ching were authorized to solicit funds from local businessmen. The two were successful,<sup>23</sup> an accomplishment that might not have been possible in the younger days of the university. The commitment from the business community ensured that prominent men in Honolulu maintained an interest in the forthcoming debates, and helped to focus their attention on the local students who would be selected to meet the debaters from the West Coast.

The local team was to take the affirmative side of the proposition, "Resolved, that foreign nations immediately abandon extra-territorial concessions in China."<sup>24</sup> The topic was indicative of the great interest in international affairs in Hawaii and in the American colleges and universities of the time. Citizens of the United States were caught up in the controversy over America's entrance into the League of Nations, as well as in the fervor for world peace brought on at the conclusion of the first World War and President Woodrow Wilson's efforts to ensure the peace. In addition to this, some residents of Hawaii began advocating a more active role for Hawaii's place in the Pacific area, viewing their positions in the Islands as that of gatekeepers and facilitators of the gateway to the Pacific.<sup>25</sup> A prime example of this attitude was that of Alexander Hume Ford, who founded the educational, non-profit Pan-Pacific Union in 1917 for the "advancement of mutual understanding among peoples of the Pacific area." Membership in the Honolulu club was consciously inter-racial with attempts to maintain some racial balance. The members

believed that "color or religion mean no obstacle to devotion to American citizenship and loyalty to community progress and well being."<sup>26</sup>

The style of debate agreed upon was the Oxford style, which was less formal than the American. The aim of the Oxford style was not merely to win the debate, but to entertain the audience as well. Direct cross-questioning followed the formal presentation of arguments, thereby providing the debaters a wide range of freedom to interject humor, skillful thrusts and parries intended to point out any slips or fallacies in the opponents' arguments without the long and less-pleasing recitation of "dead facts and figures."<sup>27</sup>

Tryouts were held for preliminary winners. Fong, Mitsuyuki Kido, Ah Ho (Dai Ho) Chun, and Shigeo Yoshida were the successful candidates. From the four, three were selected to meet the Oregonians with the fourth the alternate. Coach Baker selected Kido, Chun, and Fong to debate in the finals. Fong was the only Freshman on the Manoa team.<sup>28</sup>

The debate took place at the Mission Memorial Hall on Friday evening, October 21, 1927. Community support and interest were widespread. Tickets had been sold for \$1.00 each, and the hall was completely filled. The majority of the audience was students, and according to the ground rules for the debate, the audience was to decide the outcome by voting at the end of the evening. Since this was the first such occasion in Honolulu, the students did not know what to expect and were reportedly nervous and "giggly." The debaters played up to the prevailing mood, and repartee flowed back and forth easily between the teams. The Hawaii speakers, after showing they could manage to pronounce the word "extra-territoriality," fell back upon the easier mouthful "extrality." The Oregon debaters pointed out that the issue was "extra-territoriality,"

not "extrality," whereupon the next Hawaii team member retaliated by instructing the visitors in the pronunciation of words like "Kilauea" and "okolehao" to the great delight of all.<sup>29</sup>

Technical arrangements underscored the newness of the debate to Hawaii audiences. Riley H. Allen, editor-in-chief of the afternoon newspaper, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, had placed the radio broadcasting facilities of his company at the disposal of the Hawaii Union for the evening, but it had been decided not to use microphones. Being unfamiliar with the "iron mikes," it was feared that the local speakers might feel inhibited by them. It was also felt that the view of the speakers on the stage might be obscured.<sup>30</sup>

The main thrust of the Oregon argument was that the foreign nations should wait for a more stable government in China and more effective administration of law in China before abandoning their concessions. Yoshida for Hawaii summed up the argument that the system of exempting foreigners in China from Chinese law was wrong in principle because it violated the fundamental right of each nation to sovereignty within its own borders. Chun remarked that the treaties by which China granted extra-territoriality were imposed by force and therefore were not valid.

The final speaker was Fong, who was described by the reporter for the morning newspaper as "particularly effective as a fencer with wit." Fong asked why, if conditions in China were so deplorable, foreigners insisted on staying there. Fong charged that the foreigners sold opium to make the Chinese sleepy, and then sold them firearms to wake them up again. He ended his portion of the debate by citing the sign at the gate of one of the foreign concessions, "Dogs and Chinese not allowed." He envisioned the Oregon debaters strolling with their sweethearts in a

park and seeing a sign, "Dogs and Americans not allowed," and asked: "would they continue to bark as they had been doing?"<sup>31</sup> Fong displayed a sensitivity to the racial issue of the Chinese versus their foreign, namely Caucasian, adversaries in trade relations in this remark. This sensitivity remained with him, albeit perhaps less openly, throughout his life.

During the questioning period, McCroskey asked to which of the various Chinese governments should application grants be made if the foreign countries wished to renew the present treaties. Fong replied, "to the whole of the Chinese people," implying he wished the populace could make the decision. McCroskey countered with the remark that that would be quite a meeting! When it was Fong's turn to question, he "lured Thompson into a trap," asking first whether extra-territoriality was sufficient protection for the foreigners. In essence, yes, replied Thompson. Fong then asked why it was necessary for them to send gunboats? Thompson got out of that neatly by saying that no matter how good the legal system was, a police force was also necessary.

The audience thoroughly enjoyed the evening. They voted in favor of the team from Manoa, 283 to 176.<sup>32</sup> The University of Hawaii's first venture into inter-collegiate debating was a great success for the local debaters.<sup>33</sup> It was an exhilarating experience for the neophyte speakers, and Fong, by the end of the evening, had established himself as a top contender for speech honors while still in his freshman year.

The Hawaii Union had planned a banquet the following evening in honor of the visiting Oregonians, and invited Alexander Hume Ford and the local businessmen who had guaranteed the expenses of the debate.<sup>34</sup> Thus Fong became known to more of the leading figures in Honolulu.

Ford was instrumental in initiating a student group, the Pan-Pacific Cosmopolitan Club, at the local university. Students interested in the study of racial cultures and civilizations banded together in an organizational meeting in early November of 1927. A conscious effort was made to elect officers along ethnic guidelines. Every race at the University of Hawaii was represented in the ten member board of directors. Percy E. Lydgate, a prominent student leader and a Caucasian who would be Fong's political opponent in 1953, was elected president. There were three vice-presidents chosen on the basis of their being considered the best representatives for their respective races. While Fong was one of the organizing members, he was not selected to represent the Chinese. Quan Lun Ching was given that honor, with Mitsuyuki Kido representing the Japanese and Antone Cruze the representative for the Portuguese, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other minor groups. The Pan-Pacific Union furnished paid secretarial help for the neophyte student group.<sup>35</sup>

The Pan-Pacific Cosmopolitan Club planned a very active and interesting year. Members voted to undertake the raising of \$1,000.00 toward sending a debating team of "one Haole, one Japanese, and one Chinese" to the Orient and further inquire the cost of sending this team to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, making it a Pan-Pacific Round the Ocean Debating Team of the University of Hawaii. They also offered the club's services to the Pan-Pacific Union in order to stage a model League of Nations Assembly in Honolulu. Fong was not chosen to work on any of the activities, possibly because he did not have time due to his heavy work and study schedule.

Membership was open to any student wishing to enroll. In response to a number of women students desiring to join, a Women's Auxiliary was soon

formed. Interest in the work of the Cosmopolitan Club ran high, especially in the matter of debates. By January of the following year, applications for the debate team were being taken. At least 21 students tried out and among them was Fong. Weekly practice sessions were held at Hawaii Hall at which all participants were allowed to discuss briefly the question, "Resolved, that a Pan-Pacific League of Nations should be formed." Particular emphasis was placed on posture, enunciation, and pronunciation.<sup>36</sup>

Fong made it to the semi-finals along with 12 other contestants, but was not selected to make the Pan-Pacific goodwill tour to the Orient. Each candidate was judged on the basis of knowledge of subject matter, years of previous experience, manner of presentation, sociability of the individual, and personal character. In all, six Japanese, three Anglo-Saxons, and four Chinese students were judged. The winners were Walter Mihata, Stowell Wright, and Ah Ho (Dai Ho) Chun.<sup>37</sup>

Fong was honored at a meeting of the Hawaii Union on November 3, 1927 when he was initiated as the only freshman of the group. Speakers were Hemenway and Smith, then president of the Honolulu Bar Association. Smith spoke on the essentials of public speaking, saying that the four most important elements were logic, brevity, spontaneity, and humor. All should be cultivated, but Smith emphasized that the members "must never try to bring in humor which is insulting or which in any way hurts the feelings of our opponents."<sup>38</sup>

Fong did not qualify for every debating team during his freshman year, missing the Bates College confrontation. But he continued to be active in the Hawaii Union, winning over Hung Wai Ching for the office of Treasurer in the Spring election of 1928.<sup>39</sup>

He also found time to act in "The Yellow Jacket," a "powerful Chinese drama written in English by J. Harvey Benrimo." It had been presented by the combined Chinese Students' Alliances once before to very appreciative audiences. Cast members were chosen by Mrs. Edna B. Lawson, dramatic coach at the Normal Territorial Training School, Professor Baker, and Miss Beatrice Chong. Tryouts were held in January of 1928.<sup>40</sup> Hung Wai Ching, president of the Chinese Students' Alliance, was director in charge of the production. He appointed a committee of four which included Fong to take charge of the production of the play.<sup>41</sup>

In April a progress report of the play, humorously written, appeared in the university's student newspaper. Fong apparently had had some difficulty with his enunciation, for an episode was reported as follows: "'Did you eat much [mush] this morning for breakfast?' the director asks the chorus man (Leong Fong)--and forthwith the chorus man takes care of his last consonants."<sup>42</sup> The play was very successful, and the cast was feted by the C.S.A. at a chop sui dinner and dance at the Sun Yun Wo chop sui house. After the nine-course Chinese dinner was over, Fong presented Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Joseph Farrington (Elizabeth P., Hawaii's delegate to Congress, 1954-1956) each with a parcel on behalf of the Alliance. The package contained "gorgeous Mandarin coats" which the ladies donned immediately. Riley Allen was also singled out as being very helpful. A flashlight picture was taken of the group by photographer Yew Char. The evening ended with everyone motoring out to the Oahu Country Club where cards and dancing were enjoyed.<sup>43</sup> A short while later, Fong and another cast member presented a burlesque of the play at the Chinese Students' Alliance at the Nuuanu Y.M.C.A.<sup>44</sup>



While Fong's social activities were minor compared to some of the other students', they received favorable press in Ka Leo. For example, it was reported that he was one of ten Chinese students who made a fishing trip out to "Miss Doris Loo's place at Waipahu," on Washington's birthday in 1928. The story began as follows: "The irrepressible grin on Leong Fong's countenance this last week means a fish story. It also means 16 crabbing nets, three pounds of good, tough beef, one lone baby crab and to crown it all--it means seven people scrambling desperately out of a boat waist high in water."<sup>45</sup> The article did not indicate why Fong was singled out of all the party, but it probably had to do with the swamping of the boat.

Another major event in which Fong participated during his first year at the Manoa campus was the annual Berndt Prize for Public Speaking. The prize of \$100.00 was donated by Emil A. Berndt of Honolulu, a German immigrant who had become imbued with Rotary Club principles of service above self. Berndt had approached the University of Hawaii's Dean Arthur L. Andrews to suggest a way in which he could be of service to the community. Andrews, cognizant of the need for local students to practice good English and the commitment of the community to encourage international goodwill, suggested a prize to stimulate interest in public speaking and public affairs as a good means to accomplish both goals. The first Berndt contest took the form of an oratorical contest in 1923. In 1925, it became a contest in extemporaneous speaking. Throughout the years, the guidelines for the Berndt prize were refined to make it more truly an extemporaneous contest by reducing the amount of preparation time for the candidates. The Berndt contest quickly became the University of Hawaii's most important forensic event.<sup>46</sup>

It was the beneficence of individuals like Berndt that helped Fong and others of his generation develop the self-confidence to speak before large groups of people, and to gain the training and discipline associated with debates and speaking contests. It helped Fong to hone the ability to utilize his quick mind and his stentorian voice so that he quickly became known not only on the Manoa campus, but the wider community and on the campaign circuits of Honolulu as well. In later years, the prominence he attained at the University of Hawaii provided the backdrop before which his future attempts in education, legal work, business and politics were staged.

In 1928, the preliminary contest was held on April 13 in Hawaii Hall, with the finals scheduled on May 4th at the Mission Memorial Hall. The contestants prepared themselves for 15 topics centered around the general subject of United States policy in Nicaragua. On the day before the contests, both preliminary and final, each contestant chose by lot some particular phase of the general topic. He then prepared an outline, but no speeches were to be written out and memorized. Judging was done on the basis of adequacy of treatment, logical arrangement and coherence, variety, force, and in general, power to convince or persuade. Speakers could use notes, but could not take on stage written or printed matter exceeding 100 words in all. Quotations could be either memorized or read. Every undergraduate could enter as well as certain special students.<sup>47</sup>

Interest was widespread. There were at least two seniors, both Chinese, entered; the juniors fielded a total of seven contestants, with an equal number of sophomores, while Fong and three other Freshmen also entered. Eventually there were 23 preliminary contestants. Eight were

chosen to enter the finals. Each student was given five minutes to present some phase of the topic regarding Nicaragua and the United States. Then the judges, Dean A. L. Andrews, Professor John Baker, and Drs. William George, Paul Bachman, and Charles Reynolds, asked questions of each speaker to determine his ability to think on his feet and also to find out his grasp of the subject in general. There was only one co-ed competing, and she was one of the eight finalists. Speaking on the topic of American business in Nicaragua, Fong was also successful. Six of the eight who were selected were also members of the Hawaii Union.<sup>48</sup>

The finals were held at 7:30 p.m. on May 5 with University of Hawaii President David Crawford presiding. Judges were Lawrence Judd, Judge William H. Heen, and Wade Warren Thayer. Each speaker drew one of the eight topics the morning of the contest, and prepared five minutes of constructive speech. He then had three minutes to answer any question asked by another contestant. He was judged upon the manner of presentation of subject matter, knowledge of the subject, clearness of thinking, and ability to think quickly. Asking an intelligent question was just as important as making an intelligent answer.

In an article describing the eight finalists, Fong was noted as "a freshman but is a member of Hawaii Union and a good speaker and knows how to deliver his goods. Rarely does a freshman have the honor of being chosen as a member of Hawaii Union."<sup>49</sup>

The Berndt contest for 1928 was won by Shigeo Yoshida, who received the first prize of \$75.00, and Quan Lun Ching, who was awarded the second prize of \$25.00. Fong received an Honorable Mention for his discourse on the "Monroe Doctrine and Nicaragua."<sup>50</sup>

During his first year at the University of Hawaii, Fong also learned that he could perform well in practical politics. Not only did he gain additional practice in citizenship in his class in American Institutions, but he acquired the techniques and argumentive skills needed for someone in a minority position to win over that of the majority. The specific occasion which taught him this valuable lesson was the model Republican national convention held in Gartley Hall on Saturday, April 4, and Tuesday, April 17. Under the tutelage of Drs. William H. George and Paul S. Bachman, the entire class served as Republican delegates from the states, territories, and dependencies of the United States. The students were assigned their positions to be taken in the convention, with the majority favoring Statehood for Hawaii.

As leader of the minority faction, Fong "denounced statehood in no uncertain terms." He also vigorously supported the policy of annexation of Nicaragua. Members of the convention then engaged in heated arguments over the inclusion of the planks in the party platform. Regardless of how Fong personally may have felt about statehood for Hawaii at the time, he was charged with upholding the minority opinions and fought tenaciously for his viewpoint. His arguments swayed the convention, which finally rejected the statehood plank.<sup>51</sup> As a most aggressive and persuasive speaker, Fong was gaining operational knowledge concerning political conventions. He was to use this training in practical politics very assiduously and effectively in the years to come. Being in a minority position did not deter him at all from taking and maintaining a fighting stance, and in this early instance, he convinced the majority to change its mind. It is of course ironic in the light

of later developments that he was such an effective opponent of statehood in the model convention.

#### Summer 1928

During the summer following his freshman term at the University of Hawaii, Fong was employed again at Pearl Harbor Navy Supply Depot by his old supervisor, John Myers. He was a temporary clerk for the hardware unit under John Nunes,<sup>52</sup> and saved money for the subsequent year at Manoa. Fong was fortunate to have a job waiting for him instead of being unemployed, or having to do manual work at the canneries as so many other students were required to do.

#### 1928-1929

The Fall 1928 term began with registration on September 10 and 11; classes began a day later. Fong again took a fuller-than-average course of study. These included English 130, taught by Professor of English and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences Arthur L. Andrews. Fong recalled that Andrews was a "very philosophical man." The course was a survey in English literature from Beowulf to Wells in which six novels, plays and other literature were studied for the development of ideas and ideals which helped to shape the present way of life. Fong earned an 85 and an 88 in the year's class. Professor of Education and Psychology Thayne M. Livesay taught Fong Psychology 150, a general survey course on the aspects of mental life. Fong received an 85 grade for each of the two semesters of the class. Another English class, number 205, Public Speaker, was taught by Assistant Professor of English John Baker. As noted, Fong had already successfully entered several debates before taking this course, which taught the principles underlying oral

expression and the practice of extemporaneous speaking. Normally the class was open only to Juniors and Seniors, but Fong was able to take it in his Sophomore year. Fong took two Political Science classes in 1928-1929. The first was number 110, Introduction to Political Science, in which the history of political theory was covered. Assistant Professor of History and Political Science Paul Bachman taught the course and gave Fong an 85 in both semesters. The other class in Political Science, 253, was taught by Kalfred D. Lum, Assistant Professor of Political Science. The course dealt with American political parties, from their historical development, the party system, present organization and methods, campaign methods, the boss, the function of the party in elections and administration of the party. Lum gave him an 87 in the one-semester course.

Fong took three classes in history during his sophomore year. They were History 252, the Formation of the American Constitution from the Colonies to 1800, in which he earned a grade of 90. In History 145, Fong studied the history of the West and the expansion of the new country to the Pacific shores. This was taught by Thomas A. Bailey (later an eminent diplomatic historian at Stanford), Assistant Professor of History and Political Science, who gave grades of 90 and 82. For History 255, the History of American Constitution since 1800, Fong again had Bachman for an instructor and earned a grade of 85.

Fong also took a Survey course 100, in which he earned grades of 90 and 93. This was probably History 100, General European History. Taught by Assistant Professor Mary Katherine Chase, the course covered the development of Europe, political and social, from the time of the Teutonic invasions to the present. In Military Science 200, which Fong

took with special permission because he was not an upperclassman, he learned Military field engineering, infantry weapons (machine gun), command and leadership, inspection and ceremonies, military sketching and map reading, and combat principles, from Captain Cecil J. Gridley. Fong got grades of 85 and 90 for the year.<sup>53</sup>

As soon as the 1928 Fall semester started, Fong was immersed in debating efforts again. Alexander Hume Ford had arranged through the Pan-Pacific Union a series of two debates with a visiting team from the University of Sydney, Australia. The Australians were Dr. Harold G. Godsall, W. S. Sheldon, and N. C. L. Nelson. The men from Sydney arrived on October 5 on the ship the R.M.S. Aorangi. During their one-week stay in Honolulu, they planned to debate twice, meeting two separate teams from the University of Hawaii.<sup>54</sup>

Tryouts for the Hawaii varsity team were held on September 25. Fong and ten other students were among the contestants. Selection was difficult, prompting one of the judges, Dean Andrews, to say, "With such a wealth of good material our debating prospects for this year should be bright indeed."

Six men were chosen for the two different teams. The first team was composed of Fong, Dai Ho Chun, and Jack Wakayama. Shigeo Yoshida, Makoto Nukaga, and Kim Fan Chong made up the second team. Both local teams upheld the negative viewpoints of the two debates. The first debate topic was "Resolved, that Australia's policy of a 'White Australia' is commendable." The second team was to oppose the question, "Resolved, that the government of the British Empire is more democratic than that of the United States."<sup>55</sup>

It is interesting to note the press coverage that Fong received in the matter of the Sydney debates. Before the contest took place, the student newspaper at Manoa said of him, "Ah Leong Fong's fluency contributed victory in the first decision won from the University of Oregon world tour debaters last year."<sup>56</sup> The Honolulu Advertiser noted additionally that, "Fong had been an alternate which met the Bates Around the World debaters. Honolulu also knows him as the chorus man in the 'Yellow Jacket.'"<sup>57</sup>

Instead of October 6, as originally announced, the first debate of the two-part series was held at the Mission Memorial Hall on Monday evening, October 8, 1928. The McKinley High School orchestra played several selections before the main event of the evening. University of Hawaii President David Crawford presided. The judges were Judge J. J. Banks of the supreme court, the Rev. John Erdman, and attorney Robbins Anderson. The Hawaii team was coached by Professor N. C. Beck, who had been chosen as debate manager by the Hawaii Union at its meeting on September 27. As in the debates with the University of Oregon, the Oxford style of debate was used. It was a popular style with the audience, which once again filled the Hall to capacity. Each team member was allotted ten minutes to develop his arguments, with team leaders Godsall and Chun handling the refutations for their respective sides.<sup>58</sup>

In reporting the debates, neither the Honolulu Advertiser nor the Honolulu Star-Bulletin covered the remarks of the local team except for Chun, its leader. It is therefore impossible at this writing to ascertain which arguments Fong made that were particularly effective, or, for that matter, detrimental to the team effort.



Opening the debate, Godsa'll claimed that the policy his country was following was necessary for the preservation of national unity and self-defense. Australia made no suggestion that the Asiatic people were inferior but that they could not assimilate because of the difference in traditions, customs and manners of living, he said. The Australians contended that it would be internationally fatal to have an East-West struggle spring up on Australian soil and that the introduction of Asiatics into Australia would lower the standard of living.

Chun was the first speaker for the men from Manoa, stating that the policy of a white Australia was not commendable from an international point of view because the people of the world were beginning to live much closer together, due to the means of increased communication and transportation. The other Hawaii speakers contended that there was much territory in North Australia which was not cultivated nor populated because the white people could not live there, whereas the Asiatics could. Fong said "uncle Bim's country" had no market outside its own boundaries and could not compete with the other nations of the world, thereby retarding the progress of the world at large.<sup>59</sup>

The Australian team argued so persuasively that the vote was unanimous in their favor. It cannot be ascertained if the judges were swayed by the racial question, or by the prevailing cultural and social practices in Honolulu at the time. It can be reported, however, that attorney Robbins Anderson once voted for accepting two Orientals into membership in the Honolulu Y.M.C.A. as early as 1913, at a time when there was opposition from other board members. At the same meeting Anderson also moved that the Y.M.C.A. "draw no racial lines in reception of members" and successfully saw the motion through.<sup>60</sup> The second debate

was held on October 11. Unfortunately for Hawaii, the local team lost again.<sup>61</sup>

Before the visitors left, Arthur G. Smith entertained both debate teams at a luncheon at the Oahu Country Club. Also invited were members of the Hawaii Union, University of Hawaii President Crawford, Alexander Hume Ford, Dean Andrews, and several others.<sup>62</sup>

Even before the debates with the University of Sydney took place, another debate had already been proposed and was being discussed at the Manoa campus. Through George Sakamaki, a graduate of the local university who was then on the faculty of Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, a proposal was made to send a delegation to Hawaii for the purpose of greater international understanding. The Japanese also hoped to debate a Hawaii team in the Spring of 1929.<sup>63</sup>

The importance of the Doshisha proposal was underscored by the support it received from members of the community. Charles A. Hemenway entertained at a dinner meeting at his gracious home in Kahala for the purpose of gathering together those most directly involved with the Doshisha project. Invited were Dean Andrews, Professor Beck, and Arthur Smith. Student guests included Fong and past and present members of the Hawaii Union.<sup>64</sup> Kahala was an exclusive residential area of Honolulu. It was Fong's first visit to a lovely beach-side home, and he was very interested in the surroundings. The 7:00 p.m. dinner included a salad of cottage cheese and either fresh pineapple or peaches, which he had not eaten before. In later years, he recalled his first taste of cottage cheese and fresh fruit in combination with particular delight.<sup>65</sup>

As a debater, Fong was also called upon to provide public services in the Honolulu community. In a February 1929 article in Ka Leo

captioned "U.H. Debaters Harangue Mob in Thrift Drive," it was noted that Fong and Jack Wakayama spoke at various outdoor evening meetings during National Thrift Week, assisting the local Chamber of Commerce. The two spoke from Kalihi to Kaimuki and Waikiki to Manoa, "carrying the message of thrift to the citizens of Honolulu." Music from a Hawaiian band and moving pictures completed the program. The youthful speakers were well received by the large crowds which attended the meetings.<sup>66</sup> During his formative college years, Fong was gaining a reputation not only in the formal debate arenas, the local Chinese stage, and in Republican politics (as will be noted) but in civic matters as well.

One of Fong's major accomplishments during his sophomore year was co-winning the Berndt Extemporaneous Speaking Contest. Tryouts were held on April 16 at 3:30 p.m. The main topic was National Divorce Legislation. The major subdivisions of the subject were, First, Should we increase federal power at the expense of states' rights? Second, Should we have a uniform divorce law? And Third, What should be the nature of such a uniform law? The contest in 1929 differed from the year before in that the topics for individual speakers were not given out until four hours before the tryouts. This insured that the speeches were truly extemporaneous, according to Dean Andrews. Each speaker had four minutes to prove his ability.<sup>67</sup>

Seven of the 14 candidates survived the preliminaries; among them was Fong, who spoke on the merits of the current system of divorce legislation. He declared that the system encouraged progressive legislation and took into account the many general causes for divorce as well as the peculiar causes.<sup>68</sup>

The finals were held at Mission Memorial Hall on Friday, May 3, 1929. It was the University's biggest forensic event of the year, according to the student newspaper. The judges were Robbins Anderson, president of the Honolulu Bar Association, Benjamin O. Wist, president of the territory's Normal School, and Walter F. Frear, former governor of the Territory of Hawaii. Arthur G. Smith was Chairman for the evening. Each contestant had ten minutes on the platform, with an additional three minutes to answer questions from the other contestants. They had drawn their subjects several hours before. The judges chose two winners, dividing the \$100 prize money equally between Fong and Ventnor Williams. Fong had discussed the question, "Are the alleged evils of the present system sufficiently serious to warrant interference by the federal government?" He stated that such interference was necessitated because the existing system caused three evils--nullification of the laws of one state by another state, moral laxity, and failure to offer any protection to wives, children and property.<sup>69</sup>

Williams spoke to the question of "How sound are the objections to a national uniform divorce law?" Williams claimed that the objections were not sound enough to offset the advantages. The backward states would be brought into line by the national law. He further suggested that the United States adopt the Swedish practice of divorce by mutual agreement and said that the question of divorce cannot be separated from that of marriage.<sup>70</sup>

#### Editor of Ka Leo

While co-winning the Berndt contest was a singular honor, Fong had achieved another first on campus before that event. New officers for the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii were elected on

April 26, 1929. The constitution of the A.S.U.H. mandated the executive committee to nominate student officers. Fong had originally planned to run for editor of Ka Palapala, the school's annual, or yearbook. His opponent was to be Kenneth Chun. In the race for the editorship of the student newspaper, Ka Leo o Hawaii, were Shigeo Yoshida and Lillian Abe (later Mrs. Lillian Givens); Abe was also running for the office of first vice-president.

Between April 5 and April 12, Fong changed his mind. According to Fong, his "good friend" Mitsuyuki Kido persuaded him to run for the office of editor of the Ka Leo instead, so that Abe, Yoshida and Fong were in the race together.<sup>71</sup> In his first school campaign, Fong called upon his previous electioneering experience, first for Honolulu's Mayor Fred Wright and later for Sheriff Patrick Gleason. Wright had known of Fong's involvement with the Commercial Associates and asked him to enlist the aid of his fellow members when he was employed at Pearl Harbor. During Fong's second year at the University, a friend of Leonard Fong's by the name of Isaac Arcia asked Leonard to enlist his younger brother's assistance with the campaign of Patrick Gleason, then running for the office of Sheriff of Honolulu. Fong became an active campaigner, speaking at evening and other rallies.<sup>72</sup> Gleason went on to win the primaries with approximately 6,700 votes and then to take the general election as well.<sup>73</sup>

It was necessary for Fong to be well-organized, for his opponents were both experienced, while he had had no journalistic classwork nor newspaper work at all. The steps of Hawaii Hall served as the rostrum for "many impromptu speakers who have extolled the merits of their respective candidates." The week before the election, several of the

candidates aired their views, but Fong was non-committal. He said, "At this early date, I have no policy or platform to give out, except to say that I will serve the student body to the best of my ability, if you see fit to select me as the editor of Ka Leo." Lillian Abe pointed out that she had worked on Ka Leo, and that "Promises are hard to keep; therefore they should not be made." She did state that if elected she would do her best to "support and encourage the interests of the student body and to further the benefits of the University." She dropped out of competition for the first vice-presidency. A bigger and better Ka Leo was envisioned by Shigeo Yoshida. He wanted to enlarge the paper from six columns to seven. He wanted more comprehensive news coverage of student and administrative activities, and pledged support for those activities. He also promised to press for representation of Ka Leo in the meetings of the A.S.U.H. Executive Committee.<sup>74</sup>

Abe and Yoshida were juniors, and Fong only a sophomore. It was noted that he had the distinction of being the only member of the lower division ever to be nominated for the editorship of Ka Leo. In addition to his membership in the Hawaii Union, and his debating activities against Oregon and Australia, he was also president of the University Chinese Students' Alliance and a sergeant in the R.O.T.C.<sup>75</sup>

Outside the presidency race, the election for editor of Ka Leo was the most spirited. Compared to Fong, who lacked experience, his opponents were impressive. Abe had had experience in journalism at McKinley High School, and had passed the university's advanced course in journalism. Beginning as a Ka Leo reporter, she was associate editor in 1928, and in 1929 was managing editor. Yoshida was in the same class as Abe, and was an honor student, an officer of the Hawaii Union, and winner of the

Berndt contest in extemporaneous speaking for 1928. He was a strong debater, a member of the Ka Leo staff, and chairman of the committee in charge of the interscholastic debates sponsored by the Hawaii Union. Yoshida was "considered a brilliant and versatile writer, and a fluent speaker."<sup>76</sup>

The April 26 election was notable in that a total of 513 votes out of a possible 623 were cast, but no majorities were obtained in five of the seven offices. Abe received 159 votes, while Yoshida garnered 104 ballots to Fong's 247 votes. The only positions filled were that of treasurer and vice president. According to some campus source, "block-voting" was evident. The contention, which could not be proved, was that there was an "R.O.T.C." block, which was pulling "for the men in uniform." Another election was scheduled for the following week.<sup>77</sup>

At the final election on May 3, Fong ran against Lillian Abe. He received 291 votes to her 238. According to Abe, she did not campaign at all, leaving that effort to the more politically-minded Fong. She recalled walking up the steps of Hawaii Hall and being approached by some of Fong's Chinese buddies, who were passing out cards with Fong's name on them. When one of the young men realized who she was, he admonished the others, asking didn't they know she was the "opposition."<sup>78</sup>

It is interesting to note that of the six winning officers, at least four were connected with the R.O.T.C. It may have been coincidental that so many of the successful candidates were associated with the military, but Fong recalled that while he did not work closely with any other candidate, he and Jack Wakayama "helped each other out."<sup>79</sup> Wakayama became editor of Ka Palapala.

Fong's momentous year as a sophomore at the University of Hawaii was capped at the annual banquet of the Hawaii Union. Held at the Paradise of Waikiki cafe, the members enjoyed a Japanese sukiyaki dinner. Fong was elected president of the group for the first semester of the following year. The keynote speaker for the evening was Riley H. Allen, who told the assemblage that "cooperation and willingness to take off one's coat and buckle down to work are necessary factors in an organization like the Union." Union members also learned of arrangements for a debate trip to the West Coast, tentatively set for the opening weeks of 1930. The itinerary was to include the states of Washington, Oregon, and California. Plans to accept invitations from student unions in New Zealand and Australia meant that Hawaii debaters conceivably could be there in the summer of 1930. Negotiations with the University of Porto (sic) Rico and the University of New Zealand were being made for debates to be held in Honolulu. Concurrently, invitations to Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Redlands to send teams to Honolulu were also forwarded.<sup>80</sup>

It was noted that the University of Hawaii teams were unique because they were cosmopolitan. The three-man teams making the planned foreign tours would each represent three different races. Teams from the United States mainland, Australia and New Zealand usually fielded an all-Caucasian team.<sup>81</sup>

Through his debating activities, Fong was becoming better known not only on the Manoa campus, but also in the wider community by the time he was a Sophomore. He was becoming acquainted with influential men in the community who were impressed with his quick mind and



intelligence as well as his aggressive behavior on the debating platform. Moreover, he was being invited into the private homes of important faculty members and prominent professional and businessmen in Honolulu. Some of these men were attorneys. He was at the same time being introduced into a world where country club elegance was a fact of life. All in all, it was a heady experience for Fong, who was still living in the old family home in Kalihi.

#### The R.O.T.C.

Finances were a continual problem. He worked after school, but it was not enough. One way Fong met his personal expenses was to enter the advanced Reserve Officers' Training Corps a year sooner than the average male student. All able-bodied males were required to take R.O.T.C. courses the first two years, but it was optional for the third and fourth years. However, the elective courses in Military Science carried with them a compensation for the mid-day meal. Fong needed that money for lunch, so he decided at the end of his freshman year to ask the head of the program, Lt. Col. Adna E. Clarke, for permission to take the advanced courses. Although his grades for the first two semesters of Military Science 100 were both only 70, Fong felt it would do no harm to ask. Actually, he did not like R.O.T.C.

It will be recalled that while he was at McKinley High School he was required to take Junior R.O.T.C. He got out of it as much as possible by taking Drum and Bugle Corps, but never did learn to play either instrument. The thought came to mind again of how much he disliked military drill. In later years he said, "I just dreaded R.O.T.C." Just as it had delayed his education, necessity governed his choice again.

Fong said of his decision, made in 1928, "It was a question of survival. I needed that 30 cents a day. That 30 cents was enough for my lunch." In talking to Col. Clarke, Fong emphasized that he expected to graduate in three years, and therefore hoped that the Colonel might make an exception in his case. Clarke was hesitant at first. Fortunately, at that moment Dean Andrews happened to walk by. Clarke asked Andrews, "What do you think of this boy? He wants to take the advanced R.O.T.C. course when he hasn't even finished his basic!"

Dean Andrews knew Fong quite well by that time through debating activities. As a member of the Hawaii Union, Fong had been a guest in Andrews' home. Now he smiled at Fong and Clarke, and said, "Oh, let him take it."

So Clarke permitted Fong to sign up for Military Science 200, skipping the 110 course. As a sophomore, Fong joined the Juniors, taking military field engineering, infantry weapons (machine guns), command and leadership, inspections and ceremonies, military sketching and map reading, and combat principles. Fong improved his grades, reaching an 85 in the first semester and a 90 in the second.<sup>82</sup> Not only did Fong earn his lunch money through the R.O.T.C. program, but he also amassed additional credits, thereby qualifying to complete his graduation requirements sooner than the average student. Fong's initiative in approaching Clarke had paid handsome dividends, and the timing of Andrews' appearance on the scene was fortuitous indeed.

#### Summer 1929--Camp Perry, Ohio

The summer of 1929 held some of Fong's most active and most important University of Hawaii experiences. He traveled to the United States mainland for the first time, and endured his first case of racial

discrimination. Almost as soon as classes were over, he and 22 other members of the local R.O.T.C. unit spent six weeks at a training camp at Camp Schofield, the United States Army's major installation on the island of Oahu. The training period lasted from June 2 to July 14, and included tests for marksmanship with the rifle and pistol.

The prize for which the men from Hawaii were competing at Camp Schofield was the Warrior of the Pacific trophy. Prior to 1927, the local rifle team competed against the teams of the Ninth Corps area. On two occasions the Hawaii men won the trophy, "Dough Boy of the West." In 1925 the team scored high enough to again win the trophy but was not permitted to bring it to Honolulu because it was held that the trophy was for the Ninth Corps area only. As the local team was from the Hawaiian Department, i.e., outside the area, it was ruled ineligible to compete. Colonel Clarke proposed that the people of Honolulu establish a prize for which its men might qualify. The newspapers corroborated in publicizing the award, and helped raise \$400 to cover all costs.

The "Warrior of the Pacific" was the trophy in a meet of the colleges of the Ninth Corps area held at Camp Lewis, Washington in 1926. It was won by the University of Hawaii team. In 1927, the "policy of sending the University students to the mainland was discontinued," at which point, the trophy was presented to the Secretary of War for national use.<sup>83</sup>

The University of Hawaii team in 1929 performed very well, once again claiming the "Warrior of the Pacific" prize. Out of the 59 men from all parts of the United States who made the 20 highest scores, 14 were from the University of Hawaii. The University's Kim Fan Chong made the highest personal score.<sup>84</sup> At about this time, Fong was also

promoted to First Lieutenant,<sup>85</sup> along with Kim Fan Chong, Dai Ho Chun, and others.

For the first time in the history of the Territory, a civilian rifle team was sent to Camp Perry, Ohio, for the purpose of competing with other men from all over the country for sharpshooting honors. The circumstances surrounding Fong's placement on the team were particularly noteworthy, because, while competent, he had not been an outstanding marksman up to that time. As a matter of fact, he had not intended to try out at all. But a question from Colonel Clarke, toward the end of the six weeks training period, started a whole series of events which resulted in Fong's placement on the team and his subsequent adventures on the United States mainland. Fong recalled how it started:

At that time there was a tryout for the Camp Perry rifle team, the all-civilian rifle team from Hawaii. Colonel Clarke said to me "Why don't you try for that?" But I had no intention of trying, and told him so. He said, "Well, they are qualifying tomorrow. Why don't you just go in?"

So I went and got a gun. I hadn't fired that gun before, and I didn't know what its "zero" was. But I went and competed, and while I was competing, I had to "zero" the rifle at the same time. And...somehow...I was good enough to make alternate.

One of the members of the team, Dewey Mookini, who was a captain in the Police Department...couldn't go because his wife was to give birth just about that time. So I went!

Fong was very excited about his first mainland trip. He remembered being somewhat seasick for two days on the voyage over to San Francisco. From that west coast port, the men took the train to Chicago, and then traveled to Camp Perry, where competition for national honors in rifle and pistol shooting was held between August 15 and September 12, 1929.

Members of the team included Kim Fan Chong, Thomas Daishi, Lyman Dean, William C. Loehr, Harry Murikami, Ralph W. Miller, Shigeru

Shimazawa, James K. Y. Yee, Mortimer R. Gragg, Charles Judd, and Antone G. Silva. All were from Honolulu, with the exception of Miller, who was from Watertown, and Shimazawa, whose home was in Aiea, Oahu.<sup>86</sup>

In a letter back to Colonel Clarke, Fong wrote that

our daily routine is firing and more firing. We have just passed the first week of tutelage in marksmanship, for which each of us will receive a diploma, certifying that we are capable of instructing others in the mechanical art of shooting. All of the boys are entered in at least ten matches and are practicing diligently to uphold the name of the University of Hawaii in the shooting field.<sup>87</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the Oriental students from Hawaii qualified as instructors, an unusual occurrence, since Chong had just won national honors. Fong and Chong believed this was due to prejudice against their racial heritage, but neither felt that the experience was negative to the extent that it deeply affected their lives. They brushed it off as ignorance on the part of the instructors, but regretted the incident.<sup>88</sup>

Upon further questioning Fong revealed that he believed some quirk in the personality of their instructors in marksmanship kept the Oriental university men from earning the teaching certificate. Recalling that Chong and he were fairly tall, and that the captain who was their teacher was "a shorty guy," Fong quoted a Chinese maxim: "The Chinese say that three short people can tear down heaven!" After all, Fong indicated, the men were all crack shots, especially Chong, but the only ones who passed were the haole members of the team. He admitted, "I was really irritated," and that he should have been "very, very angry about it." However, he continued, "But it was of no significance to me, whether I had a certificate to instruct or not. It was of no value."<sup>89</sup>

Chong recalled that he and Fong shared the same tent, which was set up on a platform about two feet above the ground. The tent was

about eight feet square, with canvas sides and flaps which opened to the outside, and mosquito netting to keep out the insects. The two were attracted to the fresh fruit which could be gotten in plentiful supply during the summer. Chong stated that one day he and Fong purchased two baskets of fresh peaches, and took them back to camp. They each ate 20 or 30 peaches, standing outside their tent. They had never tasted anything so delicious as those tree-ripened peaches.<sup>90</sup>

Both of them also tested the water of the lake which was near the camp. Being accustomed to the salt water of the Pacific Ocean, they made it a point to have the experience of swimming in the fresh water lake. Finding that the temperature of the water was about 40 degrees Fahrenheit, Chong said they jumped out after about 20 seconds in the unaccustomed cold.<sup>91</sup>

During their stay at Camp Perry, the three Japanese youths, Thomas Daishi, Thomas Murakami, and Shigeru Shimazawa joined Chong and Fong in the purchase of an old car. Each paid \$8.00 for a total of \$40.00 for an old Model T Ford car without a top. Toward the conclusion of camp, they set out for Detroit, intending to cross into Windsor, Canada. Unaware that there was no oil in the car, they drove until they heard the motor make a "klonk" sound. They stopped, very carefully started up the car again, and drove ever so slowly into the next little town, bought oil and then caught the ferry that would take them to the Canadian border.<sup>92</sup>

#### The Canadian Border Experience

Chong and Fong each had his own version of the Canadian border experience. Chong recalled that he was the last one to get off the ferry. All the others, including Fong, had been allowed to enter Canada.

However, Chong, who was "five feet eleven inches tall [and taller than the others] was noticed by a short Canadian immigration official who was only about five feet tall." The man was about 50 years old, and seeing Chong, smilingly beckoned him to come over to the immigration checkpoint. Chong complied, and was notified by the still smiling official that he could not enter Canada because he was an Asiatic. Chong was quite indignant, and asked how come his papers were not adequate, as the others from Hawaii had already been allowed to enter?

At that point, the official called back the three Japanese youths and Fong, and questioned them also. He detained them all. The young men were simply "amazed" and "astonished" that their being born in the United States Territory of Hawaii did not qualify them, as American citizens, to enter Canada at will. As leaders from their college campus, they did not expect this form of legal restriction. In Chong's words, perhaps this disclosed their "naivete," and the fact that they were "too good Christians." Having been taught equality and brotherly love throughout their lives, they were not prepared for the racial discrimination which kept them out of Canada.

They were required to fill out some forms while they were being questioned. Chong recalled that Fong, when he encountered a question about religion on the form, called the immigration officer over, and told him that while he had come over with religion, he didn't have any left at the moment because of what had occurred! In retrospect, Chong said that the men from Hawaii, while disappointed, did not get too upset. He said they felt the Canadian did not know any better, and forgave him.<sup>93</sup>

Fong's version of the story was that the Orientals from Hawaii were the last ones permitted to leave the ferry. The Japanese and Fong were allowed to go through the gate into Canada. But when the Canadian immigration official looked at Chong, he stopped Chong because he "looked Chinese." He asked Chong, "Are you Chinese?" When Chong answered in the affirmative, the official said he could not enter because Canada did not have a treaty with China. Since Japan and Canada had a treaty, the Japanese could enter. Fong, who was deeply tanned, had been allowed to enter because he appeared more Hawaiian than Chinese at first glance.

Fong went back to see what was keeping Chong. At that point, the Canadian asked Fong if he were Chinese also. Fong said, "Yes," and was told he could not enter Canada. Fong then asked, "What about those boys?" meaning the Japanese, and was told the Japanese could enter because Canada had a treaty with Japan.

As a net result, none of the party entered Canada. They later joked about the incident, recalling with glee that they had been "deported." Moreover, they had received a free ride on the ferry back to the United States.<sup>94</sup>

What Chong and Fong encountered on the Canadian border was reflective of the anti-Chinese feeling prevalent almost universally. It also disclosed how little was known and understood about Hawaii at the time. In order to travel from Hawaii to the United States mainland, Americans of Chinese ancestry were required to have evidence of birth as well as a certificate of identity issued by the United States Immigration Service. These restrictive practices continued until rescinded in 1946.<sup>95</sup>

On the return trip from Camp Perry to the West Coast by train, Chong said that they were trying to conserve what little money they had.



Food was available on the train in the dining cars, but meals were quite expensive. He said that when they reached Omaha, Fong got off and went to a little grocery store nearby. He noticed some persons who looked Chinese. "Look," he said, "here they are! They must be the descendants of the Chinese who built the railroads!" He was quite excited at this discovery. Fong then purchased some bread, butter, and sandwich items with one of the other youths from Hawaii (not Chong). Thus they ate their meals on the train.<sup>96</sup>

They returned by way of Los Angeles, where Fong's older brother Harry was residing. There Fong wanted to buy a violin for his sister Beatrice. Fong got in touch with Harry, who knew his way around the area of pawn shops and second-hand stores. Harry advised his younger brother to go early in the morning because the shopkeepers had a tradition that they could not turn away the first customer of the day. If that happened, bad luck would follow the merchant all day. Fong asked Chong if he would go along to help pick out the instrument, but he would have to get up early.

Chong agreed, and they arrived before the shop was open. On entering they noticed several violins. Fong depended on his companion to test the instruments, for he had very little ear for music, as has been noted. Armed with Harry's advice and Chong's musical knowledge, Fong proved to be a formidable bargainer. He offered \$9.00 for the best violin in the shop, priced at \$30 to \$40.00. Naturally, the owner refused, and the two young men walked out the door. The storekeeper called them back, and offered to sell the instrument at \$20.00, including a violin case. Fong said it was still too much and that he also needed a bow. He offered something like \$12.00, and when that was refused, the two walked out again. Mindful of the tradition, the storekeeper could

not let them leave without a sale. They bargained some more, and finally Fong acquired the violin for something like \$14.00 or \$15.00--and also got the bow!<sup>97</sup>

Fong claimed that he never experienced any discrimination until he tried to enter Canada. However, the matter of racial discrimination for persons of Chinese ancestry was familiar in Hawaiian and other American communities of the period. Nor was it unknown on the University of Hawaii campus. As late as November 1927, an article referring to United States' treatment of Chinese appeared in Ka Leo. A student reporter interviewed Long Tack Sam, a noted Chinese entertainer who was in Honolulu on a world-wide tour with his troupe of 12 trick performers for a two-week engagement. The reporter noted that Mrs. Long was "of Austrian blood," and the family home was in Austria, although they spent much of their time in London where Long Tack Sam had many business interests. She traveled with her husband, as did their two daughters and one son. The peripatetic showman stated that they had brought their troupe

through almost every country on the globe, the more important being America, England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and India. America is the only country in which we've traveled so far that compelled us to pass through a long string of red tape before allowing us entrance. However, because of the frequency of our travels, the extensive red tape hardly bothers us now as we are used to it and accept it as a matter of course. The contrast between this country and the others is very noticeable, nevertheless.<sup>98</sup>

### 1929-1930

During Fong's last full year at the University of Hawaii, classes began on September 11, 1929. However, he did not get back from Camp Perry and Canada until October. He enrolled in Military Science 210, learning military law and ORC regulations, military history and policy,

administration, field engineering, drill and command, and combat principles. His grades were an 80 in the first semester and 85 in the second. Paul Bachman taught Fong Political Science 220, which covered directed readings in international relations and constitutional history. Bachman assigned Fong grades of 85 and 75. Bachman also taught Political Science 260, International Relations and Organization, in which Fong learned about conflicts of nationality, imperialism, international trade and foreign policy, and the development of international organizations, and earned a grade of 85. Political Science 330 was taught by Bachman and Kalfred Dip Lum; it was a seminar in political science open only to seniors, special and graduate students by special permission of the instructors. Fong, being only a junior, had to petition to take the course, for which he received grades of 75 and 75. The only Chinese class which he took at the Manoa campus was Chinese 101, taught by Shao Chang Lee, Professor of Chinese Language and History. It was second-year Chinese, continuing the study of foundations of characters and idioms, reading, construction of characters and sentences, dictation, conversation, and translation. The two years of evening classes at Mun Lun School following graduation from McKinley High School qualified Fong to take the course for which he earned a grade of 78.

It is interesting to note that not until Fong's last year did he take English 206, which covered Persuasion, Argumentation and Debate. He learned how to influence the opinions and actions of others through logical thinking and persuasive argument. The course covered (1) the logical basis of arguments and brief-drawing, and (2) persuasive elements in debate and in editorial writing, class discussions, and debate. The teacher was N. B. Beck, who was also the debate coach. Fong took this

class, in which he was given grades of 75 and 78, not only because he was a pre-legal student, but also because he needed the training in editorial writing. He had been elected to the editorship of the Ka Leo o Hawaii without previous journalistic experience, as noted. He also took English 140, the second semester of a two semester Journalism course which covered the practical aspects of journalism: (1) how to write news stories, feature stories and editorials as well as (2) copyreading, proofreading, and headline writing. Fong received a grade of 81.

Another course which Fong took from Bachman was Political Science 271, Government of the Territories and Dependencies. It was a survey of the governments of Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and lesser insular possessions and their relationships to the national government. Bachman gave him a grade of 80. The only History course Fong took in 1929-30 was History 265, which covered British Constitutional history. He did not recall his instructor, and none was listed in the 1929-30 year's catalog. The topics covered were the development, principles, and operation of the British government which formed the background of American constitutional history. This was a required course for pre-legal students, and Fong got his highest grade of the year, an 87, in this course.<sup>99</sup>

The 1929-1930 session was an extremely busy one for him. Fortunately, his family was able to manage without too much assistance because his sisters were employed. Leonard had achieved a good position as statistician for the Territorial Auditor, and could help out the family from time to time. He continued to debate at every opportunity. His schedule was so heavy that he did not work after school as he had been doing, but devoted his time to his studies, work on Ka Leo, and debating.

There was great interest in forming a varsity team to debate West Coast teams. It was said that students selected for the trip "had it made" in the community, because job opportunities would come much more easily to the successful ones. Moreover, the University of Hawaii had never before sent a debate team to the other side of the Pacific. To be selected one of the first made the honor even more meaningful. As previously stated, the team from Hawaii had to be representative of the cosmopolitan makeup of the Territory, so that only one Chinese, one Caucasian, and one Japanese would be selected. A team picked for racial balance was not necessarily the best debate team, but served the more general purpose of the university. This was to educate the people they met in the abilities of the various racial groups living in the islands. It was felt that in addition to the demonstration of speaking talents, the harmony displayed by the three students traveling together would be a lesson in itself.

The inter-racial varsity team was selected by way of an elaborate series of team tryouts. Initial tryouts were held the first week in December 1929, when four teams were announced. Fong was on Team I, along with Thomas Kurihara, and Ventnor Williams. Team II consisted of Dai Ho Chun, Shigeo Yoshida, and Donald Layman. Kim Fan Chong, and others made up teams III and IV.

The schedule for Fong's team was first to take the affirmative against Team II, negative. Then the following week Team I took the negative against the affirmative position of Team IV. Tryout speeches were limited to seven minutes, with three minutes for rebuttal.<sup>100</sup> The question for all the tryouts was, "Resolved, that all nations should immediately and completely disarm, except for such forces as are necessary for police purposes."<sup>101</sup>

Fong's affirmative team argued that total disarmament, while not preventing all wars, would materially lessen the possibilities of future wars, that disarmament would greatly benefit every order of society economically, and that the world was reasonably secure for complete disarmament because of the existence of current pacts and treaties, such as the Briand-Kellogg peace pact, the League of Nations, the Locarno Pact, and other agencies.

The negative group retaliated by stating that civilization was not ready for absolute disarmament, that disarmament would not remove the causes of war, and that it would tend to bring about more wars in the future.<sup>102</sup> The judges split their votes, two to one, in favor of the negative team.

The second series of the tryouts was composed of two teams chosen from the six best speakers in the first series. Fong was successful in making it to the finals, which were held on December 20. However, he lost out to Dai Ho Chun, representing the Chinese. Other winners were Donald Layman, Caucasian; and Shigeo Yoshida, representing the Japanese.<sup>103</sup>

#### Doshisha University/University of Hawaii Oratory Contest

Preliminary tryouts for the four finalists who would meet the Doshisha orators were held in the late afternoon of March 7, 1930. Each of the nine contestants spoke for four minutes from part of his oration. Two Chinese women were among the candidates, but did not place.

The judges were Professor Bristow Adams of Cornell University, a visiting professor of journalism; Professor A. H. Espenshade, who had come from Pennsylvania State College to teach English composition at the

Manoa campus; and debate coach N. B. Beck. They judged Fong, Thomas Kurihara, Jack Wakayama, and Jose Garcia the winners.<sup>104</sup>

Fong was also appointed to serve on two committees, Publicity and Prizes, in preparation for the Doshisha event.<sup>105</sup> The Doshisha team was scheduled to arrive in Honolulu on March 27. The contest was scheduled for April 4 at McKinley High School Auditorium.

Practice sessions were held daily with coach Beck, who stressed the finer points of oratory, voice variation and control, enunciation, emphasis, manner of delivery, and stage techniques. In the final week before the contest the varsity team practiced in the McKinley auditorium in order to accustom themselves to the size and acoustics of the hall in which they were to appear. By the end of the sessions, Beck was able to say that the team was improving greatly, and that "our men will be worthy of the University they represent."<sup>106</sup>

There were several unique features of the Doshisha University/University of Hawaii forensic meet. Not only was it the first international oratory contest to be held in Honolulu, but it had as its judges five prominent men of Honolulu, each a member of a different race. They were William H. Heen, territorial senator and a part-Hawaiian who also had some Chinese blood; Wilfred C. Tsukiyama, deputy city attorney, of Japanese ancestry; Fred D. Lowrey, speaker of the House of Representatives and a Caucasian; William Kwai Fong Yap, the Chinese who was instrumental in petitioning the advancement of the local college to that of a full-fledged university, as we have seen; and C. J. Watumull, a businessman of East Indian heritage. The racial makeup of the orators were six Japanese, one Chinese (Fong), and one Filipino.<sup>107</sup>

Representing Japan were Masazumi Noi, Hitoshi Nakamura, Kenzo Nakamura, and Kazuo Hashimoto. The speeches were in English. The occasion also marked the first time in history that an Oriental university had sent four of its men to register as students in an Occidental school and to compete with it in an English oratorical meet. The contest had a semi-official status, with Governor Lawrence M. Judd acting as chairman and presenting the introductory address. Speeches of welcome and on behalf of the Japanese people were given by ex-Governor Wallace R. Farrington and the Honorable S. Akamatsu, consul-general of Japan, respectively. Wakayama led off for the Hawaii varsity, followed by K. Nakamura, who spoke on "To the People of Hawaii." Then Kurihara spoke, after which Hashimoto presented "Of One Brotherhood." Garcia was next, followed by H. Nakamura on "Japan and America." Fong followed, and Noi completed the evening's oratory with his "This World of Ours."<sup>108</sup>

Fong began his oration on "The Dawn of the Pacific Era" with a reference to Magellan's voyage around the world. The Portuguese explorer had crossed into the waters he named the Pacific Ocean in 1520. Fong said:

Little did that great navigator realize, as he stood on the forecastle of his ship of destiny, peering across the uncharted seas of future civilization, that the name Pacific was to bear an international as well as physical appropriateness, for the Pacific Ocean today is indeed Pacific--its ripples of national distrust and its eddies of racial discord have greatly subsided, and men are beginning to understand and accept each other more and more in friendliness.

That we have just passed the critical period of Pacific history is a certainty. That we are now in the dawn of the Pacific era is substantiated by a brief summary of some of the most important events which have been consummated within the last ten years in the Pacific Basin....



Of the Washington Naval Conference, which dealt with proportionate armament limitation, Fong declaimed, "This Conference brought the dove of peace to the Pacific."

Concerning the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, Fong stated:

The signatory nations bordering that ocean have renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and that they will resort only to peaceful means to settle their differences, manifesting beyond a doubt that the nations are really trying to end wars for all times.

Fong then recounted the steps in the "changing color of the Japanese administration." He noted:

The imperialistic and aggressive foreign policy of Japan which was directed mainly against China and Manchuria has assumed a friendlier aspect on the downfall of the Tanaka regime. The blind urge of Japan for territorial aggrandizement and expansion to care for her teeming agricultural millions, is now subserving the enlightened policy of industrialization, of commerce and of trade, for Japan knows that industrialization will care for her excess population and will also reinforce her economic structure. For Japan knows that industrialization means commerce. For Japan knows that commerce means intercourse between nations, and intercourse must come only with increasing bonds of friendship.

Fong mentioned that there were other agencies besides the Washington Conference, the Briand-Kellogg peace pact and the friendlier policy of the new Japanese Ministry which were aiding and abetting the new peaceful status of the Pacific:

The Pan-Pacific Union, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the interchange of professors in our colleges, the exchange of students, the lectures on internationalism in our school curriculum, the cinema, the radio, the press, and the present methods of rapid transportation, have all contributed to the realization of better understanding and have helped to make possible the present situation of friendliness. Science has also materially aided in bringing on this new era, as true science is unbiased, knowing no national nor racial boundaries.

Fong's personal predilection toward the importance of schooling and better educational material was clear in his next example of the beneficial agencies working toward more peaceful relations between East and West in the Pacific Basin:

And above all, the educational text books of the Pacific, especially in the Orient, have undergone a change for the better. In them we find the great patriots of the Occident as well as those of the Orient revered and chronicled as men deserving to be called world's men of destiny. The story of Washington and his part in American history together with that inspirational biography of that great American emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, is as familiar to the Oriental school as that of Confucius or of Buddha. These two figures of American history have outgrown their national boundaries and are now a counterpart of Pacific history, for the integrity of their character together with their virile manhood, had raised them above all national boundaries. Likewise, are Confucius and Buddha known by the youths of the Occident through the revision of text books toward international enlightenment.

Fong claimed that those influences had brought the peoples of the Pacific together in "common ties of friendship, and are leading...to a common culture and a common historical heritage." He cautioned that it would be necessary to maintain and enhance current efforts:

However, the dawn of this new era, like the dawn of a new day, cannot remain stationary. It must either unfold itself into the splendor of the glorious day of permanent Pacific Peace, or retrograde into the eternal gloom of racial feeling, hatred, and ill will, for the storm clouds of misunderstanding may again gather, and threaten, and grow darker, if the achievements of past conferences and friendly intercourse are not furthered. Since these agencies have been instrumental in ushering in the new era, it must logically follow that more of them will ultimately light the way to permanent Pacific peace. More conferences, frequent exchange of professors and students, friendlier intercourse between nations, constant revision of text books, will create better understanding which will inevitably lead all nations of the Pacific to a consummated peace.

In Fong's estimation, however, the individual was the most important factor in the equation for lasting peace:

But as we look into these peaceful relations which are existing between the nations bordering this great ocean, we find that they have been largely the fruition of individual efforts, so, as individuals all working and striving for the common zeal, will we be able to strengthen the tie that binds the peoples of the Pacific--each and every one a Kellogg or a Briand within the compass of his own native horizon.

Friends, it is in your hands to carry on and further the good works so nobly begun by the disciples of peace. The destiny of the Pacific lies in you, you who are all students and potential leaders

of tomorrow. As students of today, and in order to make the Pacific everlasting, you must develop more of that scientific attitude of mind that will not harbor hatred nor prejudice. You must broaden your outlook beyond the narrow confines of your provincial horizon so that you will acquire of your neighbor a little more of his culture and his outlook on the problems of the Pacific. To do this it is vital that you avail yourself of the opportunities of attending the meetings of conferences of the Pacific. Above all, it is imperative that you prepare yourself for the task which you will render as a leader of tomorrow, because as a leader of tomorrow it is necessary that you further the work you have begun as a student of peace. You must educate, you must foster, and you must inculcate into others the teachings of peace. If you do all these, then and only then will you be able to say that you have helped to shape and mould public opinion for peace.

Fong felt confident that everyone in the audience would meet his responsibilities, perpetuating the

good works of those who preceded you in this peaceful drama, because tonight, you are laying one of the foundational rocks upon which the future of the Pacific will depend, because you are exchanging with these representative men of Japan, your heart beats, your heart throbs, and your aspirations, which hide latent, deep down in every human heart, because you have accepted these college men of Doshisha as friends in a common cause, as disciples of a new international peace, as ambassadors of goodwill.

The men from Japan, said Fong, could be likened unto Magellans, but not ones "searching for materialistic wealth, for sparkling silver and for glittering gold to fill the earthly coffers of their king, nor for new lands on which to plant their country's flag." They came, he stated, "so that they may contribute to their nation--a wealth that is far greater than that ever dreamt of by the alchemists of old. Like Magellan, they come to discover an ocean. This ocean is an ocean of international thought."

Fong then waxed eloquent, in the style of the time, and pronounced:

Oh, it would thrill your souls, my friends, to tell you what a priceless heritage these Doshisha exchange students will bequeath to the youths of Dai Nippon, for looking into the hourglass of the future with prophetic vision, we see these Magellans of the twentieth century, imbued with the Hawaiian spirit of camaraderie and aloha, like the Magellan of old, who came back with stirring

tales that fired the imagination, returning to their duty with supreme confidence and courage, profoundly conscious of their responsibilities, inspiring their countrymen to nobler living, and spreading the gospel of friendship and aloha of the peoples across the sea.

Fong concluded with a stirring appeal to everyone in the audience:

My friends, we have been in darkness since time immemorial. The road to peace has been fraught with many obstacles and detours. On our journey, we have disputed, and complained, and whined and faltered. We have stumbled and fallen, bruised--but have risen undaunted. Then, after countless years of groping and searching to escape the darkness of prejudice and hatred, we have found the torch of better understanding, revealing to us that we are now on the right path to the smooth highway of permanent Pacific peace. Now that we have found the torch of understanding, and are progressing cautiously at the beginning of our long lost journey, let us with that torch, light the greater fires of a consummated friendship and understanding, and with that greater brightness, we shall dispel despair, we shall illuminate the dark recesses of civilization, and we shall bring mankind at last to the smoothly paved highway of permanent Pacific peace.<sup>109</sup>

It is apparent from Fong's words that he appealed to the emotions of the audience, to their sense of purpose, and a very high purpose at that. His tone was at times evangelical, revealing the strong influence that Christianity and the work of the Y.M.C.A. had had on his training. He made his speech very personal, an individual experience for each listener.

Fong won the second prize of the Doshisha/University of Hawaii contest. Many years later, Fong said he was surprised at how ornate and flowery his speech was.<sup>110</sup> While this was undoubtedly the accepted style for orations at the time, Fong probably had incorporated some of the words and phrases which were in vogue at the time and which had not theretofore been a part of his personal vocabulary.

First-place winner was Thomas Kurihara, who spoke eloquently on "In Defense of Youth." Kurihara claimed that youth was in a chaos of cynical pessimism, but that they desired to forge ahead in search of

true brotherly love and a real, brotherhood of man. The goal was difficult to attain, but would be reached easier if the older generation would only try to understand the youths and to assist in the task. The first prize of \$35.00 was donated by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, with the second prize of \$20.00 given by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. More than 1,500 persons were present at the contest.<sup>111</sup>

#### Fong as Student Public Speaker

Despite several awards and accolades attesting to his forensic ability, public speaking and debating did not come easily to Fong, particularly in the early years at the University. He said that he decided to participate because he realized that it was necessary for him to be able to conduct himself properly in a courtroom situation when he became an attorney. He recalled the difficulty he had with "standing on his feet" and trying to express his knowledge and his thoughts. At first he was "fearful," and his speech was "halting." Little by little, as he gained more confidence, he learned to "grapple" with himself.<sup>112</sup> It was one thing to extol the qualities of a politician like Mayor Wright or Sheriff Gleason at a political rally, and quite another to express thoughts and ideas convincingly enough to sway the opinions of others. To the extent that he would be counted as superior to another speaker by qualified judges, he would be successful, and toward this goal he worked diligently.

No matter how hard and long he persevered, Fong never completely overcame some of the speech habits and patterns acquired while growing up in an immigrant Chinese family where English was not the primary language. Even if his parents could manage the English tongue, which we have seen they could not, Chinese parents generally did not converse

much with their children. In any event, Fong lacked the practice he might otherwise have acquired. His peers in the rough and tumble neighborhood of Kalihi probably spoke no better, so he had few examples to emulate outside of his teachers, church and the Y.M.C.A. workers until he entered the University of Hawaii. Unlike some Oriental children, he did not board at a private school where English was stressed.

Several of the Oriental members of the debating teams spoke better English than Fong. He had to overcome the fact that he was less fluent in expressing himself than they. He was, as he said in later years, "always searching for the right word, the right phrase," by which to verbalize his ideas and thoughts. This lack, as he perceived it, could be overcome by being observant and by listening carefully to the speech of those around him. Whenever he heard a particularly suitable word or phrase, he would write it down and utilize it whenever the opportunity arose. In a similar vein, he appropriated the sentences and paragraphs of writers whose competence he admired.<sup>113</sup> His sisters said he had great powers of concentration.<sup>114</sup> Self-discipline aided his progress. Moreover, he was fortunate in that he had a retentive memory, and was able to apply what he learned in appropriate ways. This piecemeal approach to English was probably the cause of his uneven use of the language.

The greatest success Fong enjoyed on the speakers' platforms came when he presented formal addresses. Characteristically, he did his research with painstaking thoroughness. He outlined pertinent facts. He would have gone over his notes and assimilated into his vocabulary those suitable words and phrases which he had heard or read earlier. In his oration, he would emphasize and then forcefully go over again

the salient points in his argument. Standing tall on the stage, he would assume a firm stance. Using good eye contact, he would gaze at the audience in a direct and convincing manner. Perhaps his greatest asset was his voice, which was deep and powerful. He learned to use it dramatically. These attributes combined with the experience he had acquired through speaking at rallies and on street corners without a microphone enabled him to be an impressive candidate in every contest that he entered.

Yet only once did he win first place, but shared the honors with Ventnor Williams, as previously noted. He proved less fluent in the extemporaneous answering of points brought up in the course of debates. In the give-and-take of the refutations, and the one-for-one encounters among the team members, he did well but others like Dai Ho Chun were selected over him. Being less spontaneous in speech was the characteristic which kept Fong from top declamation awards and from representing the University in trips outside Hawaii. In summary, he was better at researching, writing, memorizing, and delivering a formal address or oration than in the graceful turning of a phrase or sentence needed to disarm an opponent's attack.

#### Editor of Ka Leo

With his usual energy and enthusiasm, Fong took on the duties of Editor-in-Chief of Ka Leo o Hawaii. He explained how he prepared for the responsibilities: "Not knowing anything about journalism when I was elected...I went to the Library and got five books on journalism. During the summer I read the five books."<sup>115</sup>

Thus fortified, when he returned from Camp Perry and started classes again, he published his policies regarding the operation of the student

newspaper. His statement revealed a prescriptive, moralistic attitude toward the students and the paper which was reflective of the campus in Honolulu during the late 1920's. He and his staff were

out to cover all the news that occur on the campus as accurately, completely, and interestingly as possible. We are out to present news as news, stripped of all extraneous personalities and free from attempts at extravagant styles of writing.

Aside from being a news-disseminating medium, Ka Leo is striving to be a journal of opinion and comment, since it is expecting to enjoy a protracted influence in student thought and action. As editors, it is our desire to arouse intelligent thinking on problems of college life and its relation to the world at large. But we have certain definite obligations to the student body and to the Administration. While we believe in standing firmly for freedom of expression, we are out, at the same time, to interpret the highest moral sentiment of the students, to observe proper respect for duly constituted authority, and to maintain high journalistic standards.<sup>116</sup> (emphasis supplied)

It seemed natural for him to prescribe to his fellow students; they expected it as part of their education. The nature of the times while he was in college permitted what would be called in later years the application of judgmental values on others. However, when Fong first entered the University of Hawaii, the institution was one which also saw as its responsibility the total life education of its students. In his editorials in Ka Leo, he was merely discharging his obligations in the accepted, or conventional, mode of behavior of the time.

Just as the Christian missionary influence was basically responsible for educating all children born in Hawaii through support of a public school system, so it also motivated the educational philosophy of the University of Hawaii. As late as May 1927, the University acknowledged the close relationship between Christian principles of living and the educational process. Any readers going through the university's catalog were advised that



The University Y.M.C.A. is an association of Christian students and faculty men who have organized in order to develop Christian character among the students and afford opportunity for expression of the spirit of brotherhood through the various student activities.

Fitting in naturally with the academic social and athletic phases of the University, the Association definitely promotes the moral and spiritual aspect of student life on and off campus. Through the University of Hawaii Y.M.C.A. the students are affiliated with the North American Student Movement and the World Christian Student Federation with a membership of over 200,000.<sup>117</sup>

All subsequent catalogs, however, omitted the last paragraph, indicating some sensitivity to the issue.

A survey of the editorials for which Fong was responsible reveals that he was interested in and concerned about a broad range of topics. In addition to the expected articles on a variety of sports activities, including the usual exhortations to support the teams, several ones of advice to incoming freshmen and the purpose of a college education in one's life appeared. One editorial was on "Silence in the Library," and one on petty larceny. He was concerned about the newspaper itself, and issued at least four editorials on the topic. He admonished the athletes from dressing too casually on campus. At least ten editorials concerned the place of the local university and its image, one in particular being the University of Hawaii as the "Oxford of the Pacific," about which more will be said. Religion warranted some five editorials. There was one on famine in China, one, and a single one, on examinations. As might be expected, about seven were devoted to forensics, and more than eight to the general topic of internationalism and patriotism.

While Fong did not write every editorial which appeared, and it is impossible at this writing to establish the author of every entry, Fong's style can be more or less singled out because it was quite distinctive. He seemed to enjoy being "big brother" to the younger

students, and did not hesitate to admonish other students when he thought it necessary. In some ways, Fong was evangelical, exhorting the students to better themselves according to the accepted practices and principles of the time. Some of the following selections will serve to illustrate the whole of Fong's editorials.

It was characteristic of Fong to strive for high goals; it was also in character for him to want others to strive for the same high goals. It seemed appropriate for him to encourage the university he was attending to attain eminence, and to try to motivate other students to aid in the process.

It was important to Fong that the students recognize the uniqueness of their alma mater and that they should make every effort to improve it and to bring it honor. Fong was particularly proud of the following editorial, which he entitled, "The Oxford of the Pacific." It was one of his earliest efforts:

The University of Hawaii is a unique institution. Located at the cross-roads of the vast Pacific where the East and the West have met and mingled; breathing a truly cosmopolitan environment; and composed of a student body that represents practically every race on the face of the globe, the University of Hawaii can truly be called the "laboratory of inter-racial humanities."

Some day it is going to be the Oxford of the Pacific. Some day it is going to be a leader among the universities on earth. This may be a dream, a vision, but most of the worthwhile things in the world have once been "castles in the air." And the comforting thought is, that we can make our dream come true, and that we can all share in its ultimate realization.

Our institution has grown rapidly within the last decade--in enrollment and in the size of our campus and its buildings, in the improvement of the faculty and curricula, in the upward scholastic trend of the students, in the growth of its extracurricular activities--and it is very pleasant to look back at the achievement that it has made. Let us continue the splendid work that has now been placed in our hands. Let us continue making traditions for the coming years. Let these traditions be far-reaching, whether it be football tradition, tradition of high scholarship

and noble aims, or tradition of camaraderies across all lines of color, caste, or creed. Let it be a tradition of friendly tolerance with the ideas and institutions of others. Let it be a tradition of cooperation in the attainment of common aims. Let it be a tradition of practical idealism; of courageous stands for the highest ethical principles binding human relations.

We are the University. What it will be tomorrow shall depend to a large measure upon the kind of contribution we make today. As we sow, so shall we reap. Let us, then, strive to develop whatever innate capacities we may possess to the end that we may direct those capacities into productive channels of work and service. Then can we hope to make our University of Hawaii the Oxford of the Pacific.<sup>118</sup>

It was a point of pride with Fong and the Ka Leo staff that this particular editorial was reprinted in the Sou'wester, the weekly student publication of Southwestern College at Memphis, Tennessee, on November 22, 1929. In encouraging his readers to look for the reprint, the Sou'wester editor commented,

The University of Hawaii is doing one of the greatest things towards furthering international understanding that it has been our privilege to read about...students all over the world are waking up to the fact that it is the duty of the present generation to maintain world peace.<sup>119</sup>

His first editorial honored the football team, which for the first time in history, had defeated the mighty alumni team:

The traditional battle has been fought! The victory has been won! The Mighty Alums have gone down in defeat!...The rooting section was not compelled to appear. But it did--and in a rain-storm too. Hats off to the rain-soaked, school-spirited, but storm-defiant Deans!...The team will always play--present indications show that the rooters will not fail. With such a combination, Hawaii should not know defeat. Rooters, we are depending upon you to keep that combination going. Are you willing?<sup>120</sup>

In "Just a Word, Freshmen," Fong perceived that many newcomers were confused. He advised them

...To you, who have just sipped the cup of higher learning...you are undoubtedly aware...that university is not high school... You need not be down-hearted....You are now on the threshold of moulding your own life habits...your professors and instructors will always aid you....You are expected to throw away your high school crutches, to use that intelligence which was given to you,

and to stand upon your own convictions, dependent only upon your own innate and acquired abilities....The mist will soon clear--we are willing to help you--don't be discouraged.<sup>121</sup>

Fong acknowledged the exchange of Chinese and American students and faculty, prizes awarded for essays on fostering friendly relations among nations, and other related activities in "This Era of Internationalism." He wrote,

The air today is permeated with international friendship. Evidences are everywhere that education is making a vigorous effort to bring about better understanding between the nations of the world....And in Hawaii, "Cross Roads of the Pacific," our own University is conducting an oratorical contest with a view to developing interest in the study of 'Pacific problems'....It is a truism that no one individual has all the essentials to a happy, fully developed life--cultural and otherwise. This applies, in a larger measure, to the races of mankind. Each country has something definite and of value to contribute to the world.<sup>122</sup>

The ten-year anniversary of the League of Nations was observed on January 10, 1930 with an editorial which stated,

During its brief span of existence, the League has been censured and criticized. It has been ironically called a 'magnificent gesture,' insofar as its attempts to establish lasting peace is concerned. But in spite of its shortcomings and imperfections, it has contributed much toward the welfare of the world.

Fong recounted some of the political successes the League had had with various boundary settlements. It had

greatly improved the social conditions of the world. It has played a huge part in controlling and restricting the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs and the traffic in women and children. It has given relief to stricken peoples...it stands today as a shining monument to international relations. Whatever weakness it may have, it will continue to serve the peoples of the world in their endeavor to establish more friendly world intercourse.<sup>123</sup>

He was very idealistic, yet pragmatic, and disclosed this in an editorial marking the end of the world war:

On Armistice Day, let us pause to honor those who fell in battle. Let us pause to revere the memory of all the dead, ours as well as those who died fighting against us....On Armistice Day, let us pledge to do our best to prevent another World War. We owe this

pledge to the silent dead, whose graves are marked with crosses, row on row. But as college men and women, let us not be swayed by blind, utopian pacifism, nor by ruthless, uncompromising militarism. If we come to college with any purpose at all, let that purpose be to try to learn and to be sympathetic with the ideas and institutions of others. This, we believe, will tend to bring about friendlier relations between nations.<sup>124</sup>

The prevailing attitude held by many of the Caucasians in Hawaii and on the United States mainland was that the Chinese students were "Chinese," regardless of whether they were born in China or in Hawaii or in the United States. Even among Hawaii's most respected educators and scholars, this thinking was evident. While not overtly dichotomous, this attitude was revealed, surely unconsciously, in words such as those of the president of the University of Hawaii, David L. Crawford, who wrote for the 1929 Chinese Students' Alliance Annual as follows:

Hawaii is proud of its students of Chinese parentage, for they are generally good students and able to hold their own against all other racial groups...there are a number of proven scholars of whom any racial group might well be proud. This is a splendid thing for any group, for it builds up the self-respect and pride of that group and provides an added impetus towards great achievement.

While we like to think of our students who are of Chinese parentage as being good Americans, at the same time we are proud to see them taking an active part in the reconstruction of the great country from which they came. For some of our Hawaiian-trained students to go into China as teachers, engineers, merchants and statesmen will be a splendid thing. It is not likely that many will go, but for a few there are surely opportunities for splendid service.

The majority will, and should remain here to build up the various communities of this territory and advance the development of our industries and enterprises. This should be done as Americans, not as Chinese. Increasingly there should be more emphasis on the former and less on the latter in the thoughts and mental attitude of all of us.<sup>125</sup> (emphasis added)

At first, Crawford seemed to view the students of Chinese ancestry at the Manoa campus less in terms of their birthplace as American citizens (although the great majority of them were born and raised in

Hawaii) than in terms of their physical, or outward characteristics: they were, for all intents and purposes, Chinese who dressed like Americans, ate some American foods, and spoke in the language of the Americans, albeit many spoke it with a Chinese, or Chinese-Hawaiian inflection. This can be seen in Crawford's phrase, "the great country from which they came."

Later, he caught himself and wrote that the work of these graduates should be done "as Americans, not as Chinese," and further emphasized that everyone should think increasingly of them as being Americans. This applied to the American-Chinese as well.

The dilemma of students of Chinese ancestry with respect to their land of birth (Hawaii and the United States) and the land of their forefathers (China) was also recognized by a professor of Chinese language and literature at the University. Dr. Shao Chang Lee told a C.S.A. convention in 1930 that the Chinese students of Hawaii were up in the air; they were neither 100 per cent Chinese nor 100 per cent American. Having reached a crossroad, they did not know which direction to follow. Although they were American citizens, Lee advised them that they must not forget the rich heritage that was bequeathed to them by their parents. He urged the students to respect their parents and to follow the principles of filial piety. The professor felt they could love both countries, but they need not forsake one for the other.<sup>126</sup>

The overseas Chinese were bound by culture, social and most importantly, familial ties with China. Those born in Hawaii and the United States mainland were loyal to America, but almost invariably their hearts and pocketbooks were stretched out to include the Far Eastern nation. The immigrants dutifully observed the ancient customs

by sending whatever financial assistance they could to help those remaining in the old country.

China periodically suffered from famine and drought, as previously noted. Appeals to the relatives in Hawaii and the United States mainland were made as a matter of course. Fong and his family joined with others to collect funds to help the poor and starving. Often, this meant hardship for the overseas Chinese. It will be recalled that Lum Fong had sent back money to assist in the marriage of his nephews, thereby fulfilling his responsibilities to his family at the expense of his own long-desired wish to return to the land of his fathers.

Efforts to raise funds for China relief also extended to the Manoa campus. As noted, Fong acted in the Chinese Students' Alliance's benefit performance of "The Yellow Jacket." The club's dramatic efforts netted \$1,500 in their "most outstanding service" project. Funds were distributed to the Commission of Overseas Chinese of the Chinese National Government for the benefit of famine sufferers in 1929.

One of the feature writers on the Ka Leo staff was Charles Kenn, who in later years would be named "Hawaii's First Living Treasure" in honor of his many contributions to Hawaiian history and scholarship. According to Kenn, Fong also made an impassioned plea to the board of the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii for general assistance in China famine relief.<sup>127</sup> He also inserted a lengthy essay in the editorial page of Ka Leo. Entitled "With Appealing Arms Outstretched," it went as follows:

Hovering over China today is the grim specter of Famine. Thousands have been deprived of their humble domiciles, turned out into the fields and streets, and left to eke out a precarious livelihood from Nature's bounty or human kindness. Thousands are dying--dying from hunger.

While China suffers the pangs of unfortunate circumstances, the rest of the world, more happily placed, goes on in unimpeded prosperity and happiness. Can we fully appreciate the sinister comic-tragedy taking shape at our very gates?

For two or three years many provinces had not had a drop of rain. Crops failed. The locusts completed the work. Aggravating the pitiful dilemma, heavy taxation, banditry, and civil strife contributed their share toward undermination [sic].

The China International Famine Relief Commission has sent out a call to Hawaii for help. An intensive drive, headed by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, is Hawaii's reply to the starving millions of China....

This is not the time to pause and discuss the social and economic aspects of famine. The hard-boiled economists say China is overpopulated. There are more mouths to feed than there are supplies to go around. Famine, they suggest, will remedy the situation.

What of it? The fact still remains that people are dying. By all laws, human, divine, and otherwise, it is up to us here to lend a lifting hand.

The University enrollment is considerable. Each student's contribution will enable at least two or three famine sufferers to survive. Right here is centered enough energy which can be transposed into dollars and cents--and life--for millions. Student contributors must realize that they are contributing not only to the succor but also to the rehabilitation of China.

Wednesday, May 21, has been set aside as China Relief Day. The Yang Chang Hui (sorority of girls of Chinese ancestry) will have a desk in Hawaii Hall to receive contributions throughout the day. Three cents will feed a famine sufferer for a day. Give freely and kindly.<sup>128</sup>

The great majority of Fong's editorials reflect his training in declamation. Like an orator in front of an audience, he often exhorted the reader to take action. Fong undoubtedly saw his responsibilities as editor to include that of arbiter of student goals and purposes, somewhat akin to an evangelical leader whose aim was to foster increased international interchange and goodwill among students and campuses. Characteristically, he felt justified in his performance.

In addition to his oratorical training, the editorials reflected his affiliation with the University of Hawaii unit of the Y.M.C.A. The



Christian observance of Thanksgiving was celebrated by Fong in an editorial entitled "Our Abundant Life." He wrote that

at every turn we are confronted with the abundance of things. In college--the tools and means for knowledge and understanding are many. At home, the creature comforts of life--a bed, a fireplace [sic] and a place for study and meditation are ours to enjoy. In church--opportunities for fellowship, for wise counsel and insight into human and spiritual values, are ours, if we seek them. In the community--and elsewhere--places and means for health and recreation, are endless in number. Everywhere we find evidence of tolerance, goodwill, mutual respect, and love for God and man.

Amidst this bounty, contentment should be the students' lot. Time, life, and money were blessings held in common by all.<sup>129</sup>

The greatest celebrations in the Christian religion are Christmas and Easter. Fong discussed "the Spirit of Christmas" in his holiday editorial of December 1929. He reminded his readers that for many persons, "Christmas is nothing but an external affair." He told his readers that they should look beyond the Christmas tree, the gifts and wrappings, the food and sweets, to the real spirit of Christmas, saying:

We should see Christmas rightly, love truly Him whose natal day it is, and correctly learn from Him the sublime lessons of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Christmas should recall images of Bethlehem...Christmas should make us remember the humility and kindness of Christ, and in that remembrance help us also to deeds of kindness and sympathy. At Christmas, we should cultivate the habit of thinking well of others, for it is only by thinking the best of our neighbors that harmony and friendliness will succeed. Be kind to the poor as Christ was kind to them....Kind words, friendly words, sympathetic words, these can oftentimes spread the cheer of Christmas where costly gifts may fail. If there is nothing to bestow, bestow the kind word.

We are here to attend this University for the sake of education. We come to college to utilize the endowments of this institution which has been supplied for our use. And yet too often we forget that there never was such a university as Bethlehem's stable. We do not know, choose to forget, that there were laid the fundamental principles of the colleges of all time. While pursuing the fruits of knowledge let us not forget that after all the things we enjoy are made possible only by virtue of the kindness of Him from whom proceed all things.<sup>130</sup>

"Easter Thoughts" appeared as a discussion in the use of symbols and special days in religion. Without symbols, man had no means to express his faith, for words often failed him. Fong stated:

Easter represents life and joy. Not mere life, but life triumphant. Not mere joy, but joy that has been tested and yet endures.

It does not signify merely a faith in the survival of physical death. Belief in the resurrection of the dead was common before our era. That was not new with Christianity. What Easter signifies is far beyond this.

Ever since Creation, man has been faced with three questions concerning the universe: "An indifferent Nature? A Satanic principle of things? A good and just God?" Three points of view. The second is improbable and horrible. The first appeals to our stoicism. But the third point of view alone can give joy. Only is it tenable?

Easter is the answer to these questions. It is the symbol of faith in the ultimate rightness of life. It is confidence in the reality and permanence of that which was embodied in Him who came not to be ministered but to minister. It is not a dogma to be recited, nor a mere feeling to be fostered and enjoyed. It is a kind of life. If the first followers of Jesus had sought to win credence by what they said, rather than by what they were, he would be lying sealed within the tomb of oblivion today.<sup>131</sup>

The general subject of college students and religion was the focus for another editorial in February 1930. Fong questioned, "Has the college student lost his religion?" Some "killjoys" claimed and others believed that institutions of higher learning of the day were

populated with pagans, atheists, agnostics, and a host of other people who live and operate contrary to the moral and spiritual code of the Christian doctrine. Pointing to the scientific training supplied in colleges as the chief factor undermining faith in religion, this group further adds that the present trend of college students looks like a merry race to perdition...the poor college man...lost his self-respect, later he lost his morals, and now, worst of all, he has lost his religion.<sup>132</sup>

However, Fong did not acquiesce with those who said that the average college man had lost his religion, finding that science, while pointing disparagingly at the existence of a Spiritual Being, had not

exerted enough influence to cause the student to renounce all religion. What had occurred was that science had toned down the traditional emotional aspect of religion and modified one's general beliefs. However, man's ethical ideals were still primarily the same.

He indicated that it was an individual matter. There were on the Manoa campus those who claimed "there is no God." He kept an open mind in this regard as well, stating,

Far be it from us to criticize these individuals. This is a free country and every person has the right to say and think what he feels. If anybody has so much confidence in his convictions that he would be led to renounce all religion, that is his business. It is not our duty to extoll the benefits of religion nor censure the lack of it.

Man is by nature a religious animal....And it is our belief that despite the teachings of science, and despite the theory of evolution...the college student and mankind in general will ever foster a meek respect for religion, the great mystery.<sup>133</sup>

The occasion of the annual Men's Y.M.C.A. conference held during the Easter recess at Kokokahi brought out this statement from Fong:

In the promotion of better fellowship and understanding, we can think of no better method than of actually having young men together....True friendship can only be made by contacts of the right kind. The conference...based on moral and spiritual principles, possesses every element that makes for the right kind of association. We congratulate the Y.M.C.A. for sponsoring a worthy cause. It is our sincere belief that their motto, 'The Good, the True, the Beautiful,' has been firmly lodged in the hearts of those fortunate young men who were able to attend.<sup>134</sup>

The purpose of university-level work and the benefits to be gained from such endeavors were always paramount in Fong's mind. From time to time he must have felt it incumbent upon himself to remind others of this, as in his editorial, "Have a Purpose." Again, its function was to uplift, but it had some judgmental qualities as well:

Young man and young woman--come to college with a purpose! If you haven't got it--find it. A student without a purpose is likened to a car traveling without direction.

It is all right to meander around college drive, but why waste valuable time in the merry-go-round? Why follow the road when you know not whither you are going? Why distance without direction? If you haven't an idea as to where you are going, then, get off your college fliver and consult your map as to the whys and wherefores of your college journey.

If your purpose in coming to the university is to play football, then play it with all you have. If it is to excel in studies, then amass all the knowledge you can. If it is to be near someone, then follow her wherever she may go. Regardless of what your idea of college may be--have a purpose, find out the shortest way to accomplish it and stick to it till it is won, for the student who has a purpose and is determined on accomplishing it, is far better than one who travels aimlessly along collegiate row.<sup>135</sup>

The faculty were not exempt from Fong's comments as well. He entitled one editorial, "A Message to Professors and Students." The occasion was the beginning of a new term:

As we stand on the threshold of another new year, let us ponder for a moment why we are attending the University. Taking things for granted too frequently, we forget or do not realize the purpose for which we are here.

We are not here merely to learn facts, theories or laws. We are not here merely to be specialists in a chosen field. We are here above all, to learn to think, to think straight if possible, but to think always for ourselves.

...Weighing the experiences of those who have gone before us, let us resolve to train ourselves in correct and useful habits of thinking; of learning how to use our brains, how to face problems sanely and rationally, and use the mental-tools at our command so as to achieve a maximum of good results.

For, after all, life, as well as school, is a series of situations; and the man who can think for himself without wavering is bound to make the most of life. What we as students need is a training that will help us to do our own thinking. But we cannot do this without the cooperation of our professors and instructors. We ask you, professors, to encourage original thinking, original ideas, original processes of arriving at conclusions. If we differ with you or arrive at faulty conclusions, we ask you to be lenient with us. If we have arrived at our conclusion through a process entirely our own, if we have done some real brain exercise, we ask you to point out our faults and encourage us to do more such individual thinking. Some day we may strike it right and discover a grand, new idea. You never can tell.

Let us also resolve to develop a broad, honest, and sympathetic outlook on society. Let us strive to know not only how to meet

people, how to understand them, how to get along with them, but let us also strive to know how to help them--and do so. No one will deny that we are all very selfish, and that we all like to live largely unto ourselves; but there is a selfish pleasure to be derived from living with and for others. This is the service of humanity--a noble conception of the usefulness of the university. And the beautiful thing about it is that it can be done.

But in this too, we need the help of the professors. There are those among you, instructors, who will deny that you have any duty to do other than cramming the facts and opinions of your course on us. You deny any personal responsibility, you shun any contacts outside the class. But some day we hope you will realize that you do influence us a great deal. For we are young...and we are emulators, copiers, hero-worshippers to a lesser or greater degree. You have a very great power in character-building--directly, in attempting to mold character, or indirectly, through your habits of thought and speech and action. What the man is, is mirrored in his philosophy, in what he says.

We are thankful that at our University we find more of the admirable type of instructors--instructors who are straight-shooting and square dealing, impartial and unbiased, kind-hearted, sympathetic instructors who are willingly giving a helping hand to those of us who are struggling so hard to keep ourselves from falling on the wayside in our endeavor to complete our University career.

Let us hope this friendly spirit will grow warmer as the months roll along. Let us all resolve to do our share in promoting this friendliness. Resolutions may not last, but is it not far better to have resolved and lost than never to have resolved at all?<sup>136</sup>

As might be expected, Fong devoted much space on the editorial pages to the encouragement of forensics. He first discussed the value of forensics in an editorial by the same name, in which he affirms,

The invaluable quality of college forensics can hardly be over-estimated as an essential factor in the life and activity of the students. As a means for developing personal expression, student initiative, and a powerful capacity for shaping opinion and thought, forensics--connotating its various branches of debating, oratory, and public speaking--stands unrivaled as the best approach toward these ends.<sup>137</sup>

Fong pointed out that the local university provided "a fertile program for wide-spread participation," and noted that the international reputation of Hawaii debaters was being enhanced as the years passed. He

concluded with a sentence which at one and the same time paid tribute to his alma mater and urged his fellow public speakers on to greater accomplishments: "And with every facility the University offers at their disposal, there is no reason why the present generation of debaters should not equal or even surpass the previous accomplishments of our representatives."<sup>138</sup>

Fong was a continual booster of the local university. He used the uniqueness of the Doshisha-Hawaii oratorical contest to exemplify what he meant. As has been noted, the arrival of the Japanese students to enroll for work at the University of Hawaii and to debate Hawaii's representatives in the English language was the first time there had been such an arrangement in Hawaii or elsewhere. He exulted in the opportunity it presented. It was, moreover,

Too big a thing to be met with indifference....It was a big thing because it points the way to a new internationalism. An exchange like this does much to break down the barriers of national tradition and race prejudice. It is our chance to make history.<sup>139</sup>

He hoped that all would do the opportunity justice; first, by trying out for the contest; second, by assisting when help was needed; and third,

and far from least, by showing these peaceful invaders from a far country that we are anxious to be friends.

...when you hear talk of international football games and big stadiums and big endowments and million dollar buildings which other universities have in plenty and we largely lack, when you hear talk of coast championships and all American teams--remember that an international meeting of this kind as opposed to the little local affairs that loom so large, is a BIG THING. Yes, we have our opportunities in Hawaii.<sup>140</sup>

Fong also felt his obligations as a member of a host country to the visiting foreigners. In an editorial written just before the arrival of the men from Doshisha University on March 27, he had urged as many as

could to go down to the pier to welcome them. He wrote, "The first impression that they receive of us is the most enduring, and in this regard nothing could be more pleasant than a warm aloha that greets a new-comer to these islands."<sup>141</sup> He felt that all must help them to fit into the environment, and to make their stay as worthwhile as possible. He encouraged tolerance, remarking,

We can do this by overlooking whatever shortcomings they might have, by interchanging ideas freely, by taking them into our circles as the rest of our friends. This much courtesy is expected of any host. It is nothing out of the ordinary.<sup>142</sup>

Upon the arrival of the Japanese, a special editorial welcomed them. Fong was conscious of the differences in cultures. Expectations arising from dissimilarities in ideals and institutions called for understanding: "We have our shortcomings, and peculiarities which may bring misgivings to you. We hope that you will overlook our faults and see the finer qualities that we may possess."<sup>143</sup> It was a great privilege, he said, for the students in Hawaii to receive these men into their college lives. Acting as campus host, he concluded, "...make yourselves at home. The campus of the University of Hawaii is yours. 'Omedeto!'" [Best wishes!]<sup>144</sup>

In "Hands Across the Sea," Fong urged everyone who could to attend the oratorical contest to be held on April 4, 1930. Admission was 50 and 75 cents. "Will you be among those present?" he asked the Manoa students.<sup>145</sup>

When the Doshisha University students left Hawaii, Fong wrote a concluding editorial. He noted that they had departed wistfully, hoping that Hawaii students might travel to Japan and that all might be able to meet again. The Japanese had expressed their gratitude, and the students of Hawaii had benefited much from the interchange.

For one thing, they have brought to us forcefully that, although they are from a country whose customs and ways of living are different from ours, hearts beat in the same way no matter where people live....It seems to us that we have begun one of the noblest means of creating better friendship between Japan and America....understanding is the finest channel for fostering friendship between people, and true understanding can only come from contact. May we hope that...we may continue to learn more of this important business of living in a family of nations.<sup>146</sup> (emphasis supplied)

Reference to a "family of nations" reflected Fong's Chinese heritage. It also was a harbinger of the term "a family of companies," which was used in later years to identify his Finance Factors Company. A discussion of Finance Factors is forthcoming.

Fong held a rather idealized view of womanhood, and was deeply appreciative of his mother's efforts to bring up her large family under difficult circumstances. Mother's Day was observed with an editorial captioned, "Inspiration and Love," and began:

Historically, martyrdom is invariably associated with religion. But if there are any martyrs in the world they are the mothers of the human race who lay down their dreams, their hopes, and their all on the altar of Mother Love. Whatever the trend of the world may be, a mother's heart shall ever remain the greatest motivating power. When life is hardest, only a mother's sympathy can offer surcease and encouragement....When undecided and skeptical, only a mother's kind advice can open up new channels toward a renewed outlook. When despondent, only a mother's supreme love can revive that spark in the human soul....Mother's Day...has been dedicated by an appreciative world of men to a recognition of the mothers' undying sacrifice.<sup>147</sup>

In this instance, Fong revealed his feeling toward his own mother. Sacrifice was evident in her daily work. She was "always working... always busy." It was she who listened seriously to his dream of a college education, and of his hope to be a lawyer. And it was she who agreed that the family would "make it" if he helped a little while going to the University. This editorial was his way of honoring his mother



publicly, and while the language was flowery, it was in keeping with the times in which they lived, and was nonetheless sincere.

Women were agitating for equality with men, particularly in higher education. His view of womanhood was further clarified in an editorial entitled, "What Price Smoking?" Acknowledging that college administrations were being criticized for permitting women to smoke, Fong, a non-smoker, said with tongue in cheek,

We see no necessity for so much trouble. What is good for the men folks should be good for the women folk too. That smoking is a bad moral practice, undermining health and physical growth, has never yet been proved.

Does it not follow, then, that they should also attempt to acquire some of the habits appertaining to men? It is not for us to justify women smoking; we are merely pointing out that the present tendency is but a natural outcome of the events which have preceded women's elevation. Our personal opinion, and our observation...are different things altogether.

It is not unwomanly for a coed to smoke if it is not unmanly for a college man to smoke...what is good for the men should be good for the women. However, we must agree that the college campus is an unbecoming place for coeds to smoke in, and that they should confine themselves to other places in doing so.

Emulation of masculine habits by the college coeds in particular seems to be something of a mania with them. Now that we have granted the point that it is all right for them to smoke like men, may we suggest that they try smoking Havana cigars and be real, real men, or try a pipe--and smell like one.<sup>148</sup>

This editorial on coed smoking was the only one in which he attempted any kind of shock treatment or surprise ending for the reader. All the other editorials which appeared were what one might expect of a student newspaper editor, exhorting his constituents to support athletic teams and forensics, and encouraging an introspective view of a student's personal goals along with the development of the local university. This editorial was the single instance where Fong combined ridicule and sarcasm in an attempt to influence women smokers. No doubt his staunch

traditional Christian upbringing and his involvement in the Y.M.C.A. and the Christian Endeavor Society of the First Chinese Church had had its influence. As noted, Fong never acquired the smoking habit, nor did he consume much in the way of alcoholic beverages. For a politician, this seemed surprising to some, but according to Hung Wai Ching, few of their friends smoked or drank. "We were all too poor to have any vices," Ching explained with a grin.<sup>149</sup>

Being able to think for oneself was very important to editor Fong. He considered that to be the *raison d'être* for higher education and the mark of one who had had college training and schooling. He called it "The Great Lesson":

Many individuals, too lazy to think for themselves, rely on the thoughts of others and swallow them whole with no attempt at analysis. To them, face value is sufficient.

Taking things for granted is a *prima facie* evidence of ignorance. Mental inertia and intellectual irresponsibility are its corollaries. For the masses, this attitude may be pardonable; for college students, it is certainly a calamity.

College education today has for its justification the objective of enabling young men and women to make proper evaluations of life situations. It naturally follows that if a college education has failed to stress the value of individual thinking, it has also failed in all its ultimate aims. Clear thinking is surely an essential element to this business of living.

College students should be more critical in their attitude. They should weigh values in their own minds, look for fallacies, and, perhaps, supply personal suggestions. What has been called the scientific attitude is merely investigation. As an aid to correct evaluation there can be no better method than investigation.

The greatest lesson anybody can derive from a college education is that of thinking for himself.<sup>150</sup>

That Fong followed his own advice is evident from the next episode. He had assumed the responsibility for Ka Leo without expecting monetary compensation, but after putting in long hours in the newspaper office, he learned that the business manager of student publications received

a large portion of the profits received for the operations. He felt that the unpaid work done by himself and the editor of the university's yearbook deserved some remuneration as the work was just as time-consuming and responsible, if not more so (particularly in the case of the newspaper), as that of the business manager.<sup>151</sup> He also learned that a previous amendment to the A.S.U.H. constitution seeking to compensate the editors had been defeated. He prepared another amendment. In an editorial entitled "A Much-Needed Change," Fong described the situation and his own proposed changes to the constitution. He utilized a forthright manner as he wrote,

Ka Leo...wishes to call attention to, and, in effect, revive an issue which has been forwarded and agitated for during the past several years.

We believe that the editors should receive compensation for the energy expended in their labors.

Under the present system, the business manager receives seventy-five percent of the net profits derived from campus publications. To the A.S.U.H. [goes] the other twenty-five percent. This system has been in effect for many years, but at different times ...considerable pilikia trouble has resulted. At one stage, one editor Stowell Wright, who was succeeded by Mitsuyuki Kido went so far as to resign his position...because he thought the situation was unfair. We believe this situation should be remedied for the satisfaction of all. We can see no justification for paying the business manager and not doing the same thing for the editors.

What makes the editorship an honorary position and the managership a paying position? As far as we can see it, there is no difference as to time, energy, and amount of work done by both, except that the editors have a good deal more responsibility in their hands.

Here is the plan which we propose to be incorporated in the pending amendment: Either pay the editors a yearly sum commensurate with the time and energy they produce, or split the seventy-five percent which the manager gets in a three-way slice. The twenty-five percent which the A.S.U.H. gets can be placed into a revolving fund to pay for office equipment and necessary miscellaneous articles.<sup>152</sup>

According to Fong, he personally would not benefit from the controversy, which had

sadly marked the past administrations. This plan, it must be understood, is not retroactive....It is our duty to make an appeal to the logic and intelligence of the students to remedy a situation that from all accounts is illogical. Representative students and members of the faculty have expressed approval of the scheme here proposed by Ka Leo. We are sure that the Associated Students will see the nature of things. When the amendment is presented for final approval, we expect everyone's support and kokua (cooperation).<sup>153</sup>

Not everyone was in agreement with Fong's proposal, however, as might be expected whenever change was contemplated in the status quo. But he was not to be squelched in what he considered a righteous endeavor. Characteristically tackling the situation head-on, he decided that the facts needed to be brought out into the open. Accordingly, he prepared an article for publication in Ka Leo. President of the A.S.U.H. Joseph Gerdes learned of its imminent appearance. With other officials, including the president of the university, Gerdes met with Fong. As a direct result, his article was never published; as a matter of fact, the entire newspaper issue was suppressed.<sup>154</sup>

It is a fact that there is a two-week gap of time between the Ka Leo issues of number 30 (May 19, 1930) and number 31, dated June 2, 1930. Up until that time, the student paper had appeared weekly except for the holiday periods.<sup>155</sup>

Fong's amendment had also provided that it be put into final form by the Executive Committee of the A.S.U.H. It was then to be presented and considered at the next student body meeting. This was done, and the amendment was adopted by the students and forwarded to the Executive Committee. President Gerdes presented the final version for a vote the last week in May. The Executive Committee proposed the following: that

the 75 and 25 per cent split of profits be deleted, that at the end of the school year the Board of Publications recommend a portion of the publication proceeds to be used as remuneration for the business manager and editors, and that the Executive Committee act on these recommendations. Following discussion, the amendment was adopted.<sup>156</sup>

While Fong stipulated his amendment was not retroactive, he later received \$225.00 for the year's work, probably by A.S.U.H. Executive Committee action. It was reported that support of Fong's aggressive attempt to solve a long-standing problem was one of two major accomplishments for the A.S.U.H. during the school year 1929-1930. The other accomplishment also took the form of an amendment. It was for the appointment, rather than the election, of editors for Ka Leo and Ka Palapala. This effectively removed student publications from political influence, and ensured that future editors would be recommended by a nominating committee and approved by the Executive Committee. Whether this was a rebuff to Fong, who had run a strong campaign for election as editor of Ka Leo, and won despite his lack of experience, cannot be firmly established at this writing. In any event, Fong was highly pleased to help nominate as his successor, Hon Sam Hiu, who had worked under Fong as an effective City Editor and reporter for Ka Leo.<sup>157</sup>

The editorial section of Ka Leo was also the stage for Fong's "official" name change to "Hiram." He was listed as "Ah Leong Fong" on the September 18, 1929 through October 4, 1929 issues. However, on October 11, without any fanfare or explanation, the name "Hiram Leong Fong" was used for the first time in print.<sup>158</sup>

Two distinctive editorials closed out Fong's career as Editor-in-Chief of Ka Leo o Hawaii. The first one, "Fitting Into the Scheme,"

congratulated the graduating seniors of the class of 1930, and noted that the university had provided its members the tools of knowledge and understanding, fulfilling its purpose. The University, however, was purely a means to an end. Its highest aim was preparation for living. According to Fong, "Social integration, the ability to get along with others, is life's great challenge. Proper accommodation into the scheme of life's exacting plan should be the prime mover."<sup>159</sup> The graduates might become disillusioned with life, but, "The world gives back only what people put into it....The future is theirs to shape, according to their personal mold and society's."<sup>160</sup>

Fong's view of the world was always a pragmatic one--born of his Chinese realism but softened with the Christian attributes of kindness, friendliness and goodwill toward others. It was also strengthened by the American philosophy of individualism and equal opportunity for all. Throughout his college career, he espoused the attitudes of what it took to be successful in the real world, the necessity to be internationally aware, and to be friends with all peoples and nations, in words both spoken and written. In this, Fong acted consistently with his background and with his own philosophy or worldview toward life in general.

The last editorial was devoted to "Retrospection." The year's accomplishments were recounted, and praised. Fong stated that in all these activities Ka Leo had endeavored to cover the news accurately, completely, and as interestingly "as possible." It had also worked to get the support of the student body. His last editorial statements were:

We have created history. Let us continue making history. Let this history be far-reaching, whether it be football or baseball history; forensics or dramatics history. For some day from out of our dreams and aspirations, there will rise upon the history that we have made, THE GREAT UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII.<sup>161</sup>

In the last official duty as editor of Ka Leo, Fong presented a koa quill to Hon Sam Hiu in pre-graduation ceremonies the last week of May. A gift of two drinking fountains was presented to the University by the graduating class of 1930. Then the 126 seniors, in an impressive procession, visited, one by one, the campus buildings in a sentimental pilgrimage.<sup>162</sup>

Fong's choice of artwork for the last issue of Ka Leo was indicative of his outlook on life. A cartoon entitled, "In the Heat of Battle" depicted a male student wearily leaning on one arm, brows furrowed, poring over his books. The clock over the bookcase read 2 o'clock. A waning moon and some stars outside the window looked over a small light hanging above a steaming hot cup of coffee or tea. The shadow cast by the student was labeled "exams."<sup>163</sup>

The final cartoon showed a graduate in cap and gown, clutching a rolled up "diploma" in his left fist and dangling three books from his right hand. He faced a glowing rainbow marked "success," but between the graduate and his goal appeared many clouds labeled "Univ. of Hard Knocks."<sup>164</sup> As Fong saw it, long hours of study and work were necessary to get an education. Having gained the education, the graduate was not guaranteed immediate success, but if he persevered over the difficult periods, he would at last reach his goal of success. The cartoon was the way Fong shared his perceptions with his peers and served as the basic story of his next few years.

The attitude that hard work meant success was not limited to Fong, but was prevalent throughout the campus during his tenure. For example, an editorial in the Ka Leo of January 19, 1928 during Fong's second semester, was entitled, "Invictus." The editor noted that guest speaker

N. C. Hanks was blind and crippled, but he did not let that restrain him from great achievements:

most of us are prone to berate our fortune or misfortune and spend much of our time thinking of what we'd do if only circumstances were a little different, if only Fate had dealt us a kindlier hand. We are ready to 'throw up the sponge' when things are not as we would want them to be..."Nothing in this old world is impossible for the man or woman who has the nerve to work and the soul to stick to his or her purpose." Think it over.<sup>165</sup>

#### Evaluation of Ka Leo, 1930

In 1930, the university's visiting professor of journalism, Professor Bristow Adams, had high praise for the Ka Leo. He noted, "Ka Leo is good in news, good in makeup, and is well-balanced and edited." He pointed out that there was less advertising than in most college papers, which was due mainly to the absence of advertisements from large firms of national fame. It was also probable that many of the Honolulu firms were too small to advertise or that there were too few of them. He felt that the tendency of college papers was not to enlarge to an additional column, as had been suggested for Ka Leo, but to issue more frequent editions. This would give journalism students more practice in speed in getting the paper out on time and would be an advantage to the student body as a whole. Another strong point Adams saw was the equal opportunity for all students to work on the staff: "This is different from the usual attitude in mainland colleges where the work of some of the departments of the paper is not open to women students."<sup>166</sup>

#### Other Activities

Also during his last year, Fong was a member of the R.O.T.C. Officers Club, which had been organized in 1927. He held no office but was publicity chairman for the Military Ball in 1930.



During Fong's tenure with the R.O.T.C., the University unit received a rating of "excellent," the highest honor awarded by the War Department of the United States. This honor was due "to the fine spirit of discipline and cooperation among all the members of the Unit," and entitled each member to wear a distinctive insignia as evidence of the award.<sup>167</sup> Fong advanced rapidly up the ranks of the officers, so that by 1930, he attained the rank of Major in the First Battalion.<sup>168</sup>

The range and importance of Fong's various activities at Manoa qualified him as a "big man on campus." In that respect, he was like his counterparts at any mainland university. Extra-curricular activities were part of a normal college life, and Fong found that he could handle his work in Ka Leo, forensics, the R.O.T.C., and International and Chinese Student Club activities with little difficulty. Also during this time, he was a faithful member of the Y.M.C.A., and participated in the Christian Endeavor Society's meetings and socials at the Chinese Church. Fong enjoyed his few years on the Manoa campus. Being a fun-loving young man as well as a serious student, he was not above playing a few pranks now and then. He recalled with a certain amount of glee one that happened during the Chinese New Year's celebration in 1930, when he brought some fire crackers to the campus and set them off on the steps of Hawaii Hall. It was during the quiet morning class hours, and one can only imagine the excitement which resulted from the sight, sound, and smell of exploding firecrackers on the staid steps of the university's administration building!<sup>169</sup>

When Fong was in his last year at the University, the Chinese Students' Alliance recounted his various activities: "In the field of oratorical work Hiram Leong Fong is supreme." It also noted that Fong

was in "Honolulu dramatic circles," and that he had won a prize for the individual stunt at the C.S.A.'s annual picnic and outing, which was held on February 22 at the Waialua Fresh Air Camp.<sup>170</sup>

Just as the C.S.A. members acknowledged his achievements, they also were not above kidding him. Of eight men depicted humorously in a "Celebrity Contest," Fong won the distinction of "Chief Hot-Air Blower." A photograph of Fong's head was shown, tilted over a drawing of a body of a mythical animal with hairy thighs and knees and hooved feet. The ink drawing also depicted his hands clasping some musical pipes. A few bars of music completed the caricature.<sup>171</sup>

Fong also did not escape the scrutiny of those writing about youthful romances. He was not among the winners of the "Bachelor Contest." Lamenting over those men who were married or going "steady," the yearbook writer noted that certain types of men were omitted from the bachelor's contest: "Nor do we mean the unscrupulous 'past twenty-ones' who follow the shameful practice of going down to the high schools and entice innocent young girls, like the Frank Lows, the Herbert Chocks, or the Hiram Leong Fongs."<sup>172</sup> This last was in reference to the fact that Fong by that time had met Ellyn Lo, whom he later married. Ms. Lo, six years younger than Fong, was still attending McKinley High School at the time they met.

There was also some good-natured reporting of youthful unrequited attachments. In a poem entitled, "Unhappy Victims," a section was devoted to Fong:

Hiram was cut by Frankie  
 Who now keeps the girl;  
 To Hiram, Phoebe is a ditcher  
 To Frank, she is a pearl.<sup>173</sup>

While Fong was popular with both sexes, and undoubtedly had his share of female companionship at club and church socials and outings, he was not considered a "romantic" by his peers. As a matter of fact, he was an "extreme conservative" when it came to dating. He was very serious about his legal and political career, and was equally serious about finding in the wife he chose those certain personality qualities and characteristics which would enhance his future life prospects and requirements.<sup>174</sup> From his glimpses into the homes of university leaders and prominent men like Charles Hemenway and Arthur Smith, Fong knew that the young lady he married would have to fit into that higher social status to which he aspired.

From time to time, Fong made the "Society" column in the student newspaper. It was noted that in March of 1930, he was a guest at the home of Alice Yap for a progressive whist game in which four tables were in play. The evening ended with dancing. Other guests included Phoebe Leong, Phoebe Goo, Helen Quon, Elizabeth Quon, and Evelyn Ing. Frank Low, Francis Yap, Norman Yap, David Chun, Edwin Chinn, and Chester Chang also attended.<sup>175</sup>

### On Punctuality

Fong usually associated with students of Chinese or Oriental ancestry at Manoa. They shared many common experiences, but one habit attributed to the Chinese that Fong did not acquire was that of being late. The often-used phrase "Chinese time" meant that one was not expected to be on time; being late was an indication that one did not wish to seem too anxious about any particular happening. But Fong was more American than Chinese in this respect. Punctuality came to be a

trademark of his life. He said in later years that if he told someone he would meet him at 10 o'clock, he would be there at the appointed place at 10 o'clock; moreover, if he knew he would be late, he would telephone or otherwise notify the other party of the delay.<sup>176</sup> The editorial in the Chinese Students' Alliance Annual for 1930 might well have been written by Fong:

...For generations, the Chinese people have been said to be a patient people and that they think in terms of centuries. Their philosophy teaches one to wait, not to expect the immediate fruition of one's efforts and not to throw up the handle when things don't turn the right way--in other words, it teaches one to be patient and that time will bring on the consummation of one's endeavors.

...Patience is a virtue worth cultivating, but on the other hand, we believe that too often, patience, especially the other person's patience, is overtaxed. We expect him to wait our arrival and to smile congenially when we appear, even though our appearance comes long after the appointed time. Here is the crux of our editorial. Be on time. A certain hour means a certain hour. We may have our whole lives to attend to the task at hand, but we must constantly bear in mind that the other individual is not traveling on the same boat as we are. He may be pressed for time, he may have other things to attend to and a little delay by you will mean that he will cause others to be delayed. The perpetual habit of being late to meetings, dinners, socials, even to class room...does not speak well of the punctuality and reliability of oneself. So let us remedy the situation of late meetings and gatherings by being prompt ourselves.<sup>177</sup>

### 1930 Summer Session

Fong had a few days of rest before he enrolled in the 1930 Summer Session at Manoa. Then, between June 30, and August 8, he completed all the requirements for graduation. He enrolled for three courses, at a cost of \$10.00 for the general fee, and \$2.50 for each credit hour, or a total of \$25.00.<sup>178</sup> The first course was Political Science S265, "Problems of the Pacific." It covered democracy in Japan, Philippine independence, Chinese nationalism, Japanese interests in Manchuria, Russian interests in Mongolia and Manchuria, Japanese and Chinese

overpopulation, colonial administration in the Pacific Islands, Australian labor and social legislation, and Communist propaganda in Asia and the East Indies. Instructed by Paul Bachman, Fong earned a grade of 85.

He also took Political Science S266, which was taught by Graham H. Stuart, Professor of Political Science from Stanford University. The course covered "Recent Relations of the United States and Latin America," and focused on the factors leading to the lack of understanding between the countries, the implication of the Monroe Doctrine, how Pan-Americanism attempted to promote more friendly relations, and the bases of future cooperation. Stuart gave him a grade of 92.

Fong's last class at the University of Hawaii was Oriental Studies S241, on "Oriental Religions." Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Bushidoism, and Christianity in India, China, and Japan, along with current movements, were studied. His professor was Tasuku Harada, Professor of Japanese Language and History, who, Fong recalled, marched in the academic procession in a "colorful crimson gown." Fong received a grade of 90 from Harada.

During the time that Fong attended the University of Hawaii, the grade points were figured for each semester hour as follows:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Grade Points</u>
90+	3
80-89	2
70-79	1
60-69	Credits only <sup>179</sup>

Despite his heavy academic schedule, extra-curricular efforts, and personal work schedule, Fong qualified for Phi Beta Kappa. In later

years, however, he revealed that he was surprised that his grades were good enough for election to that scholastic fraternity. (This will be covered in the section on 1952.) He also indicated that because he had graduated in the summer and had not purchased the succeeding year's university annual, he was also not cognizant of the fact that he had been chosen a "Real Dean" of the Class of 1931. Real Deans were selected on the basis of outstanding achievements at the University of Hawaii. The entry for Fong which appeared in the Ka Palapala read,

Hiram Leong Fong. Mr. Fong graduated in three years but his personality has never wavered. While an undergraduate he was editor of Ka Leo. Fong has held so many positions of some importance that it is a difficult task to keep account of them. He also won many prizes in oratory and debates.

The accompanying picture showed him looking very somber in cap and gown.<sup>180</sup>

When he graduated, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin took note of his accomplishment. It ran a picture of a smiling Fong above a caption which read, "Student Year Ahead of Time." The article stated,

With the closing of its summer session last Friday, the University of Hawaii lost one of its most colorful and active students, Hiram Leong Fong, who completed the prescribed four years university course in three years for the Bachelor of Arts degree....Fong studied along the pre-legal line, which he expects to continue next year at Harvard law school, where his credentials have been accepted for admission. In the three years at the University of Hawaii Fong has made a brilliant record in scholarship and in student activities.<sup>181</sup>

One of 11 students completing their studies during the summer, he was the only one graduating with honors.<sup>182</sup>

Several classmates evaluated his university performance. They all felt he was intelligent, a diligent researcher in the accumulation of facts and figures who also had good retention and recall, and was always willing to speak up in class. According to Lillian Abe Givens,

Fong often raised his hand and contributed to class discussions, unlike many others of Oriental ancestry who felt intimidated.<sup>183</sup> Charles Kenn said Fong was an "excellent student."<sup>184</sup> Many persons, like Hung Wai Ching, felt he was very aggressive.<sup>185</sup> However, in Kim Fan Chong's estimation, Fong was not a very aggressive person, although he appeared to be. While Fong would not sit back and just let something desired come to him, still, it often took a little push from another to make him take a leadership position.<sup>186</sup> This can be documented in the following ways: (1) Fong said that it was "my good friend Mitsuyuki Kido" who encouraged him to run for editor of Ka Leo. (2) According to Charles Kenn, it was he who encouraged Fong to run successfully for President of the University chapter of the Y.M.C.A. (3) Kim Fan Chong said it was he who nominated Fong to be president of their Chinese fraternity. (4) Fong was asked by Honolulu Mayor Wright to help in his re-election campaign. (5) It was a friend of Leonard's who asked the older brother to approach Hiram to campaign on behalf of Sheriff Gleason.<sup>187</sup>

This rather typical behavior of Fong's was representative of what sociologist Francis Hsu called a "situation-centered" type of behavior. However, once having decided to take on an activity, Fong displayed all the traits of Brogen's and Lerner's typical American. He clearly asserted his individuality, not only as a member of the student body but also as one of its elected officials. His editorials, as previously discussed, often encouraged each reader to develop the capacity to think for himself, and moreover, charged the faculty to assist in the process. Indeed, Fong emphasized that learning to rely upon one's own resources was the greatest, most profitable lesson to be secured in college.

We shall see that he took his own advice better than anyone else in his class and, indeed, of many classes.

Upon graduation from the Manoa campus, Fong returned occasionally to the classrooms. The first time was in November 1930, as a guest lecturer for Dr. Paul Bachman. Dean William George of the College of Arts and Sciences was also present. Fong addressed about 200 students in the field of political science on the topic of "Politics and the Place of Young Voters in Government." In an hour-long speech, the former stump orator for the Republican Party said,

With more and more of our young men and women graduates taking a profound and sincere interest in government, our standards of politics will be inevitably raised and the approach of a perfectly working system of government will result...the basis of party organization is the precinct club.<sup>188</sup>

Fong urged each one in the audience to join a precinct club to "get insight into party politics." He traced the party organization from the precinct to the national central committee. Among the various methods of campaigning, he noted, were stump speeches, advertisement, posters and cards, radio, and house-to-house canvassing. He indicated that the house-to-house canvas was the best method of campaigning, for it gave the campaigner and the workers an opportunity to meet the voters and members of the opposition party who did not attend meetings or believed it a political sin to attend campaign meetings outside their own party. In an analysis of the last campaign, Fong said that the real issue affecting the voters to any extent was the economic issue.<sup>189</sup>

#### City and County of Honolulu (1930-1932)

The system of political patronage which was prevalent at the time benefited Fong as soon as he graduated from the University. As previously



noted, Fong had been a "stump orator" for the Republican Party in the campaign of 1926, when George Frederick Wright, a civil engineer and surveyor born in Honolulu, made his initial and successful bid for election to the Board of Supervisors of his native city. Fong also assisted Wright in retaining his seat two years later. Wright, who had made an excellent record serving as Chairman of the Public Works Committee, in 1930 decided to enter the race for Mayor, opposing the colorful and often controversial Democrat Johnny Wilson. Again Fong was among Wright's most active and effective young campaign workers. A combination of Wilson's problems, Wright's personal appeal, and the strength of the Republican Party was responsible for Wright's outright election by a margin of 30 votes in the primary of October 4.<sup>190</sup> The voters returned Wright to office every two years until his illness and tragic death at sea,<sup>191</sup> as will be discussed later.

Fong was a paid political campaign worker for the Republican Party in these elections. When Mayor Wright took the oath of office early in 1931, Fong was rewarded with an appointive job as Chief Clerk in the suburban water system under Honolulu's Department of Public Works. (The system has been known variously as the Bureau of Water Supplies and Sewers, the Division of Rural Water-works, or the Division of Suburban Water System, all under the Department of Public Works. After 1959, it was known as the Suburban Division of Honolulu's Board of Water Supply.)<sup>192</sup>

As Chief Clerk, Fong's duties were primarily to keep records of the rural water system and to take care of problems arising from the service. His salary was \$175.00 per month, he recalled. He handled complaints, some of which took him out into the rural areas, but his

main responsibilities were carried out at City Hall.<sup>193</sup> One of the benefits occurring from this situation was that he had daily contact with the Mayor.

#### Mayor Fred Wright and Practical Politics

Politics and campaign strategy were among the most popular and frequent topics of discussion Fong had with Mayor Wright. The mayoral term of office was two years, so that almost as soon as Wright took office, he began systematically building a political machine which would help him remain in office. Wright held regular meetings with his top workers in the various precincts at his home during evening hours. Spreading out the voting registration rolls, each precinct leader pinpointed those persons whom he knew, and later approached those voters on the Mayor's behalf. They would be asked to help in the campaigns and to try to get commitments from their own friends and neighbors. This procedure built a widening circle of voters dedicated to Mayor Wright. While this was not an unusual strategy by any means, the details of the operation were not lost on Fong, who attended the meetings for his precinct and learned the efficacy of the methodology and the psychology of direct appeal and voter participation in the election process.

Among the members of the Mayor's staff was David K. Diamond, who also saw Fong on a daily basis. Of Hawaiian, English, and Chinese ancestry, Diamond served in the head office, often as Mayor Wright's secretary and interpreter for the Hawaiians who spoke little or no English. According to Diamond, Fong was Wright's "protégé...a bright, up-and-coming young man."<sup>194</sup> Diamond as well as Fong spoke on Wright's

behalf in the campaign rallies; which were attended by hundreds and often thousands of people in the last two weeks of the campaigns.

Between 7 p.m. and 10 p.m., the Mayor's entourage would usually take in two rallies in as many precincts each night. The Mayor's appearance was often the piéce de resistance, and by the time Diamond and Fong got up to speak, the preceding speakers, bands, and general hoopla had brought the audience to a high pitch of excitement and expectation. Recalled Diamond, Fong "had the gift of talk, and was a convincing speaker." Diamond also said that Fong "loved politics."

Realizing that Fong was marking time, so to speak, while working in the suburban water system and saving his earnings in order to attend Harvard Law School, Wright promised Fong that when he came back from Harvard with a degree, there would be a job waiting in the City and County Attorney's office should Wright still be in office. Moreover, Fong could work during the summers in the water systems office. Wright could make such commitments because at the time, legal positions and many others in government were awarded by the chief office holder and were not dependent upon civil service rules and regulations.

Diamond felt that Fong, as an office worker and budding politician, was hard-working, conscientious and honest, one who always tried "never to hurt anyone." Diamond found him easy to like, and he said he grew fond of the young man from Kalihi. While undoubtedly Fong had faults, it was felt that his good points far overshadowed his lesser qualities. In retrospect, Diamond said that Fong was deeply influenced by his Christian upbringing, always trying to do the right thing and helping others where he could. In contrast to his brother Leonard and other politicians, Fong did not engage much in "ho'omalimali" (flattery).

He had a sincerity about him to which persons would respond favorably in almost every instance. .

Fong was also the beneficiary of Mayor Wright's skill in dealing with his constituents. Wright was a handsome, "big-hearted" man who could invariably call people by their first names. He even recalled where they lived. In all probability, Wright memorized the names and addresses of the voters as he constantly reviewed the voting registers during the frequent meetings he held with Republican precinct leaders. The Mayor was very approachable, and often reached into his pocket to hand out dollar bills when he met a person in need on the street.

Consequently, Wright was almost always "broke," but he could also count his political returns very accurately. On election nights, he was always at home in Lanikai, a community on the Windward side of Oahu, where he foretold district by district the outcome of the election. "And he was never wrong," said Diamond almost incredulously. In later years, Fong too would be able to do the same thing, even before sophisticated computers were utilized.

Fong was on the payroll of the City and County of Honolulu between February 1, 1931 and December 31, 1932. Although he was enrolled in the Fall semester of 1932 at Harvard beginning in September, patronage and the accumulation of vacation leave combined to permit him to draw a salary until the end of the year.<sup>195</sup>

NOTESCHAPTER IV

- <sup>1</sup>Everly, "Education in Hawaii," pp. 49-50.
- <sup>2</sup>David Kittelson, "Founding the College of Hawaii," Hawaii Historical Review, II, No. 12 (July 1968), pp. 461-464.
- <sup>3</sup>Catalogue and Announcement of Courses, 1927-1928, University of Hawaii. Quarterly Bulletin, VI, No. 2 (May 1927), p. 2. Hereafter cited as: UH Catalog.
- <sup>4</sup>William Kwai Fong Yap, The Birth and History of the University of Hawaii (Shanghai: Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1933), pp. 1-2, 3-33.
- <sup>5</sup>UH Catalog, 1927-1928, p. 26.
- <sup>6</sup>Yap, op. cit., p. 43.
- <sup>7</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977. All quotations and information referred to on pp. 155-156 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.
- <sup>8</sup>Ka Leo o Hawaii, 23 February 1929, p. 4. Hereafter cited as Ka Leo.
- <sup>9</sup>Yew Char, Recorded interview, 26 August 1978.
- <sup>10</sup>UH Catalog, 1927-1928, p. 45.
- <sup>11</sup>Ka Leo, 12 September 1927, p. 1.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 102-103, and passim.
- <sup>14</sup>UH Catalog, 1930, pp. 7, 11.
- <sup>15</sup>Charles Kenn, Telephone interview, 16 July 1979.
- <sup>16</sup>UH Catalog, 1927-28, p. 51.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 4, 6.
- <sup>19</sup>HLF, 16 July 1979.
- <sup>20</sup>UH "Transcript."

- 21 Ka Leo, 20 October 1927, p. 2.
- 22 Ka Leo, 6 October 1927, p. 1.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ka Leo, 12 September 1927, p. 1.
- 25 Paul Hooper, Elusive Destiny (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), pp. 65-104.
- 26 Pan-Pacific, 4, No. 1 (January-March 1940), 2, 73-74.
- 27 Ka Leo, 27 October 1927, p. 1.
- 28 Ka Leo, 6 October 1927, p. 1.
- 29 Honolulu Advertiser [HA], 22 October 1927, p. 1.
- 30 Ka Leo, 20 October 1927, p. 1.
- 31 HA, 22 October 1927, p. 1.
- 32 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 33 Honolulu Star-Bulletin [HSB], 22 October 1927, p. 1.
- 34 Ka Leo, 13 October 1927, p. 1.
- 35 Ka Leo, 24 November 1927, p. 1. For a more complete account of the international movement and Alexander Hume Ford in Hawaii, see Hooper's work.
- 36 Ka Leo, 5 January 1928, p. 4.
- 37 Ka Leo, 1 March 1928, pp. 1-2.
- 38 Ka Leo, 10 November 1927, p. 4.
- 39 Ka Leo, 23 February 1928, p. 1.
- 40 Ka Leo, 12 January 1928, p. 2.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ka Leo, 5 April 1928, p. 2.
- 43 Ka Leo, 3 May 1928, p. 2.
- 44 HSB, 5 May 1928, p. 3.
- 45 Ka Leo, 1 March 1928, p. 2.
- 46 Ka Leo, 3 May 1929, pp. 1-2.

- <sup>47</sup>Ka Leo, 5 April 1928, p. 1.
- <sup>48</sup>Ka Leo, 19 April 1928, p. 1.
- <sup>49</sup>Ka Leo, 3 May 1928, p. 4.
- <sup>50</sup>HSB, 5 May 1928, p. 4.
- <sup>51</sup>Ka Leo, 19 April 1928, p. 2.
- <sup>52</sup>Kong Lum Mau, Telephone interview, 3 December 1978.
- <sup>53</sup>UH "Transcript." See also UH Catalog, 1928-1929, pp. 49-98.
- <sup>54</sup>HSB, 9 October 1928, p. 5.
- <sup>55</sup>Ka Leo, 28 September 1928, p. 1.
- <sup>56</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>57</sup>HA, 4 October 1928, p. 5.
- <sup>58</sup>Ka Leo, 5 October 1928, p. 4.
- <sup>59</sup>Ka Leo, 12 October 1928, p. 1, 4.
- <sup>60</sup>Gwenfred E. Allen, The Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii, 1869-1969 (Honolulu: The Young Men's Christian Association, 1969), p. 56.
- <sup>61</sup>Ka Leo, 12 October 1928, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 1.
- <sup>63</sup>Ka Leo, 21 September 1928, p. 1.
- <sup>64</sup>Ka Leo, 5 October 1928, p. 4.
- <sup>65</sup>HLF, 2 August 1979.
- <sup>66</sup>Ka Leo, 8 February 1929, p. 4.
- <sup>67</sup>Ka Leo, 28 March 1929, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>68</sup>Ka Leo, 19 April 1929, p. 4.
- <sup>69</sup>Ka Leo, 10 May 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>71</sup>Ka Leo, 19 April 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>72</sup>HLF, 2 August 1979.
- <sup>73</sup>HA, 7 October 1928, p. 1.

- <sup>74</sup>Ka Leo, 19 April 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 2.
- <sup>76</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup>Ka Leo, 3 May 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>78</sup>Lillian Abe Givens, Telephone interview, 16 July 1979.
- <sup>79</sup>HLF, 31 July 1979.
- <sup>80</sup>Ka Leo, 24 May 1929, p. 1, 4.
- <sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>82</sup>UH "Transcript."
- <sup>83</sup>HSB, 23 April 1952, p. 13.
- <sup>84</sup>Ka Leo, 27 September 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>85</sup>Ka Leo, 18 September 1929, p. 4.
- <sup>86</sup>HSB, 17 September 1929, p. 7.
- <sup>87</sup>Ka Leo, 18 September 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>88</sup>Kim Fan Chong, Telephone interview, 7 August 1979.
- <sup>89</sup>HLF, 5 July 1978.
- <sup>90</sup>Chong, loc. cit.
- <sup>91</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>92</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>93</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>94</sup>HLF, 30 March 1977.
- <sup>95</sup>Lowe, The Chinese in Hawaii, p. 27.
- <sup>96</sup>Chong, loc. cit.
- <sup>97</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>98</sup>Ka Leo, 24 April 1927, p. 1.
- <sup>99</sup>UH "Transcript."
- <sup>100</sup>Ka Leo, 6 December 1929, p. 1.



- <sup>101</sup>Ka Leo, 13 December 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>102</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>103</sup>Ka Leo, 10 January 1930, p. 1.
- <sup>104</sup>Ka Leo, 7 March 1930, p. 1.
- <sup>105</sup>Ka Leo, 21 March 1930, p. 1.
- <sup>106</sup>Ka Leo, 28 March 1930, p. 6.
- <sup>107</sup>Ka Leo, 4 April 1930, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>108</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>109</sup>Chinese Students' Alliance, Annual, 1930, pp. 93-97. Hereafter cited as C.S.A. Annual.
- <sup>110</sup>HLF, 7 August 1979.
- <sup>111</sup>Ka Leo, 11 April 1930, p. 1.
- <sup>112</sup>HLF, 7 August 1979.
- <sup>113</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>114</sup>Alice Fong and Amy Fong Yee.
- <sup>115</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.
- <sup>116</sup>Ka Leo, 1 November 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>117</sup>UH Catalog, 1927-1928, p. 28.
- <sup>118</sup>Ka Leo, 1 November 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>119</sup>Ka Leo, 13 December 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>120</sup>Ka Leo, 11 October 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>121</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>122</sup>Ka Leo, 18 October 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>123</sup>Ka Leo, 10 January 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>124</sup>Ka Leo, 8 November 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>125</sup>C.S.A. Annual, 1929, p. 39.
- <sup>126</sup>Ibid., 1930, p. 120.
- <sup>127</sup>Kenn, 16 July 1979.

- <sup>128</sup>Ka Leo, 16 May 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>129</sup>Ka Leo, 22 November 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>130</sup>Ka Leo, 20 December 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>131</sup>Ka Leo, 17 April 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>132</sup>Ka Leo, 28 February 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>133</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>134</sup>Ka Leo, 25 April 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>135</sup>Ka Leo, 25 October 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>136</sup>Ka Leo, 10 January 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>137</sup>Ka Leo, 22 November 1929, p. 2.
- <sup>138</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>139</sup>Ka Leo, 7 February 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>140</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>141</sup>Ka Leo, 21 March 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>142</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>143</sup>Ka Leo, 28 March 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>144</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>145</sup>Ka Leo, 4 April 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>146</sup>Ka Leo, 2 May 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>147</sup>Ka Leo, 9 May 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>148</sup>Ka Leo, 14 March 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>149</sup>Hung Wai Ching, Recorded interview, 31 August 1978.
- <sup>150</sup>Ka Leo, 17 April 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>151</sup>HLF, 16 July 1979.
- <sup>152</sup>Ka Leo, 21 March 1930, p. 2.
- <sup>153</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>154</sup>HLF, 16 July 1979.

- 155 Ka Leo, 19 May 1930. See also 2 June 1930.
- 156 Ka Leo, 2 June 1930, p. 1.
- 157 Ka Leo, 9 May 1930, p. 1.
- 158 Ka Leo, 18 September 1929, p. 2. See also 11 October 1929, p. 2.
- 159 Ka Leo, 2 June 1930, p. 2.
- 160 Ibid.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid., p. 1.
- 163 Ibid., p. 3.
- 164 Ibid., p. 6.
- 165 Ka Leo, 19 January 1928, p. 2.
- 166 Ka Leo, 14 March 1930, p. 1.
- 167 Ka Palapala, 1930, p. 191.
- 168 Ibid., 1931, p. 40.
- 169 HLF, Telephone interview, 25 June 1979.
- 170 C.S.A. Annual, 1930, pp. 17, 67.
- 171 Ibid., p. 106.
- 172 Ibid., p. 107.
- 173 Ibid., p. 108.
- 174 Chong, Telephone interview, 12 August 1979.
- 175 Ka Leo, 14 March 1930, p. 2.
- 176 Chou, Michaelyn P. "Memories of Hiram L. Fong, United States Senator from Hawaii." Oral History interviews conducted by Michaelyn P. Chou on behalf of Former Members of Congress (Honolulu: 1979), p. 178.
- 177 C.S.A. Annual, 1930, p. 17.
- 178 UH "Transcript."
- 179 UH Catalog, 1927-1928, p. 25.
- 180 Ka Palapala, 1931, p. 40.

- 181 HSB, 11 August 1930, p. 3.
- 182 UH Bulletin, IX, No. 3 (October 1930), 25-27.
- 183 Givens, 16 July 1979.
- 184 Kenn, 16 July 1979.
- 185 Ching, 31 August 1978.
- 186 Chong, 7 August 1979.
- 187 Kenn, loc. cit.
- 188 HSB, 17 November 1930, p. 9.
- 189 Ibid.
- 190 Donald D. Johnson, "History of the City and County of Honolulu," rev. ed. of typed manuscript (Honolulu: 1977), Chap. IV, p. 37.
- 191 HSB, 2 July 1938, p. 1.
- 192 University of Hawaii Library, Authority Files.
- 193 HLF, 9 March 1977; HLF, 28 August 1978.
- 194 David K. Diamond, Telephone interview, 23 August 1979.
- 195 HLF, 9 March 1977. See also HLF, 28 August 1978.

FIGURE 3. HIRAM L. FONG ON HARVARD CAMPUS, 1932-1935

Courtesy of Hiram L. Fong files.



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CHAPTER V1932-1938Harvard Law School, 1932-1935

Harvard Law School was established in 1817, the oldest such institution in the United States. While Fong was there, the School occupied four buildings--Austin Hall, finished in 1883; Langdell Hall, built in part in 1907 and completed in 1929; Gannett House; and Kendall House.

Asked his reasons for going into law, Fong stated

I felt that in law--why, I could get into almost anything that I wanted. In this community here [Honolulu], I could, with a knowledge of law, be able to do something for myself, and for others, so I thought that I should go to law school.<sup>1</sup>

When queried as to his reason for deciding upon Harvard among the law schools available, Fong revealed his attitude toward schooling and life in general:

Harvard...[was] considered the best school in the country. I sought to go to the best school that I could. I have always aimed high, because I felt that if you aimed high, and [even] if you don't hit [your goal] at least you hit something a little lower. If you aim low, you would hit something much lower. So I have always aimed high. (emphasis added)

Admittance

Getting admitted to Harvard Law School was not a simple task for Fong. For one thing, the relatively new University of Hawaii's pre-legal program was not recognized by the venerable Harvard. It took strong letters of recommendation from men like Arthur G. Smith, an alumnus of the school who has been described previously, Honolulu's Mayor Fred Wright, and others for Fong's application to be approved. For another thing, the wrong transcripts had been sent initially and Fong had been

refused admittance on that basis. It was not until he learned that "his degree in agriculture" was not adequate preparation for a legal education that he realized the reason for the denial and was able to make corrections. It was agreed that Fong could enter as a probationary student.

Harvard at that time had an open admissions policy by which the school accepted almost every applicant; however, once admitted, he had to earn the right to stay in school. The policy meant that many students failed each year. Applicants were advised that its graduate schools and particularly the "Law School, where the requirements are notably difficult and the scholastic mortality may reach thirty per cent a year" were exceptionally demanding. Men enrolled in those areas were expected to go to school full-time: "The Employment Office and the Secretary of the Law School join in urging such men to remain away from Harvard until they have enough money to cover the major part of their expenses."<sup>2</sup>

Tuition in the Law School was \$400.00 at the time, a substantial difference from the free tuition of the University of Hawaii. Even if Fong had been able to work, which he was not, Harvard salaries for students were meager. For example, guides, clerks, and chore workers earned 50 cents per hour, typists were getting the equivalent of 15 cents per typewritten page, and tutors received from \$2.00 to \$5.00 per hour. However, poor men like Fong were heartened to learn that Harvard claimed it was "by no means a rich man's college" and substantiated that statement by the records in its Employment Office which indicated that in past years there had been "many men prominent in Harvard life who have earned a large proportion of their college



expenses." The philosophy concerning work and college which Harvard promulgated was that, "To earn the whole or part of one's way through college is considered honorable in all men."<sup>3</sup>

### Finances

The nation was deep into the depths of the Great Depression of the 1930's when Fong entered Harvard. No scholarships nor educational grants were available to him, nor to many others for that matter. The time for such widespread support was many years into the future. However, he did have a financial plan: it was to take one year at a time. Initially, he would work and save as much of his earnings as possible to cover tuition and living expenses for the first year. If he failed the first year, he would return immediately to Honolulu, and resume employment at whatever job he could get and let it go at that. If he survived, and he was determined he would, he would use his summer earnings and apply for a student loan from Harvard, supplementing this with loans from family and close friends. If he made it through the second year, he would repeat the work, savings, and loan process.

The first year at Harvard Law School was financed by Fong's savings of between \$1,500 and \$2,000 from his two-year term as chief clerk of the suburban water system in Honolulu. However, even this amount of money was problematical for a while. Fong had been approached by one of his friends who needed a loan of \$1,000, and had given it to him. Not knowing if his friend would gamble it away on games of chance, Fong was apprehensive as the date for departure drew near, but fortunately, the loan was paid up in time before he left.<sup>4</sup>

As will be noted, Fong lived simply all the time he was at Cambridge. This determination paid off with a surplus of some \$400 at the end of the first year. The clerical position in the water system of Honolulu during his summers at home was paid at a lower rate than what he had earned as a full-time employee. While he could not recall the exact amount of salary, it was not sufficient. He had to get a loan from Harvard to cover his tuition for the second year. Family assistance in the form of a \$200 check from his sister Violet Fong Chow of Hilo also helped. The road in front of his mother's home was widened that year. This necessitated condemnation of about one foot of land, for which his mother was compensated in the amount of some \$400. This money she promptly sent to Fong.

Leonard Fong had promised to send \$50 a month to his younger brother at Harvard but "somehow he never did it," said Fong. He was forced to borrow \$200 from Leonard's friend Allen Mau. Mau died a few years later, but the loan was repaid to the widow. The rest of the third year's expenses was financed by a loan from Chinn Ho, who had been helping his own brother Philip through Harvard. Philip had graduated, leaving Ho free to assist Fong. Collateral for the loan was a \$2,500 life insurance policy on Fong purchased with Ho as beneficiary. Fong instructed Ho that in case anything happened to him, Ho was to keep the amount of the loan, which was approximately \$1,000, and give the balance to Fong's mother.<sup>5</sup>

As the eldest unmarried son in a family of Chinese ancestry, Fong also felt an obligation to his family and believed that he had to "care for them and see that things are all right." In the midst of his own financial difficulties while at Harvard, Fong saw his duty clearly. As

he stated many years later, "When my sister Beatrice was going to...the University of Hawaii and I was going to law school, I saw to it that she had enough money to go to college even though I went through a tough time."<sup>6</sup>

This basic financial plan successfully carried him through three years of intensive study, but Fong recalled this period of his life as being the most difficult that he would ever experience. It was arduous not only in terms of his meager budget, but also in terms of the perseverance required to commit himself daily to countless hours of study in order to remain in the rarefied atmosphere of Harvard Law School.<sup>7</sup>

#### Leaving Honolulu

Before leaving Honolulu for the West Coast and Harvard on September 8, 1932, Fong was honored at "many events." The Honolulu Star-Bulletin reported that,

As aloha compliment for him and for Miss Mildred Luke and Mr. and Mrs. Hung Luke of Kohala, Harry Y. O. Leong will entertain at dinner...at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore C. H. Char at Bingham park. Bridge, mah-jongg and dominoes will be the after dinner pleasures.

Chinn Ho was among the more than 40 guests at this event.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander K. W. Yuen entertained at a "chicken luncheon at their home for Mr. Fong." Guests included Alai Aluli, William Heen, Jr., and about eight others. A nine course Chinese dinner was staged by Titus Fong. Approximately two dozen guests, including Chinn Ho, Harry Lin, David Au, Dr. Jack Y. Uyeda, and others attended the banquet. A luau hosted by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Mau, Mr. and Mrs. William Mau and William Sing Goo was held at the homestead of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Mau at Waipahu. Among the more than 30 guests were Elsie

Ting (later Mrs. Hung Wai Ching), Mr. and Mrs. Edward Ing, Chinn Ho, and Fong's sisters Rose, Alice, and Amy.<sup>9</sup>

Fong traveled steerage class on the ship to the West Coast, and by bus and train across the continent to Boston. Coming from tropical Hawaii, a distance of some 5,500 miles, Fong also had the additional expense of cold-weather clothing as well as travel expenditures. His clothes were minimal, and not of the best quality, and even at that some of them were borrowed out of pure necessity.

### Residences

He also realized that he had to live in very inexpensive accommodations and to skimp on meals as well. He sought the aid of Allen Hawkins (later Judge Hawkins of Honolulu), who was then two years ahead of Fong at the law school, for assistance with lodgings. Hawkins located one at 29 Mellen Street. It was a three-story rooming house operated by Mr. and Mrs. Green. Fong obtained a small room on the top floor. His neighbor was Wai Yun Young, then studying physics at Harvard. The room rented for \$13 per month, and was large enough only for a bed, a desk, and a clothes closet. When fellow students like Lawrence Lit Lau of Honolulu came to visit, one of them had to sit on the bed, as there was no room for an extra chair. Fong delighted in recalling that Lau complained, "The room was so small, that when one of us wanted to change his mind, the other had to go out into the hall!"

The second year, Fong moved to 31½ Mellen Street, to a rooming house operated by Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Carroll. For a price of \$18.00 per month, he was able to get a much larger room on the second floor, containing a bed, desk, mirror, and a chest of drawers. Lau had a room

just across the hall, and they shared a common bathroom. The house was warm in the winter, and their landlords were very kindly, recalled Lau.<sup>10</sup>

### Social Life and Cooking

There were about 20 students of Chinese ancestry from Hawaii and elsewhere studying at Harvard's various schools and colleges while Fong was in attendance, according to Lau. He also said that a couple from Honolulu, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Zane, were kind enough to make their apartment home near Louisberg Square into a sort of headquarters for their friends from Hawaii. Mrs. Dora Zane, "ever gracious and hospitable," held socials, especially around holidays like Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Years'. While some of the students belonged to fraternities and went to New York to celebrate the holidays, Fong of course was not among them. The students from Hawaii, in addition to Lau and the Zanes, included Samuel Yee, who became a physician and surgeon, and Sai Chow Doo, a member of a prominent Chinese family and later Honolulu City and County Attorney from 1938 to 1946, and several others who became well-known in Hawaii.

Normally, people from the Islands tended to congregate together and to take care of newcomers. Lau, who was already in a non-law graduate school, had known Fong only by reputation before they met at Harvard. He recalled that Fong's "arrival at Cambridge one September (1932) was not auspicious as we did not know of his coming and had not planned a welcoming or dinner which would reflect the Hawaiian Aloha spirit."<sup>11</sup>

The students from Hawaii were included in campus life as a matter of course. However, even as late as 1932 to 1935, the Territory

was still an exotic, rather unknown place insofar as some of the residents of the Massachusetts area were concerned. Lau told this story to illustrate the point:

From time to time, we were obliged, as 'foreign' students, to attend teas or buffet get-togethers, given as a gesture of Bostonian hospitality. At one such affair, Hiram, because of his imposing physique and dark complexion, puzzled one of the dowagers, who, with more curiosity than tact, inquired if he might be "Persian." If Hawaiian, "who were the Hawaiians?"<sup>12</sup>

Their landlady, Mrs. Gertrude Carroll, was a tall, very attractive woman who, with her husband, sometimes included the two American-Chinese in trips to Boston to shop and visit relatives. As

fine, warm Irish people, Tim, the landlord, was hardworking and witty...who made sure that Hiram and myself got nourished from time to time with hot Irish stew, and home-made apple pie, all served with loving hands and warm hearts and calculated to obliterate all thoughts of homesickness and having to contend with zero temperatures.<sup>13</sup>

The two men from Honolulu went with the Carrolls to North Attleboro where Mrs. Carrolls' brother-in-law lived. They learned about great music from him, said Lau. He was very fond of the classics, and each Saturday afternoon, he secluded himself in his room, darkened by drawn shades "so that he could concentrate on the operas and symphonies emanating via radio from the Metropolitan Opera House, or Carnegie Hall."<sup>14</sup>

They tried to reciprocate for all the Carrolls' hospitality by cooking for them a few "simple Cantonese dishes," shopping in Boston's Chinatown for the necessary ingredients. Recalling these episodes with relish, Fong grinned and said,

My friend Lawrence Lit Lau...and I would volunteer to cook. And he and I always got into a scrap as to how [the food] would be seasoned. So we finally wound up by he cooking one dish and I would cook the other dish.<sup>15</sup>

Fong was not adverse to improvising on a Chinese dish which normally took hours to prepare. Aware of the small amount of time he could remain away from his studies, and being of pragmatic mind and innovative ability, he shortened the cooking process. His own words best describe what he did:

Well, for example, we cooked this pork roast....The regular way to do it is to get a piece of pork--the belly pork (it has a layer of fat and a layer of lean and a layer of fat and a layer of lean). And then you boil it as long as you can, to get the fat out. Then you're supposed to fry the skin. And then you cut it into pieces and you put [alternating slices of pork and] potato in between, and then you would steam it [in a bowl]. You would have this sauce, which is a bean sauce--a red bean sauce [to add to it]. And it makes a very fine dish. [When inverted on a platter, the pork and potato made a very attractive design.]

But I discovered a shorter way to do it, because it was too much work. What I did was to boil it [the pork] and then cut it up into pieces, and then I would just throw it in a pot and (laughter) throw the bean sauce over it, and it tasted just as well. But it didn't look so good! (laughter)

...We got a big kick out of [cooking], because it was something different from the studies.<sup>16</sup>

#### Robert A. Robinson

The man who became Fong's best friend at Harvard Law School was Robert Albert Robinson. A native of Scranton, Pennsylvania, Robinson was born of German and Welsh parents on November 9, 1905, and had graduated from Lafayette College in 1927. Having no intention of going into law, he started a career as a stock broker. But the Great Depression of 1929 caused such an economic downturn that he realized he had to have another vocation. In 1932, he decided to enroll at Harvard Law School. His older brother Otto had also gone to Harvard, but Robinson said he was also motivated to matriculate there because, like Fong, he wanted the best legal training that could be obtained.

Robinson could not recall the exact date when he first met Fong. He did remember, however, that Fong on that occasion was wearing a "great big cotton coat," which was too large for him, and was carrying the traditional Harvard green book bag. Fong also had on a gray hat. Robinson stated that when he first saw Fong, the thought crossed his mind that "here was one of those poor fellows that Harvard made its name on, because he was sure to flunk out!" Robinson chuckled and went on to say that Fong was probably thinking the same of him at that very moment!<sup>17</sup>

The "great big cotton coat" that Fong was wearing was Fong's only defense against the cold. He could not afford to buy one for himself, but depended upon one that Leonard had loaned him. It had been made in China, for Leonard. Because Leonard was not only older but also physically larger, approaching their father's six feet of height and heavier weight, the coat was obviously too big for Fong. It was indeed made of cotton (as coats even today are made in China) and heavily quilted for warmth. Oversized and extremely bulky, Fong must have looked rather ungainly in the borrowed garment.

Although quilted, it never provided warmth enough. Boston Harbor froze over during the winters when Fong was at Cambridge, and he suffered quite a bit from the extreme temperatures. He took to wearing layers of clothing to keep warm.<sup>18</sup> Lau recalled that Fong often studied with his coat on, wrapped in two blankets to get through the harsh winter nights.<sup>19</sup> Robinson also recalled that Fong had a fabric coat made of "Chincilla cloth" at one point.<sup>20</sup>

Robinson wore thick glasses, and shared with Fong the desperation of new students in the law school, wondering if they would be able to



survive the cut in the student body following the end of each year's study. It was their mutual frustration which brought them together, but it was their mutual trust and ability to appreciate each other that kept them lifelong friends after their Harvard days.

Fong remembered his first meeting with the Caucasian bespectacled law student:

There I was, so lonely and homesick. I was standing by the mailbox looking to see whether I had any mail or not, and he looked at me, and he saw me, and he came up to speak to me because he was very lonely too.

He said Harvard built its reputation on guys like him and like me, flunking them out. He said they were going to flunk him, too. (laughter) He had been out of school for about three or four years. He had been working also, and through friends he was encouraged to go to law school. That week, he was very frustrated because he had broken the lens [on his glasses]. He had to have very thick lenses, and [they] broke on him.<sup>21</sup>

In later years, Robinson became "like a godfather" to Fong's children. He ultimately became the president of a bank in Scranton.<sup>22</sup>

### Law School Classes

During all of the three years that he studied at the Law School, Fong lived with the spectre of uncertainty. Particularly during his first year, he had little knowledge as to his progress in his classes. This was due to what he felt was the onerous system that the school practiced with respect to examinations. Following in the British and European tradition, examinations were held only at the end of the spring term. While Fong recalled that there was one practice examination yearly, the results of it struck most of his classmates and himself with great fear because almost all of them did poorly.

According to the Harvard Law School catalog,

No examinations are held in any course in the autumn, and no special examinations at any times....A student who has conditions

in more than one full course or its equivalent standing against him at the end of any year will be excluded from the School.... Any student in the first-year course having a condition in one course will be excluded...unless he either obtains a grade of "C" or better in at least two full courses, or obtains an average in the courses in which he passed better by five per cent than the passing grade for a single course.<sup>23</sup>

Provisions were made for excluded students to return, but only after a year away from the School, and then only after meeting certain specified test and grade requirements. The School wasted little time on marginal students, for those failing to become reinstated within two years "will be permanently excluded."<sup>24</sup>

The fact that many of Harvard's law school faculty had written the textbooks required of the students tended to intimidate some of them, particularly the freshmen. Whereas students of other law schools may have used the same texts, they did not have the day-to-day confrontation with the authors. It was really not difficult for Fong to see that the failure rate of his class fell within the one-third range. In fact, the students were told by the professors in class, "Look to the right of you; look to the left of you; one of you will not be here next year."<sup>25</sup>

The best illustration of this period in Fong's educational career comes from his own recollections:

They would give you just one trial examination during the mid-year and then everything depended upon your final examination. There was no homework. You did it, or you didn't...do it. You attended classes if you wanted to. If you didn't want to, it was perfectly all right.

You didn't know where you were. Many times [the professors] would be talking and it would be [on] something so abstract, so foreign to you, that you don't know what they are talking about. So it was very imperative that we write [down] every word that was uttered by the professor. If he said "and," we had to put an "and" down, because otherwise you would lose the thought. You would invent your own shorthand. You put "p" for page..."p1" for

plaintiff...and things like that. You shorten your words so that you, yourself, could read it, and you would go over it as soon as you can, and abstract it. So every time the professor spoke, we wrote, even though we didn't know what he was talking about. We wrote it down...<sup>26</sup>

The teaching methods of one professor sometimes had to be balanced out by sitting in on a class of another discoursing on the same topic. Fong recalled that both methods were necessary for one subject:

There was this one professor--he was so frustrating. We were in contracts. His name was Gardner. He never said anything. You would ask him a question. Then he would say, "What do you think of it?" Then he would ask the other fellows, "What do you think of it? What do you think of it?" Then he would drop it and go to another subject. Just when you think he is going to tell you something, he goes to another subject, and as a result, we were all up in the air. We didn't know what he said. Naturally we went to audit another contract class, by Williston. Williston was a great authority on contracts, and he had written volumes and volumes. Williston was that type who just lectured and lectured and lectured, and we kept on writing and writing and writing, and between the two, we somehow got our contracts. (laughter) And yet a lot of people will tell you [that] it's because of that type of thinking (Gardner's) that we were able to really analyze the law.<sup>27</sup>

Robinson recalled that Gardner never gave a straight yes or no answer nor did he try to help out the struggling students. However, Williston was a wonderful teacher who was able to lay out the problems in an excellent manner. While it was extra work to monitor Williston's class on contracts, he felt the effort was worth it.<sup>28</sup>

Harvard pioneered in the casebook method of teaching the law, and Fong explained the methodology as follows:

[For] every case that we had...they gave you a book, [one for] this case, that case, and that case. We abstracted everything. It was done in detail so that you would know what the law was, what were the facts, and how the ruling was. Whatever the professor said, we had to abstract in our own words, because by abstracting it in your own words, you get the thought in your mind. Otherwise you won't be able to get it and that was the only way in which we could do it.

It was very, very tough on us because we didn't know where we stood.<sup>29</sup>

Yet the faculty often displayed wit and humor and concern for their pupils. The students themselves livened things up whenever they could.

According to Robinson:

In my mind there was the greatest collection of teachers who were ever assembled in a school at any one period, and in spite of the picture, "The Paper Chase," I considered them very kind and understanding. Two stories were peddled about these professors when I was there as follows:

1. A professor called on a student the first day the student was in a class and the student, not wishing to be the subject of ridicule and being a little afraid, stated he was not prepared. The professor ordered him out of the room with the statement, "If you do not want to prepare your law studies, you do not want to be a lawyer." He remarked that the student would never make a lawyer. The young man picked up his books, walked out of the room, and uttered something under his breath which the professor heard. The professor asked the class what the boy had said and one young man had the temerity to say that the student had said the professor could go to hell. On hearing this, the professor said to call him back into the room, stating, "I guess he would make a good lawyer after all."

2. In our class on property, the question arose who was the owner of the animals in the woods. The question was posed that if you and I were hunting in the woods and I shot a deer but did not kill it and the deer, although bleeding, moved on after being shot and finally fell over quite weakened at the time you came upon the deer and you tapered it off with one of your shots just about the time that I came on the scene, who would legally be entitled to this particular deer.

This class, incidentally, was taught by a sandy-haired Scotsman, who was supposed to be a real tough professor. At the time of the foregoing discussion, the professor tried to interject some humor into the class and recounted the story of a rich American who went over to England and there got tied into a fox hunt. He was told that the fox would be released a few minutes before the hounds were turned loose, at which time the hunters were to follow the hounds and see if anyone could catch up with the fox. They were informed that the first one to see the fox was to yell, "Tally Ho!" After the fox and the hounds were released, the hunters started the chase and the American went off by himself, but much to his surprise, he was the first one to come upon the fox. He was so excited about seeing the fox, he forgot the words he was supposed to yell and not being able to restrain himself, he yelled, "There goes the red-haired S.O.B." This brought forth a few smiles.

At any rate, in a classroom, the professor would stay a few minutes after to answer questions from students who would come to the front

to talk to him. On the last day of the year, the professor would usually slam his books shut, pick them up, and go out of the classroom before the student body left. They would usually applaud him. It is said that on the last day of this professor's class, he went through the same routine, closed his books, and ran up the aisle to go out the door while the class applauded, and just as he was leaving, one of the students yelled, "Tally Ho!"<sup>30</sup>

Studying hard at Harvard became a way of life for Fong. He recalled that the

competition was great there. [The boys] would tell you that they were president of their class, editor of the school paper, valedictorian....They were very prominent. Many of them had fathers who [had] gloried in their professions for generations, and it was a common saying that a Phi Beta Kappa key and ten cents would buy you a cup of coffee."<sup>31</sup>

Another story making the rounds was that if the sun shone into a Harvard Law School classroom at a certain angle, an onlooker would be blinded by the reflection from the myriad Phi Beta Kappa keys in the room.<sup>32</sup> (Fong was not then aware that he qualified for the nation's highest scholastic society because the University of Hawaii did not have a chapter until 1952. He became a founding member of the Alpha Chapter of Hawaii when it was duly installed at the end of that year. This will be covered in more depth later.) Fong noted that at Harvard, "everybody was somebody." He admitted to feeling rather desperate at times, for his own background was not the same as most of the other men at Harvard:

Many times I felt...here I was, somebody from Hawaii, you know... [a] nobody...and not inculcated in the scholastic atmosphere that these boys had been subjected to all their lives. What chance did I have against all these boys?<sup>33</sup>

Whether it would have made any difference to Fong while he was at Harvard to know that he had indeed qualified for Phi Beta Kappa is open to speculation. He himself indicated that it did not. Perhaps, at the most, it would have made him more relaxed psychologically about

being able to compete with the others. As previously noted, he was a provisional student. Moreover, he was the only person of Chinese ancestry in the class. Although he had won prizes in oratory at the University of Hawaii, he still spoke with some accent, and also needed to improve his written English. In reviewing his grade of "B" average from Harvard many years after graduation, he said, "It was amazing that I got a 69, and I think as I look back now, that what I lacked was my English."<sup>34</sup> Efforts toward improving his English will be dealt with later in subsequent chapters.

Whatever chance he had for competing with the others, Fong realized, would have to come from his own diligent efforts. He developed a study routine which he adhered to faithfully, and from which he permitted few diversions. He described a normal day at Harvard:

You see, I was so tied down to my studies. I would get up in the morning, have my breakfast, go to classes, and then stay in the library and study until time to have...lunch...and study up until time for supper. Then study up 'til 12 o'clock, and then go to bed. Saturdays and Sundays were no exceptions. So it was study, study, study. So anything to break the routine, was something which was recreation to us.<sup>35</sup>

### Libraries

Of the two working libraries available to Fong, one in Langdell Hall and the other in Austin Hall, he used the main collection in Langdell Hall because it had the more complete holdings and was also closer to his lodgings, which were only about two or three city blocks away.

Both libraries contained all the American, English, and Irish Reports as well as all the important English and American law treatises. Additionally, Langdell Hall contained a complete set of Scotch Reports,

all of the English Colonial Reports, and an almost complete collection of the statutes of America and Great Britain from the earliest period. There were upwards of 112,000 volumes of the law of Continental Europe, an extensive collection of the laws and decisions of Latin American countries, a collection on International Law of upwards of 25,000 volumes, and a large collection on Criminology. A collection of trials, civil and criminal, "remarkable in extent," and a very full collection of legal periodicals rounded out the offerings. The Library of the School contained over 400,000 volumes and 61,000 pamphlets. While students in the Law School also had the right to use the College Library,<sup>36</sup> Fong did not have the time to do much else than study in Langdell or in his lodgings.

#### Recreation and Mealtimes

Pleasures were simple at Harvard. Mealtimes became recreation time for Robinson, Fong, and Lau. These were also occasions to see how far they could stretch their funds. Robinson recalled that at some restaurants, meal tickets could be purchased for \$10.00, which would then enable one to obtain a ten per cent discount on food purchased there.<sup>37</sup> Fong attempted to live on about 70 cents to a little over a dollar per day. Breakfast he bought at Mrs. Hilliard's, a small cafe run by a black woman, not far from where he lived. He usually had a cup of milk, a bowl of hot cereal, often oatmeal, and a dish of prunes or other fruit. Lunch started with a trip to the nearby grocery store with Robinson to buy bread and luncheon meat, and usually consisted of a bologna, liverwurst, or peanut butter and jelly sandwich.<sup>38</sup> The mid-day meal would often be eaten in Fong's room, where Lau would have

tea ready by the time the two got back from the store. Occasionally, there would be a can of peaches for dessert, and the three would make a big issue out of the fact that there were never enough slices to divide up evenly; there was always one slice left over to fuss about sharing!<sup>39</sup>

After the long hours studying at the library during the afternoons, the trio looked forward to having a hot meal, often at a restaurant named Horsey's. Lau told of these times in the following manner:

...the real anticipated pleasure was dining together at a "hash house" nearby, where for less than a buck, we could consume a hot meal. When coffee was served, it gave prankster Bob a chance to strut his stuff, or his mischievous act: after introducing to us Kanakas (native Hawaiians) the art of coffee-drinking in the Dutch manner, which was to pour rich cream on the surface of the coffee, the enjoyment being to sip beneath the creamy top, he would then do his stuff, which was to stir the coffee and cream [together]. This act of vandalism made his day, to be repeated each evening meal. The entire prankish episode was Bob's not too subtle act of retaliation, for Hiram and I had taken him to Chinatown and left him helpless with chopsticks; while he struggled to avoid hunger, Hiram and I would devour most of the food before Bob could organize both his appetite and his chopsticks. Such are the pleasures of overstudious law students!<sup>40</sup>

The topic of dinner conversation was often on some of the finer points of the law. Not every legal situation posed to them had clear-cut solutions. For example, they were asked to think about a case in which a man having two mortal enemies decided to travel through a desert. Having filled his water container and accumulated other supplies, he left his provisions unguarded, to buy one last item. While he was inside the store, mortal enemy "A" came along and put some poison pills in the water supply. When "A" left the scene, mortal enemy "B" came along and punctured the water container with such a tiny pin prick that the water escaped a drop at a time and so went unnoticed by the man as he left the store and started on his trek across the desert sands.



Husbanding his meager supply and drinking from his canteen of water, the man did not check his big water container until several days later. When he finally unscrewed the top, he found the container was empty. Unfortunately, no other traveler crossed his path, and the man perished in the desert. When his body was ultimately discovered and "A" and "B" were apprehended following an investigation, each claimed to be innocent because the "other" had caused the man's death. Whom could be charged for the crime? Such cases helped to stimulate the minds of the students and made for endless discussions.<sup>41</sup>

Lau recalled that one of the activities when he and Fong wanted to break routine was to go

ransack the second-hand book shops in Boston, looking for real bargains and not paying more than a dollar for any volume. We sought mostly the literary classics, history, philosophy...We were committed to such literary giants as Homer, Socrates, Shakespeare, Swift, Dickens, Emerson, Stevenson, and the like; and it is safe to say that these volumes formed the basis of Hiram's library, enriched his intellectual life and give him insights he could not garner from daily life alone.

Fong and Lau would often "lug home about 20 to 25 pounds of dusty tomes, first riding on the subway and then walking seven or eight blocks to our rooms."<sup>42</sup>

Fong recalled, "Browsing around Goodspeed's for old books....I brought probably 2,000 books home...old books...As long as they were interesting, I bought them." As a throwback to his days in Sunday School at Kalihi Union Church and the Y.M.C.A., Fong bought a

big, two-volume book on the Bible, which told you the story of almost everything in the Bible. If you want to have a reference in the Bible, refer to some passage in the Bible, it would point it out to you. And gee, that book was a very valuable book...<sup>43</sup>

Robert A. Robinson, who lived across the street from Fong and Lau, once told him, "I can [still] see you coming home in a taxi with some

books." Fong explained the need for a taxi, "Sometimes, you know, you get a big haul and so you can't pack them all on the subway, so you get a taxi and you bring them home." (laughter)<sup>44</sup>

One might speculate that the money saved on books was spent largely for taxi fare, but for the young man, it was well worth the expense. Fong shipped his used book library to Honolulu, where it was placed in his law office. When he moved to Washington, a staff member inadvertently disposed of much of his collection. What remained went to his home on Alewa Heights in Honolulu, but Fong admitted that he had had no time to read the books he had so carefully selected and arduously brought back. The press of other work, even in retirement, kept him from leisure reading, he said.<sup>45</sup>

Robinson introduced Fong and Lau to the pleasures of German food, and they responded by taking him to some of the Chinese restaurants around the edge of the campus and in Boston. Most of the time they took the subway to Boston, but on at least two occasions they walked all the way. They had little time and even less money for moving pictures, but Robinson recalled that Fong occasionally went to a French movie. "Not understanding French," Robinson did not go with him. Robinson did influence Fong into going to one or two concerts with him, but as previously noted, Fong never developed an ear for music.

#### Spending Money Wisely

Robinson said that Fong, although thrifty, always tried to spend his money wisely. For example, Fong once paid \$1.00 for a pair of socks when he could have bought several pairs of cheaper ones. He explained that the one good pair would last him a year, but the others

would wear out quickly.<sup>46</sup> Robinson himself lived simply. Although not in the same financial straits as was Fong, it seemed to Lau that Robinson often appeared "always wearing the same suit." Certainly, he never put on any airs.<sup>47</sup>

### The Depression

During the three years that Fong and Robinson were in law school, the United States was in the throes of the worst depression in history. Farmers and city workers lost their homes, and even more were about to lose them because they could not pay their mortgages. Bread lines were formed by the unemployed needing food. About three weeks before the newly-elected President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, took office in 1933, a banking panic began, created by Americans withdrawing cash and gold from their banks. The result was that many banks were ruined. On the day before Roosevelt was inaugurated, more than 5,000 banks went out of business.<sup>48</sup>

While the desperate economic situation of the country did not affect all the students at Harvard, the times in general were difficult for all, in one manner or another. One illustration served to place into sharp focus this historic period for Fong's fellow law student, Joseph Fanelli, about whom more will be said. Later an eminent attorney and the head of the Immigration Appeals Board, Fanelli at that time lived at the same house as did Robinson. Fanelli's mother saw to it that her son received gifts of food periodically. On one occasion, she sent him a whole roasted chicken. Fanelli, not knowing what to do with the bird, and not permitted food in his room, put it outside his window where the cold air acted as a refrigerant and where it would be

undetected by the owner of the rooming house. Then he forgot all about it. When President Roosevelt declared a bank holiday on March 6, 1933, in an effort to help control the money panic, all banks in Cambridge were closed at least for four days. Fanelli was caught without any funds on hand. He had to have cash in order to purchase his meals. Nowhere could he cash a check, and he faced the spectre of a few hungry days. Then he remembered the whole cooked chicken outside his window. Fanelli always claimed later that that chicken saved his life.<sup>49</sup>

### Possibilities for Employment

It was difficult to find work during those years. Long lines of applicants queued up for the few jobs that became available. People frantically tried to sell apples for a nickel a piece in an effort to earn a little income. Some students had to leave college to make a living. But the law students persevered in their studies despite the grim prospect of unemployment after graduation. "Even in the days of the Depression," Robinson explained, "the big, established law firms were recruiting graduates from Harvard. If the graduates were willing to work, they would get along in life, and with the ability to understand the law, they couldn't miss."<sup>50</sup>

### Outdoor Activities

In addition to the few social occasions Fong permitted himself, such as with fellow students from Hawaii, the excursions into Boston with the Carrolls or to buy books, and cooking and serving Chinese food, Fong also sought to balance his heavy academic schedule with outdoors and sport activities. Law students had the privilege of using the facilities of the Hemenway Gymnasium (corner of Cambridge Street and

Holmes Place), the University Squash Courts (Linden Street, just off of Massachusetts Avenue), and the Indoor Athletic Building (Dunster, Winthrop, and Holyoke Streets).

Robinson enjoyed walking and he and Fong often strolled down Brattle Street to the serenity of a beautiful tree-lined old cemetery on the edge of the campus. The second year, Lau joined them in outings to the gymnasium to play handball two or three times a week.<sup>51</sup>

Winters in Massachusetts were very cold. The men from Hawaii were not accustomed to the harshness of the weather, but they needed exercise, so they would go out-of-doors even while the snow was falling in order to get away from their desks and papers. Once Fong returned in the bitter cold, only to find that his ears were frost-bitten. His kindly landlady rubbed his ears with snow to counteract the effect of the frost. Playing handball in bad weather on another occasion led to an incident which Lau recalled with great humor:

Hiram could not cope with the cold. He suffered from frost-bitten ears, and summed it all up by claiming that it was so cold that after a quick shower, even the water in his belly button froze over.<sup>52</sup>

### Allergies

While at Harvard, Fong discovered that he had several allergies. He was sensitive to chocolate, nuts, and certain fruit juices and spices. As a matter of fact, he never lost his allergic reaction to them. When he studied long and hard, which was almost daily as previously noted, his resistance to infection dropped. His subsistence diet probably did not meet all his nutritional needs; coupled with the stress of studying it was not surprising that he incurred several cases of eye infections, or styes. Lau remembered that,

At times, especially during exam times, he would have a damp cloth over his eyes, which had become swollen with continuous studying past midnight. There you have the epitome of a Harvard Law School scholar--studious, relentless, whatever the circumstances.<sup>53</sup>

Fong himself said of these incidents when his eyes became red and swollen, that the causes were allergies and not the result of eyestrain, or infections.<sup>54</sup>

### Summertime

As soon as each spring semester ended, Fong left Harvard for Honolulu. Law students lived such "cloistered" lives, that it was a relief to be out from under the strain of constantly reading, reviewing, and studying. For one so active as Fong, who was accustomed to much more physical outdoor activity in tropical Hawaii, it was especially gratifying to close his books for the summer. He explained:

So Harvard was a tough schedule, and it was a Godsend to get away from it. It was a very, very happy time when the last exam was over. You have everything ready. You grab the street car, you go to the subway, you catch the subway to go to the Greyhound Bus Station. You were a free man because you felt that you were enslaved all the time [at Harvard]. You were really oppressed. It was a very depressing feeling, but once you got out of there, you felt that, 'Oh, I am free again!'<sup>55</sup>

Travel was accomplished as inexpensively as possible. The bus fare from Boston to Chicago was \$17.00. Taking the day coach from Chicago to Los Angeles at a cost of \$30.00, Fong had to sleep sitting up. Meals were fashioned from bread, luncheon meat and fruit and milk purchased at the stations along the way. The fare from Los Angeles to Honolulu in the ship's steerage class was \$70.00. On one occasion, Fong arrived only to find that in the interim after leaving Boston, the fare had gone up. Unable to locate his brother Harry for assistance, Fong quickly bargained with the ship's officers. He asked them to let

him on the ship, in return for which he would deposit his luggage with the officers until they reached Honolulu. His family would come to the port to pay the difference in fare, at which point the officers would release his luggage. This stratagem worked successfully.<sup>56</sup> If it had not, Fong would have delayed getting back to Honolulu, where not only his family and friends were waiting, but also his future wife, Ellyn Sai Ngun Lo. Another important factor regarding his returning on time was that he had to work in order to pay for the next year's expenses at Harvard, and even a short delay meant a loss of income.

#### Summer Employment

Having aided the Republican Party by assisting in past elections, Fong reaped the rewards of patronage during his two summers away from the Harvard classrooms. He was given a temporary job at the Honolulu Board of Water Supply through the assistance of Mayor Fred Wright, to whom he had grown close at work during 1930-1932 and previous campaigns. At the Board of Water Supply, Fong was assigned office duties related to research and also performed clerical duties as required. At that time, Fred Ohrt was head of the office, and Fong worked under his guidance.

The strenuous schedule which Fong maintained during his years at Harvard were noted by his co-worker Diamond, who remarked that in place of the sturdily-built young man who left Honolulu in the Fall, a much thinner Fong came back to work in the summertime.<sup>57</sup>

#### A Minority of One

It was difficult enough to live and study under the constant apprehension that he might fail his yearly examinations. Almost every student in the law school had those fears, but in Fong's case, he was

under even more pressure because he was a probationary student, and he felt he needed to uphold the honor of the University of Hawaii. Moreover, he was the only one in his class who was of Chinese ancestry, as previously stated.

According to Robinson, Fong really stood out at Harvard because he was essentially a minority of one. There were, of course, other minorities. While most of the men at Harvard were Caucasians and of the Protestant faith, there were also a number of Jewish students. As a whole, these minority Jewish classmates were known to study hard and to make excellent marks. Fong was conscious of his heritage and also of the fact that his grades were not among the top scores, but he was able to see himself rather objectively; in fact, his being different was on at least one occasion a source of great humor to him. The following anecdote, recounted by Robinson, illustrated this quality:

Robinson and Fong were walking across the campus when they were approached by a fellow student. This man was very anxious about his studies and also about the fact that he was a Protestant. Aware that Fong was also of the same religious faith, he cautioned Fong to concentrate on his classwork, because, he said, "we Christians" had to "study hard in order to compete with the Jews." Fong at this point laughed hilariously. Questioned as to what was so funny, he remarked that just a moment before, he was a member of the minority; he now was one of the majority!<sup>58</sup>

#### Coursework and Grades

Fong was certainly motivated to study hard more for personal reasons than for religious and racial ones, and he did apply himself diligently during the three required years at Harvard. An attempt was



made to chart his progress, but unfortunately, whatever comments that may have been made by his instructors on his student records, the letters of recommendation which ensured his admission, and other records were destroyed by Harvard following the passage of the Buckley Amendment to the freedom of information laws several years ago. The only remaining records are his grade cards, information from which is given below in order to round out as completely as possible his matriculation at Harvard Law School.

Hours given are per week. Texts were latest editions or as noted.

FIRST YEAR: (average grade of 66 or B-)

"Civil Procedure at Common Law." Professor Edmund Morris Morgan.

Two hours. Texts: Magill's Cases on Civil Procedure; Morgan's Introduction to the Study of Law, and supplementary material. Grade: 71.

"Contracts." Professor George Knowles Gardner. Three hours.

Text: Williston's Cases on Contracts (3d ed., 1930).

Grade: 61.

"Criminal Law." Professor Roscoe Pound. Two hours. Text:

Sayre's Cases on Criminal Law. Grade: 65.

"Property." Professor Edward Henry Warren. Two hours. Texts:

Warren's Cases on Property; Macneil and McLaughlin,

Supplementary Cases and Notes. Grade: 64.

SECOND YEAR: (average grade of 65 or B-)

"Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes." Professor Morton

Carlisle Campbell. Two hours. Text: Campbell's Cases

on Bills and Notes. Grade: 64.

"Equity." Professor Zachariah Chafee, Jr. and Professor Sidney Post Simpson. Two hours. Text: Chafee and Simpson's Cases on Equity: Jurisdiction and Specific Performance.

Grade: 69.

"Evidence." Professor Morgan and Professor John MacArthur Maguire. Two hours. Morgan and Maguire's Cases on Evidence.

Grade: 65.

"Sales of Personal Property." Professor William Edward McCurdy. Two hours. Text: Williston and McCurdy's Cases on Sales.

Grade: 70.

"Trusts." Professor Austin Wakeman Scott and Professor Ralph Jackson Baker. Two hours. Text: Scott's Cases on Trusts.

Grade: 65.

"Persons and Domestic Relations." Professor McCurdy. Two hours. Text: McCurdy's Cases on Persons and Domestic Relations.

Grade: 70.

"Business Organizations." Agency, partnerships and other unincorporated business associations, introduction to the law of corporations. Professors Warren Abner Seavey, Baker, and Edwin Merrick Dodd, Jr. Three hours. Texts: Mechem's Cases on Agency (2d ed. by Seavey); Dodd and Baker's Cases on Business Organizations, vol. 1. Grade: 67.

THIRD YEAR: (average grade of 66, or B-)

"Conflict of Laws." Professor Joseph Henry Beale. Two hours. Text: Beale's Cases on the Conflict of Laws (2d ed.).

Grade: 64.

"Constitutional Law." Professor Thomas Reed Powell. Two hours.

Text: Hall's Cases on Constitutional Law (1926 ed.).

Grade: 60.

"Business Organization III." The law of business corporations.

Professors Baker and Dodd. Two hours. Text: Dodd and

Baker's Cases on Business Organizations, vol. 2. Grade: 66.

"Suretyship and Mortgage." Professor Campbell. Two hours.

Text: Campbell's Cases on Suretyship; Campbell's Cases on Mortgages. Grade: 68.

"Taxation." Professor Maguire and Assistant Professor Erwin

Nathaniel Griswold. Two hours. Text: Maguire and Magill's Cases on Taxation. Grade: 65.

"Creditors' Rights and Administration of Debtors' Estates."

Professor McCurdy. Two hours. Texts: Williston's Cases on Bankruptcy (2d. ed.); Hanna's Cases on Creditor's Rights.

Grade: +/-.<sup>59</sup>

Fong graduated with an LL.B. degree. Subsequently the degree was changed to J.D., Doctor of Jurisprudence, on April 7, 1969. In June of 1969, the numerical grades heretofore given were translated into new letter grades as provided above.

In the final comprehensive examinations given at the end of the third year, Fong was able to improve upon his yearly scores, achieving a numerical score of 69, or the equivalent of a B letter grade.<sup>60</sup>

Fong was immensely relieved and happy to complete his legal education. When he finally left Cambridge as a graduate, the feeling he had was one of tremendous accomplishment. As he described it later:

When I finished...it was the greatest thing that [had] happened to me. Securing an education was the greatest obstacle in my life. Going to high school was all right, but from high school on, that was something that I really had to fight for, and I would say that I felt myself a success already when I completed ...college and...law school.

Whether I made any money at all didn't bother me. All I wanted was to be able to finish...my education....I can say that I have attained what I wanted. That was the biggest goal of my life.

All the other things...although they were great things [that] came to me...were insignificant [compared] to that great goal of achieving my education, because that was the roughest goal.<sup>61</sup> (emphasis added)

### Graduation and Return Home

The financial situation of the Fong family made it impossible for any of his brothers or sisters or his mother to attend the graduation ceremonies held on June 20, 1935. However, Fong's good friend and supporter Chinn Ho, and Ho's bride, the former Elizabeth Ching, made the long trip as part of their extended honeymoon. Ho had asked Fong to select a used car at Cambridge because they all planned to motor cross-country to the West Coast together.

Following the graduation ceremony, which Fong described as "not impressive" because the men wore ordinary business suits and not academic regalia, the Hos and Fong set out. Traveling with them also was Lawrence Lit Lau. Their first stop was Chicago, where fellow-Honoluluuan Dr. John Ing (whom Fong many years later nominated successfully to the Board of Governors of the U. S. Postal Service)<sup>62</sup> had a flat and practiced dentistry. Fong had been Ing's guest on several trips back and forth to Harvard. Ing had an office in Chinatown at the corner of Wentworth and Cermak Streets, and had once been a waiter in a Chinese restaurant. He was also an accomplished cook. His guests often brought him gifts of food, like fresh crabs, for him to

prepare. At that time, two or three crabs cost one dollar.<sup>63</sup> Persons of Chinese ancestry never accepted an invitation to meals and/or lodging without bringing something for the host: appearing "empty-handed" was considered a great social oversight. Fong always had a gift for Ing whenever he visited.

Ing's sister Rebecca (later Mrs. Titus Fong) had just completed her studies at a beauty college in Chicago, and returned to Honolulu with Hiram Fong, the Hos, and Lau. According to Rebecca Ing Fong, they "had no money and plenty of time," so that the group traveled leisurely, attempting only 200 to 250 miles each day. They stopped at points of interest in each of the states they traversed. Since it was summertime, and having to cross hot areas like North and South Dakota, they started off early in the mornings. Fong and Chinn Ho did most of the driving, with Betty Ho taking an occasional stint at the wheel. Lunch was a simple meal of bread, luncheon meat, fruit and milk eaten "by the side of the road." This provided not only a means to conserve funds but also a restful chance to get out and move around a bit before continuing their journey. They stopped around four o'clock each evening. Because they could not afford to stay in hotels along the way, and motel operations were almost non-existent, they took advantage of the fact that it was then a common practice for homeowners and farmers to post signs advertising a night's lodging and some meals for travelers.<sup>64</sup> For a small fee which Fong recalled as being in the neighborhood of 50 to 75 cents per person each day, they were able to secure a clean place to sleep and a hot dinner.<sup>65</sup> From time to time, breakfasts were included. These facilities made their trip a pleasant and economical one. Wherever they stopped, they found that "Hawaii was a magic word."

Everyone they met was friendly, but as soon as it was learned the group was from Hawaii, "people were even friendlier." They experienced no racial discrimination or related difficulties along the way.<sup>66</sup>

One of the highlights of their trip was a stop-over at Yellowstone Park. They fed the bears, tossing bread to the huge animals from inside their car. They were impressed with the geyser "Old Faithful," and enjoyed other scenic spots. The incident they still recall as being a "joke" on themselves was that one meal, breakfast, normally the least expensive of the day, cost each of them a great deal more than expected. They thought that it was ironic that they had scrimped on lodgings and lunches, but were caught unawares of the high prices of the park's dining room.

Reaching San Francisco at last, they made up for their extravagance by having breakfast for 15 cents each at the Federal Hotel, where it was reported they had just as delicious a meal as the one in the park. They then embarked on a ship, probably one of the S. S. President liners, or the Matsonia, for the last part of their excursion home.<sup>67</sup>

They could not afford anything more expensive than steerage class accommodations, but the enterprising men and women from Hawaii managed quite well. Almost the first thing that they did was to make friends with the Chinese cooks on the ship. This act of friendship was soon reciprocated with choice tidbits of food from the ship's kitchens, and with additional quantities to what their steerage tickets normally provided. They entertained themselves by "gambling" on the lower deck and with other forms of recreation.<sup>68</sup>

When Fong left the ship in Honolulu, he had very little in the way of material possessions. He had the few items of clothing, his bargain

books from Goodspeed's, and about "ten cents in his pockets." Moreover, he had debts amounting to approximately \$3,000, which he had to pay off before he could make any personal plans. Even at that, Fong did not return empty-handed to his family, but brought some gifts home. One of the most expensive was a watch for his youngest sister Beatrice, who said that she was his "pet" sister. Fong remarked ruefully in later years that the Cambridge storekeeper had taken advantage of him. Whereas he had bought and paid for a good watch with a 17-jewel movement, at the last moment a switch was made and he was given a watch with fewer jewels.<sup>69</sup> However, Beatrice was delighted to have a watch of any quality, because she had never thought that she would be able to own one.<sup>70</sup>

#### Third Deputy Attorney, 1935-1938

After a short period of rest, Fong began studying for the bar examination. As was his habit, he applied himself with intensity, and passed it on his first attempt. In the meantime, his mentor, Mayor Fred Wright, had kept his promise that Fong should have employment in the City/County government following the successful completion of his legal education. The Board of Supervisors authorized a new position entitled Third Deputy Attorney, which was immediately filled by Fong. The actual appointment was announced by Wilfred Tsukiyama, Attorney for the City and County of Honolulu, on December 4, 1935. Fong began work the following day. At the time, he was a member of the Hawaii Statehood Committee, and a First Lieutenant in the United States infantry reserve.<sup>71</sup>

He described his first legal position as follows:

The Mayor had promised me a job with the City and County attorney's office. He kept his word and gave me the third deputyship...the pay was \$200.00 a month. After a week I [went to see] the Mayor

and I said, "Mr. Mayor, I spent over \$5,000 going to law school, and you gave me [only] a \$25.00 raise"--(because he had paid me \$175.00 as chief clerk). He said, "Hiram, you don't know anything yet. Take the job." (laughter)

So I took the job. I was doing the work. I was advisor to certain committees. I did a lot of work going after delinquent fathers who wouldn't pay for punitive child [support], and brought a lot of fathers to court and made them pay for [the care of] their illegitimate child[ren].<sup>72</sup>

In the mid 1930's it was possible for the City and County attorneys to engage in the private practice of law even while they were full-time employees of Honolulu's legal department. The one restriction was that there could be no specific conflict of interest. Accordingly, Fong took private cases on the side. This enabled him to begin paying off his debts, and just as importantly, to start saving toward the day that he might be married.

In the interim, he became disappointed over the work that he was doing for the local government. The responsibilities assigned him were minor, in his view, and he began to chafe under the situation. Routine court cases began to bore him. His naturally sharp mind, honed at Harvard, yearned for more important duties. Fong termed the years he spent as civic legal counsel (1935-1938) as the low point of his entire career. He stated,

I felt I was really in the doldrums. I would go to lunch about 11:30, [and] come back about 1:30 because sometimes there wasn't too much to do, and I would feel very, very downhearted and depressed. I felt, gee whiz, with all my education, is this all I am going to wind up doing?<sup>73</sup>

### Courtship and Marriage

Not only was Fong deeply influenced by the work of the Congregational Church and the Y.M.C.A. from childhood through his association with the University unit of the "Y", but it was also at an organized



activity for young adults at the First Chinese Church of Christ that he met the young lady he would marry. As noted, her name was Ellyn Sai Ngun Lo.

Their courtship began, as Fong noted later, because "we met very fortuitously. In fact, I was supposed to have a date with another young lady from the Christian Endeavor Society of the church. Somehow, she didn't come....We were [to go] on a picnic."<sup>74</sup> Ellyn Lo had gone to the picnic because she was then living with her half-brother, Dr. Alexander Yee, at 3742 Harding Avenue in the Kaimuki district of Honolulu. Her friend and neighbor, Margaret Yee, had invited her to the outing. It was Miss Yee who introduced Fong to Ellyn Lo. At the time, Fong was in his third and final year at the University of Hawaii and Lo was a sophomore at McKinley High School, although she was older than the average sophomore, having spent some time in China as a child.<sup>75</sup>

Her father was Lo On, an immigrant from Shekki village in the Chungshan district of China. He had been a cook on the S. S. Kinau for several years, but left that job to purchase and operate a small restaurant in Ewa, Oahu. Later he owned and operated Ewa Market, which was located in Ewa Plantation, although his main occupation was listed as "baker" in 1930.<sup>76</sup> Lo On never learned to speak English, but he became a successful small businessman, according to his daughter.

Her mother was Lo Ching Shee (Kim Kyun Ching Lo), who was born in Honolulu in 1874, and was a second generation American-Chinese. Although her own mother had been born in Hawaii, Mrs. Lo did not speak English either, but conversed in Hawaiian as well as Chinese.<sup>77</sup> In this respect, Mrs. Lo resembled Fong's mother. Mrs. Lo was the eldest of four daughters in the Ching family, which also included two brothers. Her youngest

sister, Amy Fookyau Ching (or Cheng; she used both surnames), attended Wellesley and graduated from the University of Hawaii as a teacher. Amy F. Ching also taught in the Hawaii public school system for many years, marrying and having a daughter named Amy Corinne Ching. Amy C. Ching later married William Shaw Richardson,<sup>78</sup> an early and staunch supporter of the Democratic Party in Hawaii and of the late Governor John A. Burns. It was Burns who appointed Richardson as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the staunch Democrat Richardson and the life-long Republican Fong were related by marriages to first cousins Amy Corinne Ching and Ellyn Lo, respectively.

Mrs. Lo On had been married previously to Yee Yong, a tailor, and they had one son, Alexander Y. Yee. When Alexander was a youngster, his father died. Alexander Yee was educated as an optometrist and optician, and by the time Fong met Lo, had established a practice with upstairs offices at 82 North King Street in Honolulu. Yee was married to Emma Kau, and they became the parents of Wadsworth Yee (Hawaii State Senator, attorney, business executive, and active Republican).<sup>79</sup>

Mr. and Mrs. Lo On had three children: a son, Herbert Lo (who married Alyce Lee; he retired as a United States Army Colonel after a lengthy service career and then later retired as a civilian worker at Fort Shafter, Oahu); a daughter, Ellyn (who was born on December 21, 1911 and married Fong); and another daughter, the late Ella Lo Lam (who graduated from the University of Hawaii and taught for many years in the territorial Department of Public Instruction. Ella was married to Philip Lam, a pharmacist who operated the pharmacy at the Chock-Pang Clinic, Inc. in Honolulu. Lam was a partner with Fong in the Alakea Drug Store, which will be discussed in a later chapter.)

Ellyn Lo first attended public schools in Ewa, but later lived with her half-brother Dr. Yee in order to be able to go to the schools in Honolulu, which were considered better than the plantation schools. When she was about nine years old, her mother took the children back to visit their paternal grandmother in China. Living for about a year in the village, the others returned to Honolulu while Ellyn stayed on with her second aunt in Shanghai for an additional nine months. The reason for the trip and stay in China was that her mother wanted her to "acquire more Chinese culture." Hawaii at that time was considered by its residents of Chinese ancestry as more "crude" and "rough and tumble" than the homeland of their ancestors. Every Chinese family that could afford it sent their sons and daughters to China to be educated.

Returning to Honolulu and the public schools, Ellyn Lo graduated from Washington Intermediate School. She then attended McKinley High School, but transferred to the newly-opened Roosevelt High School, from which she graduated in 1932. While at McKinley, she was considered "outstanding in oratory...and represented McKinley in the territorial finals of the Constitutional Oratorical Contest."<sup>80</sup> She also attended Chinese language schools.

A common love of athletics and public speaking, and the fact that opposites seem to attract each other formed the initial components drawing Ellyn Lo and Hiram Fong together. Asked what first attracted her to Hiram, she at first demurred, but later said, "Well, you know, he's big and strapping, and tall. And very athletic. And I was very athletic myself." She played tennis, swam and was the star pitcher in the Chinese school softball games. She also played volleyball, a game in which Fong was proficient. Neither of them learned to love the game of golf.

She was attracted also to his obvious intelligence, and made the following comparison between herself and Fong: "Well, he's so smart, you see. I'm not that smart. (laughter) I just have a lot of common sense, but I'm not blessed with as much brains as he is. He has a photographic mind. He really can remember things."

In describing her appeal to him, Fong noted how opposite he felt to his wife at their first meeting. He recalled

Well, to me, I was a rough, tough and ready individual who was brought up in a tough situation in Kalihi, who came from a home which didn't have the amenities. She was to me one who was very delicate. She depicted the side that I was lacking. She had certain attributes which would complement mine. Mine was rough, tough, and ready, as I said, crude, unpolished, and she represented the other side: a very fine young lady. Maybe that's the reason why I was attracted to her. Of course, she is quite pretty.<sup>81</sup>

In contrast to Fong's perpetual tanned complexion and stentorian voice, she was fair and very soft spoken. At 5'4", she was also slender and seemed taller than the average American-Chinese girl of her time. They continued to date when Fong worked as Chief Clerk before going off to Harvard Law School. In the meantime, she graduated from high school.

It did not surprise her that Fong wanted to go on for further education after graduating from the university. She said, "That was his dream, to become a lawyer. And at that time, we didn't have a law school here. And since he wanted to go to law school, he might as well go to the best one." She did not help him make that decision.

I knew that was what he really wanted. And I didn't...say, 'Oh, I wish you weren't going.' I didn't hamper him, although I knew it was a good long three years....I wanted him to go because that was what he always wanted to do.

When Fong departed for Cambridge, she went to Lingnan University in China, but remained for only six months. She found it difficult to keep up in the classes, which were conducted in Chinese. Returning

to Honolulu, she obtained a Bachelor's degree in Education from the University of Hawaii in 1937, and a fifth year teaching certificate the following year. During the three years Fong was at Harvard, they corresponded and dated when he returned home for the summers.

The couple followed the American way of dating. They met each other's parents and family, but did not discuss their relationship with their elders. Fong always had a car to drive after working at Pearl Harbor. The first was a Ford, then an Essex which Leonard gave him. Following law school, he acquired a 1927 La Salle roadster. "It was a beautiful car," Fong recalled wistfully many years later, "but it was a gas eater." He said, with a twinkle in his eyes, "Every time I would take her home to Ewa, why, it would cost me a lost of money." Later on he bought a Studebaker. None of the automobiles cost him more than \$250. He stated that "All of them were old cars because I couldn't [afford to] buy a new car."<sup>82</sup>

Their courtship lasted for nine years, and almost floundered at one time. Mrs. Fong stated that,

It was a matter of economics. So, we waited, and I'm glad, in a way, that [there] was a little hardship. But if I had it to do over again...nine years is a long courtship. (laughter) I mean, it could have fallen by the wayside, you know? Because, at one point, we almost fell apart...We agreed that he would take anybody out he wanted, and I would too. But after a week, he just couldn't stand it....So we're not sorry one bit [for the long delay]....But, as I said, if I had to do it all over, I wouldn't advise anyone to go through a long period of courtship.

Although he had friends among all the various ethnic groups in Hawaii, it turned out that Fong never dated girls who were not of Chinese ancestry, and there were actually few of these. According to his own admission, he was a

non-social person....I didn't have the time for it. I was always working, always doing something, so I didn't have much occasion to date, although I did go with several girls of Chinese ancestry, but nothing came of it.<sup>83</sup>

This fact was confirmed by Kim Fan Chong, who was at the same picnic where Fong met his future wife.<sup>84</sup> There was no pressure from his family to restrict his social life, but he was certainly aware of the Chinese tradition of marrying within one's own heritage group. However, by the mid-1930's, many of the old cultural practices and beliefs were fading in the light of a changing Hawaii more and more influenced by American ways. The need to live and work in an integrated community militated for a more pragmatic approach toward such basic ideas as marriage and family customs.<sup>85</sup>

The parents were not consulted in the marriage plans. Fong indicated,

We made the decision. Her mother was born here, so she [Ellyn] is third generation. Her mother was more Americanized than my mother. But with me, with my family, I was the seventh child... and by that time...the feeling to retain the cultural traditions and to live by them strictly was quite eroded. I would say Mother felt that we're in this community, an American community, and it was up to us to decide what we wanted. So there was no need to ask them because they left it to our own discretion.<sup>86</sup>

Another factor was that both Fong and Lo were Protestants and believed in American independence of thought and action.

The announcement of their engagement was made on Saturday, April 16, 1938. The occasion was a tea dance held at the Alexander Young Hotel roof. Hosts for the festivities were Mr. and Mrs. Chinn Ho. The announcement itself was made to 20 close friends and relatives on "charming place cards" with a corsage at each place set.<sup>87</sup> At this time, Ellyn Lo was "on the faculty of Kawanakoa School" (practice-teaching).<sup>88</sup> Fong was then president of Tu Chiang Sheh, a fraternity whose name meant "seek strenth society" (established at the University of Hawaii

ten years previously), and the Kalakaua PTA; vice-president of the McKinley Alumni Association and the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association; English secretary of the Tan Sing Dramatic Club; and member of the Chinese University Club, as well as the Commercial Associates.<sup>89</sup>

She set the date for Saturday, June 25, 1938 without the help of Chinese oracles. The wedding was held at the First Chinese Church of Christ, and the time was 5:00 p.m. A large wedding was planned, and almost immediately after the announcement, the popular couple was honored at a round of social activities. She was feted at a number of showers, the first being a linen shower given by Mrs. Chinn Ho, her matron of honor, at the latter's home at 700 16th Avenue. Other luncheons and showers followed.<sup>90</sup>

Several stag parties were held to celebrate Fong's last few weeks of bachelorhood. Best man Chinn Ho tendered the first of several parties at a sukiyaki dinner at the latter's home. The First Chinese Church also held a party for him just before the wedding.<sup>91</sup>

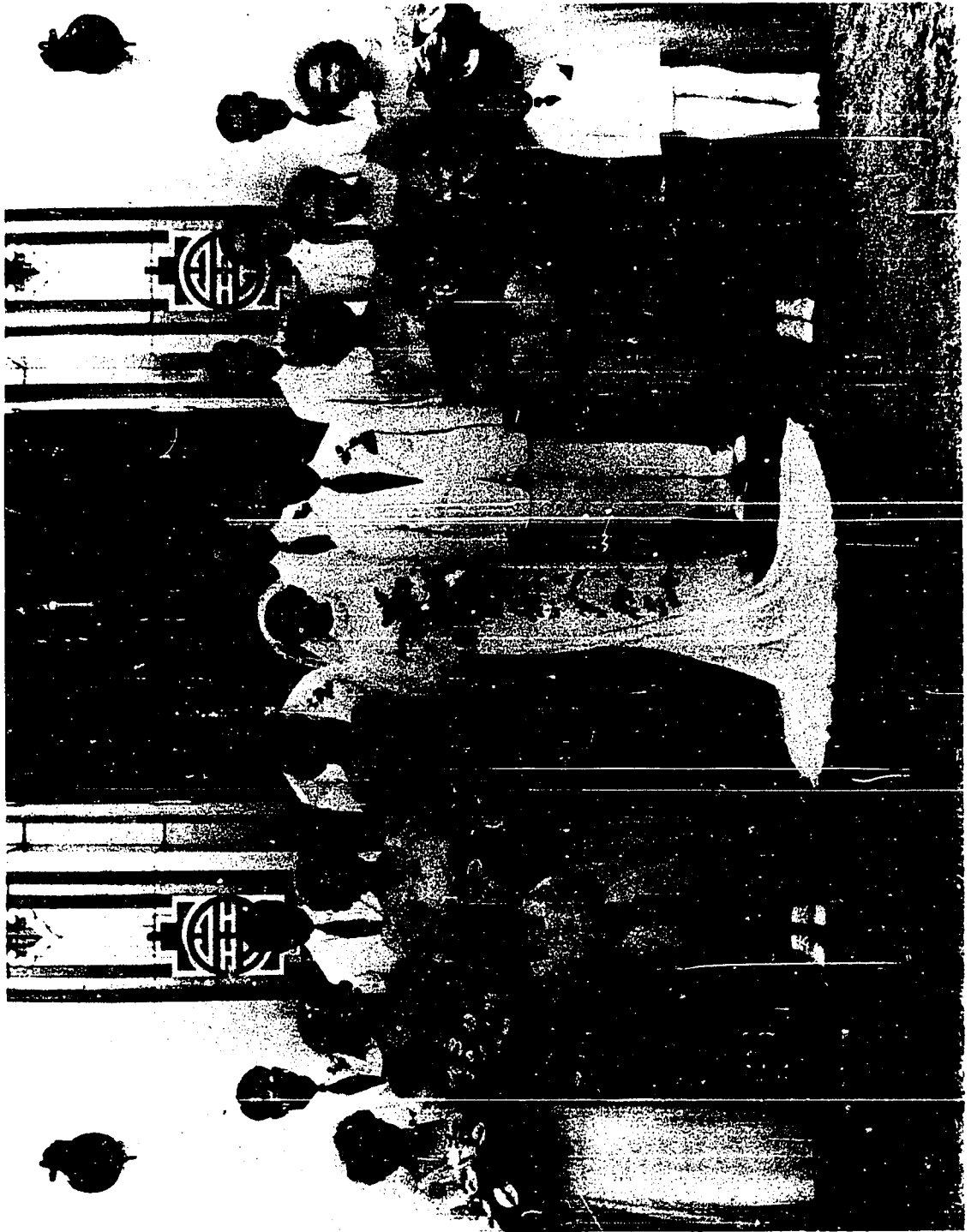
The wedding itself was a gala affair, described as an "impressive twilight ceremony which occupied the center of the social stage."<sup>92</sup> Both Eastern and Western cultures were reflected in the wedding arrangements. Officiating at the rites were the Rev. Kim On Chong, who read the marriage lines in English, and the Rev. Fung Tet-Yin, who quietly intoned the prayers in Chinese. Bridesmaids were Mrs. Violet Lo, Misses Ella Lo, Margaret Yee, Ella Fong, Haze! Kau, and Wai Ing Chang. Ushers were Dr. Jack Uyeda, Leonard Fong, Dr. Archie Chun-Ming, George Houghtailing, Titus Fong, and Harry Lin.<sup>93</sup>

That evening some 2,000 friends and relatives attended the reception at the Waialae Golf Club, making "it one of the largest wedding receptions

FIGURE 4. THE WEDDING PARTY

Courtesy of Hiram L. Fong files.





held there in recent years." An unusual feature of the reception was the presentation from the Commercial Associates of two rolling pins to the bride, one to be passed on to the next member to be married, and the other for permanent possession and "frequent use."<sup>94</sup>

The Tan Sing orchestra played Chinese music at both the reception and the dinner the following day given by the bridegroom's mother for 300 relatives and friends at the family home at 2191 North King Street. On the following Monday, the newlyweds flew to Maui with Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Yee, where they were to be houseguests for one month at the Yee's home in Wailuku.<sup>95</sup>

Their honeymoon plans were altered by the sudden and tragic death at sea of Mayor Fred Wright. The couple flew back from Maui after one week in order that Fong might take part in the funeral of his friend and mentor. The rites were a blend of ancient Hawaiian rites "reminiscent of the ceremonies held for the royalty" mingled with modern ceremonies. It was estimated that approximately 25,000 people walked across the flower-banked city hall to pay their last respects to "the beloved mayor who always kept the interests of the common people at heart." Large floral wreaths were sent by many individuals and groups, including the various Chinese and American-Chinese societies. After the 3 p.m. services at which the Rev. Henry P. Judd officiated, Fong was among the many Americans of Chinese ancestry who, as civic leaders, formed the funeral cortege to Nuuanu Cemetery.<sup>96</sup>

The big church wedding, the large reception at Waialae Country Club, and the party for the "old folks" and family at home following the wedding was "expected" of Fong because of his new status in the community, he said. Because the bride's parents were retired and Fong's

mother unable to contribute, the burden for the expenses fell on Fong. He was able to afford the wedding festivities because, as he said, "Luckily that year I had two cases that paid me \$1,000 apiece, and that went to pay for the parties."<sup>97</sup> Both he and his wife were very friendly and sociable individuals, and they enjoyed their role in the community.

When their first child, Hiram L. Fong, Jr., was born on October 13, 1939, Fong related with a laugh,

I had to give another party....We gave it at Wo Fat [a popular Chinese restaurant in Honolulu]. It was \$16.00 a table for a nine-course dinner....Between the marriage and the party for my son, I almost went bankrupt!

Then he went on to explain,

You know, you had to live your part in the community. They expect it of you, and your family expects it of you, so you did it even though it was rough. Naturally, if I had a father who could take care of the expenses, it would have been easy. But I still had to contribute to the support of my mother and the other members of the family, and carry on, and at that time when my salary was so low [\$237 a month], it was not easy.<sup>98</sup>

Although the newlyweds were a modern couple, they abided by the long-standing cultural tradition of the Chinese by moving into the groom's home following their marriage. It was also an economic necessity. The home, while old, was spacious, and an additional bathroom was added for their convenience. Ellyn Fong easily assumed her role in the household. As the wife of the eldest son living at home, she was accorded the respect of her mother-in-law, her sisters-in-law, and the other members of the family. She cooked and otherwise participated in the life of the family.<sup>99</sup>

The bride accepted a position teaching on Kauai at the Eleele School. However, Fong quickly put a stop to her being away. After a month, he went to see Oren E. Long, who was then Superintendent of Public Instruction. (Long was later appointed Governor of Hawaii, and

was elected along with Fong to the United States Senate following statehood.) Fong, with a grin, said he told Long, "I say, 'fire her!'"<sup>100</sup> and Ellyn Fong resigned to return to Honolulu. Aside from substitute teaching during World War II, Mrs. Fong did not work professionally after the time she was "fired."

Ellyn Fong indicated that from their very first meeting, she had supported Fong in whatever he wanted to do. In this sense, she was the epitome of the "good" Chinese wife, who was expected to go along with her husband's wishes. While Mrs. Fong undoubtedly was consulted in many of Fong's decisions, she had continually followed a philosophy which is best described in her own words:

In all his decisions...I always let him make up his own mind. And whatever he wants to do...whatever he decides to do, I will go all the way with him, although many times that's not what I want, you know. Like, in politics. I would be satisfied...well, don't run again. But if that's what he wants, I'm not going to stop him, I'm not going to be miserable over it, you know. I'll go with him, and I'll make the best of everything.

The unqualified support which Fong received from his wife undoubtedly freed him to make the choices he saw fit to make. This created a secure Chinese family atmosphere in which he was not overly concerned about trouble in his home and personal life arising from a disgruntled wife who might be sniping at him from the sidelines.

#### Aspirations as an Attorney

Having been strongly imbued during his undergraduate years with the spirit of internationalism, of Protestant Christianity, and the place of Hawaii as the rightful gateway to the Pacific, Fong attempted to put into practice the ideals he had espoused on the editorial pages of Ka Leo o Hawaii and which had formed the subject of many of his prize-winning orations. Upon his return from Harvard, he thought he

could do this through his legal training. It was his hope that he could be a "bridge" between the everyday people of Hawaii and the ruling Caucasian oligarchy. The basis for Fong's reasoning lay not only in the fact that he was popular among his peers, but that he had already achieved some status within the power structure of the Republican Party. As has been noted, the promise of a job with the City and County legal staff had already been made to Fong by Honolulu Mayor Fred Wright even before leaving for Harvard, and the pledge had been honored. Many years later Fong expressed his hope in the following words:

When I went to law school, I thought that I could be a liaison between the Caucasian group, who controlled the economy here, who controlled the political situation here...to be a liaison with the local people, especially among the Chinese people.<sup>101</sup>

Here again is evidence that his early family training in the principles of loyalty to one's own ethnic group formed the basis for his priorities.

### Self-reliance

If Fong had ever entertained any hopes that as a Harvard Law School graduate he might expect to handle some work for the established Caucasian law firms associated with the Big Five in Hawaii, those hopes were banished quickly and effectively. He recalled, "Even when I became Speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives..and I was practicing law...I never got a case from the entrenched people here. I never got a case."<sup>102</sup>

In the mid-1930's none of the firms felt it necessary to have on their staffs representatives from any of the racial minorities, even to serve as a "token" of equal opportunity (as became the practice among some in later years). While it was true that the two advisors to the Hawaii Union, Arthur G. Smith and Charles R. Hemenway, had been favorably

impressed with Fong's oratorical abilities, and Smith had been instrumental in getting Fong admitted to Harvard, the question of Fong's ultimately being accepted into Smith's firm of Smith, Wild, Beebe & Cades, or into Hemenway's company, Alexander & Baldwin (for which he was vice-president and assistant manager in 1935), never came up for discussion. Fong said that even his entry into politics, as a member of the all-powerful Republican Party, was made without any thought of attaining any of the powerful positions he was later to hold. For one such as he, of Chinese stock, born, raised and still residing in the low-income, rural area of Kalihi, such prospects were not likely.

While Fong may have been disappointed and irritated at the lack of business with the established law firms, he did not permit it to detract from his own attempts to become successful. Again, his fatalistic approach to life, acquired from his Chinese parents, formed the basis for his philosophic acceptance of the prevailing economic and social conditions in Hawaii in the mid-1930's. However, Fong was a bit different from the other Chinese in the community. He was not passive about his personal situation. He had absorbed to a great extent the lesson he had learned from the Protestant churches and the Y.M.C.A. of his youth, which was to try to develop his fullest potential as an individual. This was completely harmonious with the philosophic teaching of his parents and the example they had set by their own hard work. Thus encouraged toward self-development and enterprise, Fong almost immediately began to seek his fortune along several lines in the wider Hawaiian community.

He explained his attitude as follows:

I was a practical individual. I knew the score; I accepted it, I knew that I had to make my own way, and that I couldn't depend on any one of them to really help. And probably, it was best. It probably was best, because, if I had had any help from them, probably I would not have struggled the way I have struggled. I would not have really built the confidence in myself, nor would I have had the courage to do what I did. And being that I had to rely upon my own resources and upon my own friends and upon the people who believed in me, I was never dependent upon any [other] sources. It was a dependence upon myself, upon my own abilities, upon my own hard work. And that carried me through in everything I did. It carried me through.<sup>103</sup>

In time this philosophy and willingness to work would gain him entre into the power blocs of the Legislature and make possible the formation of a financial empire quite apart from the influence of the Big Five. A major factor in his success was getting involved in politics and public service.

#### Orientalism in Politics

Fong was fortunate in that the Orientals in Hawaii became active and acceptable in politics earlier than in any other part of the United States. By the mid-1920's, Island Orientals were becoming highly visible in the political field. Their appeal was from the start based on the ability to cross ethnic and economic lines, as we shall note. Had he been born, or grew up, in a place other than Hawaii, it is quite probable that he would not have been encouraged to proceed to elective office at the time that he felt ready. The opportunity to advance through this means would have been essentially denied him.

As an example of this phenomenon, Orientals in the United States mainland became active in politics much later than those in Hawaii. Even in the areas where they congregated, and made an important impact in the community, as in San Francisco and the West Coast, politics was not a favored occupational choice. Ben Fong-Torres, writing in 1971 about the

aspirations of parents of Chinese ancestry, noted that they still valued the traditional occupations like medicine, law, engineering, or other professions above all others for their children. In great frustration, he wrote,

...[a] respectable-sounding high-salaried job, good face for the family name and a measure of independence from the American mainstream. Study for yourself, work for yourself and family-- parents, children, yourself. Which meant politics were out.<sup>104</sup>

Orientalists in Hawaii helped to bring about change through politics and the emerging Democratic Party following the end of World War II hostilities.

Not surprisingly in a polynesian, ocean-active society, there is a popular saying in Hawaii that translates "A canoe is not swamped by the outside wave, but by the inside wave." Thus "Aole Make ka waa i ka ale owoho, aia no ka ale oloko o ka waa." It means that the rush of water that often billows beneath the surface of an outrigger canoe when it rides below the crest of a giant comber might suddenly nudge and twist the canoe sideways so that it will veer dangerously on the wave and be swamped. Theon Wright used the term in referring to the nudge caused to Hawaii by the onslaught of World War II, the return of better-educated war veterans anxious for community participation, and the rise to prominence of many American-Japanese. Foremost among them was the popular war veteran and current United States Senator Daniel Inouye.<sup>105</sup>

With all due respect to Wright, Inouye and all the Americans of Japanese ancestry, and to the John A. Burns faction of the Democratic Party in Hawaii, I suggest that the same Hawaiian saying might be applicable to describe Hiram L. Fong. Beginning in 1938, he embarked on his own "independent" or "maverick" brand of Republicanism. This



had a definite effect upon the ultimate breaking down of the power held by the entrenched Republican legislators and politicians representing Big Five concerns. In order to accomplish this, Fong had to subjugate any traditional Chinese-like characteristics he might have had of fitting within the status quo, of not making waves, of accommodating to the system as it had existed for decades instead of challenging it. What made his efforts significant is that he acted from within his own political party; he did not challenge the power structure in Hawaii from outside the system, but exerted his force from within. In so doing, he effectively drove a wedge into the solid wall of Republicanism in Hawaii by hammering at it from inside the fortress. An additional significant aspect of this is that he started some 16 years before the Democratic takeover in 1954. Through a series of personal assaults against his own party's leadership, he made a definite contribution toward the final erosion of the established power structure, leading to what Fuchs claimed was the Democratic "social revolution"<sup>106</sup> five years before Statehood was achieved. Yet Fong remained a staunch member of the Republican Party, and became its national standard-bearer from the Islands after 1959, as has been noted.

The following chapters are devoted to the highlights of his efforts. While no attempt is made to be complete and comprehensive in all areas of his life and affairs, this part of the study will focus on the major events in politics, business, and government which directly affected, and were in turn affected by, Fong's exertions and viewpoints. Through his reactions and actions, the effect these events had on the wider Hawaiian community will be described. In the process, we shall see that Fong became educated in a most unique way. He came to realize

that he was a special example of the American experience. Others came to view him in that light as well. However, in the beginning he certainly had no idea how matters would turn out.

Many decades after graduating from Harvard Law School, Fong, then a retired United States Senator, said,

Never did I dream that I could become Speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives. Nor did I ever dream that I could become a United States Senator and...dictate the appointment of people....That was the farthest from my mind, because it was not possible. It was not possible. Everything was new ground to be plowed. And if you wanted to plow, it was like plowing in the ocean.<sup>107</sup> (emphasis added)

NOTESCHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Hiram Leong Fong [HLF], Recorded interview, 24 March 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 257-289 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>2</sup>Harvard University, Expenses and Financial Aids (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1933), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 5, 7.

<sup>4</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 27 August 1979.

<sup>5</sup>HLF, Personal interview, 12 February 1979.

<sup>6</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 16 March 1977.

<sup>7</sup>HLF, 9 March 1977.

<sup>8</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin [HSB], 13 August 1932, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Lawrence Lit Lau, Telephone interview and notes, 17 January 1979.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 27 April 1977.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Robert A. Robinson, Recorded interview, 30 December 1977.

<sup>18</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 12 February 1979.

<sup>19</sup>Lau, loc. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Robinson, loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 16 March 1977.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Harvard University, Catalog (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1934-1935), pp. 536-357. Hereafter cited as: Harvard Catalog.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>HLF, 16 March 1977.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Robinson, loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup>HLF, 16 March 1977.

<sup>30</sup>Robert A. Robinson, Letter to the author, 13 February 1978.

<sup>31</sup>HLF, March 16, 1977.

<sup>32</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.

<sup>33</sup>HLF, 16 March 1977.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>HLF, 24 March 1977.

<sup>36</sup>Harvard Catalog, 1934-1935, pp. 535-536.

<sup>37</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.

<sup>38</sup>HLF, 27 April 1977.

<sup>39</sup>Lau, loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.

<sup>42</sup>Lau, loc. cit.

<sup>43</sup>HLF, 27 April 1977.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.

<sup>47</sup>Lau, loc. cit.

<sup>48</sup>John A. Lapp. The First Chapter of the New Deal (Chicago: John A. Prescott & Sons, 1933), p. 15.

- <sup>49</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.
- <sup>50</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup>Lau, loc. cit.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>54</sup>HLF, 16 March 1977.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup>HLF, 12 February 1979.
- <sup>57</sup>David K. Diamond, Telephone interview, 23 August 1979.
- <sup>58</sup>Robinson, 30 December 1978.
- <sup>59</sup>Law School of Harvard University, "Record of Hiram Leong Fong." Xerox copy issued 20 September 1977. See also Harvard Catalog, 1934-1935, pp. 530-532.
- <sup>60</sup>Law School of Harvard University, Form letter from William L. Bruce, Secretary, June 1969.
- <sup>61</sup>HLF, 16 March 1977.
- <sup>62</sup>Tributes, p. 3.
- <sup>63</sup>Rebecca Ing Fong, Telephone interview, 11 September 1979.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>65</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 11 September 1979.
- <sup>66</sup>Rebecca Ing Fong, loc. cit.
- <sup>67</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>68</sup>HLF, 11 September 1979. See also Chinn Ho, Recorded interview, 23 May 1978, and passim.
- <sup>69</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 12 February 1979.
- <sup>70</sup>Beatrice Fong Ching, Recorded interview, 30 August 1978; HLF, Telephone interview, 30 August 1978.
- <sup>71</sup>HSB, 4 December 1935, p. 7.
- <sup>72</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 1 February 1978.
- <sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 6 April 1977.

<sup>75</sup>Ellyn Lo Fong, Recorded interview, 4 May 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 291-302 were supplied by Mrs. Fong on this date except as otherwise cited.

<sup>76</sup>Polk's Directory of City and County of Honolulu, 1930-1931, p. 341.

<sup>77</sup>Hunnie Yee (Mrs. Wadsworth), Telephone interview, 20 September 1979.

<sup>78</sup>Etta Ching Won (Mrs. Raymond), Telephone interview, 15 September 1979.

<sup>79</sup>Yee, loc. cit.

<sup>80</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>HLF, 30 September 1977.

<sup>83</sup>HLF, 13 April 1977.

<sup>84</sup>Kim Fan Chong, Telephone interview, 12 August 1979.

<sup>85</sup>HLF, 13 April 1977.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Hawaii Chinese Journal, 22 April 1938, p. 5. Hereafter cited as: HCJ.

<sup>88</sup>HCJ, 18 February 1938, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup>HCJ, 22 April 1938, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup>HCJ, 27 May 1938, p. 5; 17 June 1938, p. 5; 24 June 1938, p. 5.

<sup>91</sup>HCJ, 17 June 1938, p. 5.

<sup>92</sup>HCJ, 1 July 1938, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup>HSB, 25 June 1938, p. 4.

<sup>94</sup>HCJ, 1 July 1938, p. 1.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>HCJ, 8 July 1938, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Ching, loc. cit.

<sup>100</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>101</sup>HLF, 1 February 1978.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>Ben Fong-Torres, Chink!, ed. by Cheng-Tsu Wu (New York: World Publishing, 1972), p. xiii.

<sup>105</sup>Theon Wright, The Disenchanted Isles (New York: Dial Press, 1972), p. 101.

<sup>106</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 308-322.

<sup>107</sup>HLF, 1 February 1978.

CHAPTER VI1938-1943Decision to Enter Politics, 1938

After three years in public legal work, Fong recalled,

I was getting tired of being a deputy City and County attorney. I didn't see any future in it. I felt that my time was wasted there. I didn't have any pep at all...Although I was able to practice outside (they allowed us to do some [private] practicing) still it was a very wearying job, and it didn't offer any incentive and it didn't spur me on.<sup>1</sup>

While Fong was allowed a certain amount of independence in working on and completing his assignments, it was the nature of the work that led him to decide to leave. While with the City and County, his private cases were not the type which involved going to trial court: he handled insurance claims, deeds, wills and matters which did not involve complex legal issues.<sup>2</sup> He explained that as "one feeding at the public trough, getting paid," he "suffered a depression of the spirit, and a feeling of a lack of accomplishment." It was the low point of his life. He was "existing, but with no plans," but he "had to have some income." He also recognized that he "lacked real experience in the law."<sup>3</sup>

He realized that if he were to get ahead at all, he would have to leave public employment and build up his private practice. In order to do that, he had to become better known in the community. The time-tested way for most attorneys to do that was to enter politics. He explained simply, "So I thought, well I'd better get out...and since



I [was] going to get out, I'd better run for office and that is the reason why I ran for office."<sup>4</sup>

He made the decision to run for the House of Representatives quite on his own. No representative from the Republican Party came to ask him to run. Because Leonard was living in his own home, he had little impact on the decision, although in Fong's words, "I don't remember, but we were close and we saw each other from time to time. We must have talked about it." His mother, being unable to read or write, also was not involved in the decision to run for political office, and was kept unaware of the problems which developed in Fong's first try for office.<sup>5</sup>

#### Stormy Entry Into Politics

Fong aptly described his first political efforts as symptomatic of future elections and activities in public service. He indicated, "My entry into politics was very tumultuous and my role has not been easy in politics."<sup>6</sup>

The reasons for his initial difficulties were complex, but centered on two basic issues: (1) he quickly asserted his political independence; and (2) he was faulted for a conflict of interest: he did not resign his City and County position before being elected to public office. Yet, as we shall see, in this instance he was merely following the heretofore recognized practice in Hawaii of some territorial Government workers also serving as elected territorial officials.

### The Kalihi Community Club

At about the same time that Fong decided to enter politics, he found a project almost tailor-made to bring his name and activities to the forefront of the voters in the Fifth District and the wider Honolulu area. The Hawaii Housing Authority was planning the acquisition of land at the old Kamehameha Girls' School site in Kalihi to build some 220 homes as part of their "slum clearance units." The property adjoined two of the then largest public schools in the Territory, the Kalakaua Junior High School and the Farrington Senior High School. Having been recently elected president of a newly-formed Kalihi improvement association, the Kalihi Community Club, Fong called a meeting of members on September 1, 1938. It was about a month before the primary elections.<sup>7</sup>

The residents of Kalihi strongly opposed the construction of slum clearance units in their area, and 150 of them unanimously endorsed a resolution protesting the Hawaii Housing Authority's (H.H.A.) planned acquisition. As stated in the resolution, the site was needed for a Kalihi civic center; Kalakaua Junior High School and Farrington High School had a combined enrollment of some 4,500 students, and existing recreational space was desired; the Girls' School site was on King Street and therefore was an expensive acquisition for low cost housing; the proposed housing would bring a "thousand people or more" into the district overtaxing existing facilities and "would tend to depress the general spirit of the community"; Kalihi was primarily a residential community where homes represented the life savings of the residents and the proposed development would result in two and one-half times the congestion desirable and originally intended; the site as proposed was not within walking distance of where the majority of slum dwellers work; the price set was

"far in excess of its value"; it would be more advantageous for the H.H.A. to acquire the new Farrington High School site because it was twice the size of the Girls' School location and the appraised value of the new Farrington High School property was some \$16,000 less than that of the planned housing site; utilities as claimed were actually not readily available; and drainage was poor.<sup>8</sup>

Never one to do things half-way, Fong saw to it that the resolution included a statement that copies would be sent to

the President of the United States, the United States Housing Authority; the Hawaii Housing Authority, the Delegate to Congress, the Governor of the Territory, the Legislature of the Territory, the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of Honolulu, and the various newspapers in the City of Honolulu.<sup>9</sup>

The resolution received much publicity in the press. Further community action resulted in changes in the management of the Hawaii Housing Authority and a delay in construction of the first unit (following involvement in the issue by the Honolulu Board of Supervisors and the Delegate Samuel King) until the following August. But the Kalihi association was ultimately stymied. Legislation offered by territorial Representatives Henry Akina, Mossman, Eguchi, and Lee became mute when the H.H.A. legally acquired the disputed site.<sup>10</sup>

While Fong and the Kalihi Community Club lost their battle on the low income housing units, the publicity he gained as one willing to fight the established agencies and officials, and, moreover, succeeding to the point of achieving a delay in construction, was of great significance to his image in the eyes of the public. He acquired, at this early stage in his career, a reputation more like that of an aggressive American than as one of the accommodating Chinese with whom the community was accustomed to dealing.

### First Campaign

On August 5, 1938, Fong announced his candidacy for one of the six seats for the territorial House of Representatives from his own Fifth District. At the time, the District ran from west of Nuuanu Avenue to Kahuku, excluding Kailua. Fong took a leave of absence from his job to campaign, but did not resign. He was then becoming active in many organizations, having just been voted chairman of the newly-organized Kalihi Community Club, as previously noted. He was already an officer of the McKinley High School Alumni; the Farrington, and Kalakaua Parent-Teachers' Associations, Commercial Associates, and Hawaii Chinese Civic Club; a member of the Lions Club; Order of Foresters, Court Lunalilo; Gold Star Lodge of Honolulu; University of Hawaii Alumni, and the Reserve Officers' Association; chairman of the Kalihi Neighborhood committee on child delinquency; county committeeman from the 26th Republican precinct club of the Fifth District; and a trustee and member of the board of the First Chinese Church of Christ. He was also a first lieutenant in the United States Army infantry reserve.<sup>11</sup>

In his announcement he stated,

My purpose in becoming a candidate is directly to aid in the material improvement of my district. Besides a keen general interest in the affairs of the territory, I have a special desire to push public improvements for the entire Kalihi section and other parts of the Fifth District. They are badly needed and if I am elected I will concentrate on those matters.<sup>12</sup>

As a neophyte Republican candidate, Fong was included in the rallies organized by the Party. Political rallies were held throughout the islands and always included music, hula dancing, and speeches in both English (and the Hawaiian language for those candidates who could manage it). For example, delegate Samuel Wilder King always spoke in both languages. The most that Fong managed was a few words in Hawaiian which

appeared in newspaper advertisements. Under his name was printed "Loio Hailama" (or a variation, "Loio Hialama"), which meant "Hiram the Attorney," or "Hiram the Lawyer." Then followed "Moho Lunamakaa'inana Apana Elima" and "E koho i Loio no ke kokua ana e hana i kanawai no ka pono o ka lehulehu." This meant, "Candidate for Representative in the Legislature for the Fifth District. Vote for a lawyer to make laws for the good of the people."<sup>13</sup> The language of course was an appeal to the Hawaiian vote.

The advertisement "sponsored by friends and backers," also stated:

Hiram Fong's record in business as well as in the practice of Law, proves him eminently fitted for election to the House of Representatives. His legal practice and training furnishes him with the technical background so necessary for law-making.

Hiram Fong's unblemished record of personal integrity is Your Guarantee that he will serve you sincerely, humbly and well.

Born and reared in the Fifth District, he is well aware of your needs. Your problems are His problems. A vote for Hiram Fong is a vote for Fifth District betterment.<sup>14</sup>

At a public gathering, the leaders of the Republican Party introduced their candidates, including Fong, on September 10, 1938, but he did not speak on his own behalf until seven days later at a rally at Aala Park. At that time, he was quoted as saying, "I am a product of this district. I will legislate furthering slum clearance and the extension of the work of the public welfare committee."<sup>15</sup> His later appearances, while mentioned in the daily newspapers, received scant notices as to what he actually said.

There were so many candidates running on the Republican platform that each was restricted to a very short speech during the rallies. This was especially true of the less-important offices, where candidates were allotted only three minutes each to state their concerns. William

Elliott, Chairman of the Republican Central Committee, laid down the rules. He advised that a bell would ring signifying the end of the time period, and that if candidates ignored the bell, music would start, drowning out the speaker and forcing him to stop.<sup>16</sup> Fong recalled this tactic with great humor: "So you had to be fast about getting out what you wanted to say." There was no time to introduce his wife, who "just went to the rallies with me, sat down, that's about all...." In some of the areas of Kalihi that were strongly Democratic, Fong said, "She did pass some cards for me during election day, but outside of that, she didn't do too much in the political sense."<sup>17</sup>

The conduct of the campaign was carried out with help from old friends and supporters. Fong's words best describe these efforts:

Well, in my first campaign, I got my old friends from Kalihi and asked them to go out and help me. You know, when you first run for office, all your friends come and help you. After you are successful for a while, they all feel that you can do it on your own. In every campaign that's the way it is, unless you really go after them and tell them that you need help. But as you'll notice, any time there is a new face that comes in, all of his friends come out and really work hard for him. Then they sort of drop him after the first election.<sup>18</sup>

Friends of the late Mayor Fred Wright and of Patrick Gleason assisted Fong as well. Since he had campaigned for these men previously, he felt that "people knew me. I was not a brand new face." Leonard also helped his younger brother, although he himself was campaigning for City and County Auditor. Fong explained, "Leonard was a good campaigner and he knew a lot of people, and with his background and my background, we were able to get a lot of friends to help."<sup>19</sup>

He went

around a little from house to house in my Kalihi district, because [it was] very, very Democratic...so I went around to tell them who I was. Of course, many of them knew me [already], and it was not

too difficult. But, many of them would vote for the name "Fido" if it was on the Democratic ticket [rather] than for a Republican. Some of them were very, very die-hard Democrats....<sup>20</sup>

Fong got through the primaries without much difficulty, and then proceeded to campaign for the general election of November 8. Taking an even more personal approach, he prepared a letter to "Dear Fifth District Voter" dated November 1, 1938. He explained that time did not permit his calling upon each voter personally as he preferred to do. Citing his education and work experiences, he stated his commitment to them:

...I pledge to you that I will continue to fight for Fifth District betterment; that I will consider the various issues as they arise, intelligently and honestly; and that the duties of the office shall be discharged in the same manner and in the same spirit that I have discharged my private and professional duties--conscientiously and without discredit.

Please allow me to say that in order to secure the benefits to the Territory of Hawaii as a whole and to the Fifth District in particular, laws must be enacted which are all legal in nature. For that reason, a lawyer to represent the Fifth District as a lawmaker will be in an advantageous position to serve you. May I then as one trained in the law and as a native son of the Fifth District, solicit your kind support and humbly ask that I be favored with your vote.<sup>21</sup>

In order to secure as many Democratic votes as possible, Fong downplayed his affiliation with the Republican Party. Due to the fact that he had made his decision to run without Party encouragement, he ran more or less independently except for the fact that the Party literature included his name and picture, and he participated in all the rallies sponsored by the Party. However, he drew upon his own funds to pay for individual campaign materials.<sup>22</sup>

Fong's letter was the first public indication that he was his own political boss. Nowhere in the letter does Fong pledge to follow the Republican Party platform without question; as a matter of fact, nowhere does the term "Republican Party" appear. Only the words

"Republican nominee" under his signature attest to his political affiliation. Undoubtedly, this fact did not escape the attention of the leaders of the Party.

Despite the fact that he was a political newcomer, Fong immediately hit upon a theme which was to prove very successful, not only in his initial entry into Hawaiian politics, but in subsequent efforts as well. That theme was "local boy makes good." Fong believed that his constituents supported him because he had come up from their midst and was an example of what might be accomplished in America through dedication to hard work and perseverance. In addition to the general theme of success despite humble beginnings, Fong already had a reputation for being independent and a "fighter." Fong's ability and experience as an orator, his strong voice which enabled him to be heard above any crowd, his military bearing and general physique, and his friendly manner toward the multi-ethnic populace combined to make him an appealing candidate.

#### Winner at the Polls

In the general election of November 8, Fong polled a surprising 9,120 votes, second only to the 9,605 votes given to the front runner, the more seasoned Republican pineapple plantation chemist, George Eguchi. Another Republican incumbent, Kam Tai Lee, who was considered a party faithful, took third place with 9,090 votes. Another Republican mainstay, physician Dr. Henry C. Akina, took fourth place with 8,568 votes. Tied for fifth and sixth places at 8,231 votes each were Mrs. Bina Mossman and George Holt, Jr. Holt had the distinction of being the only Democrat elected from the Fifth District that year, polling a significantly larger number than the 6,910 votes for fellow-Democrat Charles Kauhane. In the whole territory, only one other Democrat,



Fred Schumacher of Kauai, managed to get elected in 1938. In winning handily, Fong bested the veteran incumbent Republican Edward P. Fogarty, who garnered 8,197 votes, as well as the long-time Democrat, Yew Char, who accumulated 8,147 votes.<sup>23</sup> Char was an incumbent who, in 1926, had been the first person of full Chinese ancestry to win election to the territorial House of Representatives. It will be remembered that Char had hired Fong for the temple tours when he was a University student.

The strong showing of the Republicans in 1938 could be attributed to the Party's efficient organization and reflected the hold of the Big Five over the electorate. According to Fong, "The Party machinery backed us all, and with my friends I was able to win the election. I was a young man then, and they needed the young people in their party...."<sup>24</sup>

#### Resignation and Establishment of Law Office

Because Fong had intended to resign to enter private practice anyway, he decided it was expedient to follow through on his plans. On November 12, 1938, Fong submitted the following letter, dated the day before, to Tsukiyama: "I hereby tender my resignation as Deputy City and County Attorney of the City and County of Honolulu effective as of November 7, 1938. Very truly yours, Hiram L. Fong." Tsukiyama accepted Fong's resignation with regret.<sup>25</sup> In making his resignation effective retroactive to the day before the election, Fong felt he was exercising his right as a governmental employee who was already on official leave from his position.<sup>26</sup> He thought any salary differential would have been covered because of accumulated vacation leave which he had not taken.

Having resigned, the immediate need for Fong was to have an office from which to work. He said that he just walked around, looking for an empty office space, and found one at 77 Merchant Street very quickly. His law office was to remain at that location for several years.<sup>27</sup>

#### Asserting Political Independence

The surprising strength of Fong's victory in 1938 normally would have been a source of pride and happiness for the Republicans. He was young and vigorous, and the party needed his efforts, although its leaders had not actually sought him out directly. However, Fong quickly took an independent stance from the party leadership, and immediately became the subject of harrassment and prejudice from fellow Republicans. While Fong may have expected such treatment from political opponents, he was surprised and somewhat disheartened to find it coming from his own political leaders.

The incumbent Speaker of the House of Representatives, Royal (Roy) A. Vitousek, of Oahu's Fourth District, expected Fong's endorsement for the coming session at a caucus in mid-November. Vitousek was a partner in the important law firm of Stanley, Vitousek, Pratt, and Winn, which performed much of the legal work for Big Five companies. He was also the titular head of the Republican Party in Hawaii. Much to Vitousek's surprise, the neophyte demurred, indicating that as a new legislator, he had not made up his mind. It was noted that Fong was not in opposition to Vitousek; rather, he was just undecided, but it was also stated that Fong was the only one of Oahu's elected Representatives who had not immediately backed Vitousek. Subsequent events proved that the Republican leadership was definitely annoyed with Fong, whose stance seemed

all the more foolhardy because it was acknowledged that Vitousek was positive of re-election. His only opponent, Manuel Paschoal of Maui, was but token opposition, having received only seven votes to Vitousek's 22 ballots.<sup>28</sup>

Paschoal had been the vice-speaker for several terms, and had the longest length of service in the House. Fong denied it at the time, and reiterated it again many years later, that Paschoal had approached him with an offer of the chairmanship of the judiciary committee in return for Fong's support. Vitousek's faction controlled not only the votes on Oahu, but the majority of sugar and pineapple plantation workers in the Neighbor Islands, and his election was considered by all to be a certainty. As an example to the laborers and in a silent show of multi-ethnic force, Vitousek visited the outer islands during the campaign. He traveled not only with Representatives Ralph Woolley (a wealthy and successful engineer and builder of major edifices like the Mormon Temple at Laie, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and structures such as the Dillingham Transportation, the Castle & Cooke, the Alexander & Baldwin, the Hawaiian Electric, the S. H. Kress, and other buildings) and Walter Macfarlane (vice-president and treasurer of Bowman, Holst, Macfarlane, Richardson, Ltd., an important advertising agency for the public utilities and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association) from his own Fourth District, but also with George Eguchi (who was of Japanese ancestry and worked for Hawaiian Pineapple Company), and Kam Tai Lee (who was an important business figure in the Chinese community) from Fong's own Fifth District.<sup>29</sup>

In light of Vitousek's certain selection as Speaker of the House, it is very interesting to note Fong's reason for not openly supporting Vitousek. He explained,

I didn't have anybody to vote for; I just wanted to protest [Vitousek's candidacy]. He was actually the mouthpiece of the Big Five and at that time I thought that it was too heavily weighted on the side of the Big Five....

I have always been a man who wants balance, who wants to equalize the forces, so that one can hold the feet of the other to the fire--otherwise they [the majority] run away with things. If you want a good society, you should have equal balance to the two sides, then one side would not have its way, always.

Well, at that time, I was a maverick, just finished law school, three years in the City and County attorney's office, and I came from a very independent area of the country--Kalihi, and we really had a more liberal attitude on things. I had a more liberal attitude than the Republican Party at that time as a whole.<sup>30</sup>

Considered a firm, and at times, a harsh speaker, Vitousek was not universally beloved even within his own party. The Big Island of Hawaii's Senator William "Doc" Hill accused his fellow-Republican Vitousek of being a "dictator," while on the other side of the political fence, Democratic Senator David Trask of Oahu declared in a verbal confrontation with Hill, "I do not care for Mr. Vitousek any more than you do."<sup>31</sup>

Insofar as the liberal newspaper Hawaii Sentinel was concerned, Vitousek was indeed the man to beat in the legislature. In September of 1938, the Sentinel reported that a group of G.O.P. liberals were out to defeat him. The liberals included Richard "Kingie" Kimball (nephew of Kauai's Senator Charles Rice and who later became a Democrat and then reversed himself again), Flora Hayes (former head of Hawaii's Parent-Teacher Association), and Lindsley Austin (an independent realtor).<sup>32</sup>

Kimball said that Vitousek was an "agent of the Big Five--their stooge--bought and paid for." His uncle had often locked horns in the Senate over legislation coming over from the House while Vitousek was Speaker because the two Republicans were philosophically opposed to

one another. Rice later became a Democrat. As Rice's nephew, Kimball was not really welcome in the Vitousek fold.<sup>33</sup>

When Kimball first ran for the House of Representatives from the Fourth District in 1936, he was just 21 years old. Vitousek, according to Kimball, let it be known that Kimball was not to be given assistance in the campaign although nothing overt was said or done. Kimball sought the help of Mayor Fred Wright and Oren Long, then head of the teachers' union. Wright advised Kimball to end each speech with the statement that he was in favor of strong county government, but didn't explain the reason. Kimball soon learned that Wright had let his supporters know that they should vote for any candidate who favored strong county government. In this fashion, Kimball was able to win handily, coming in second only to Walter Macfarlane in the primary election.<sup>34</sup>

Kimball recalled the strangle hold that the Republicans had on the voters, particularly those on the outer islands. Once a plantation worker advised Kimball that he could not support him because of the fact that the pension soon due the worker would be refused if he voted the "wrong way."<sup>35</sup>

At one point the liberal Republicans and Democrats believed they had a good chance of electing Manuel Paschoal as Speaker. Kimball recalled that Fong was with the "rebel bunch." However, the liberal elements were not cohesive enough and Vitousek won out. Kimball indicated that Vitousek resolved to "fix" Fong for not supporting him.<sup>36</sup>

When viewed in the light of popular votes from the Fourth District, it is even more understandable why legislators like Fong and Kimball resisted Vitousek's efforts to remain Speaker in 1938. The balloting

also underscores what Daws, Fuchs, and other writers have said about the ruling Republican oligarchy and its control of Hawaii. Vitousek was ranked the lowest candidate to be elected from a field of six representatives, polling 12,933 to Ralph Woolley's first place showing of 14,581. Successful candidates also coming in ahead of Vitousek were Walter Macfarlane (14,407), J. Howard Worrall (13,887), Richard K. Kimball (13,225), and Flora K. Hayes (13,148).<sup>37</sup>

The relative importance assigned to Roy Vitousek in Hawaiian history and politics varies from historian to historian and social scientist to social scientist. For example, Gavan Daws has no index listing for Vitousek in Shoal of Time,<sup>38</sup> but it must be remembered that Daws was much more concerned with the efforts of the native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians than he was with the legislature per se of the late 1930's and early 1940's. Gwenfread Allen likewise does not include Vitousek in the index of her definitive work on World War II, Hawaii's War Years.<sup>39</sup>

However, social scientist Lawrence Fuchs wrote of Vitousek in the descriptive book Hawaii Pono: "The three major Republican political leaders during the war years had been Farrington, King, and lawyer Roy Vitousek. A capable legislative leader, Vitousek usually spoke for the more conservative faction of the GOP."<sup>40</sup> Fuchs also noted Vitousek's dealings with John A. Burns, who was later to be Hawaii's Delegate to Congress and ultimately Governor of the State:

When Republican boss Roy Vitousek had asked him, as police captain, for a political favor, he had agreed on condition that Vitousek help the Japanese. Vitousek, prodded by Burns, changed a bill that was introduced in the legislature denying employment in any capacity in territorial government to Hawaii's Japanese people.<sup>41</sup>

Vitousek, of course, had his supporters among Oahu's representatives in the Fifth District. Kam Tai Lee said that Vitousek was "independent" of the Big Five and had introduced much good legislation.<sup>42</sup>

### The Issue of Eligibility

Section 17 of the Organic Act governing Hawaii provided that no person holding office in or under the authority of the government of the United States or the Territory of Hawaii shall be eligible to election to the legislature, or to hold the position of a member of the same while holding said office. [48 U.S.C.A. 589]<sup>43</sup>

Section 37 of the same Act provided, "That vacancies in the office of representative caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled for the unexpired term at special elections. [48 U.S.C.A. 573]" Section 15 provided that, "Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members. [48 U.S.C.A. 612]"<sup>44</sup>

Fong had not resigned his position with the Honolulu attorney's office before filing for election because neither he nor his supervisor, Wilfred Tsukiyama, had deemed it necessary. It was common knowledge throughout the Islands that several legislators were in similar circumstances, and they had never been challenged. However, Fong seemed to present a problem to other politicians. The issue of his eligibility was seemingly thrust upon the community without warning, but Fong himself recalled that there "had been some talk about it" at the time before it became a public issue.<sup>45</sup>

On November 17, 1938, headlines appeared stating "Rep. Hiram Fong's Election Illegal; violation of Organic Act, says lawyer. Protests filed." The newspaper was the Hawaii Sentinel, which favored the Democratic Party. Claiming that Fong's position made him a

territorial officer, the article went on to state that he was definitely ineligible. Furthermore, it stated that, "This means that Edward Fogarty, who was defeated by a small majority, will be able to move into his old seat in the legislature."<sup>46</sup>

Official protests were filed with Charles Hite, Secretary of the Territory. The next week, the Hawaii Sentinel reported that a legal tangle might result in seating Fong due to the provisions of the Organic Act which made each House the sole determinant of the qualifications of its members.<sup>47</sup>

The issue being thus raised, the other newspapers took up the problem as well. While it is likely that the Democrats started the questioning, there is the possibility that some Republicans "leaked" Fong's situation to the Hawaii Sentinel. However, there was no doubt, as subsequent events in the opening days of the Legislature proved, that the Republicans themselves made a great hue and cry over the issue of his right to be seated, regardless of how it was first broached.

#### The Attack in the House of Representatives, 1939

Had he been less qualified educationally, less capable, and, as a member of a minority ethnic group, less willing to take unpopular stances, he would not have been so harrassed by his own party's leadership. But in Fong's estimation, the Republicans must have seen in him a "menace" which had to be countered quickly and effectively.<sup>48</sup> The publicity about his eligibility was one approach to squelching Fong. The other approach was through votes by the members of the House.

On February 15, 1939, the opening day of the 20th session of the Legislature, the Republican leadership mounted a two-pronged attack on Fong. The first was to refer the question of his eligibility to be



seated in the House to the committee on judiciary. The eligibility of newcomer Fred L. Schumacher of Kauai was also challenged on the first day, but, as will be seen, his case was easily resolved. Fong's was not. The second was to try to amend the Organic Act with respect to the filling of vacancies.

After the traditional Hawaiian floral offerings and the music and dancing had subsided, the temporary chairman called the session to order at 10:10 a.m. A temporary clerk was elected, and the invocation was given. As the first item of business, Arthur Akina from Kamuela, Hawaii offered a resolution (H.R. No. 1), declaring the names of those who were duly elected and legally qualified to take their seats as members of the Legislature. The resolution ended with the statement "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the question of the eligibility of Hiram L. Fong and Fred L. Schumacher be referred to the Committee on Judiciary when the same is appointed." The official House Journal reported that "several members debated on the motion,"<sup>49</sup> but did not go into any details. For what went on during the discussion, one must turn to the newspapers, which fortunately gave good coverage in those days. According to Honolulu's afternoon paper, "Manuel G. Paschoal charged the men were receiving unfair treatment." Paschoal held that Reps. V. A. Carvalho, who was serving as temporary chairman, Emil M. Muller, who later was elected vice-speaker, and Francis K. Aona, West Hawaii veteran legislator, "were all [at] present public employees and their eligibility should be voted on" if the right to seat Fong and Schumacher were questioned.<sup>50</sup> But nothing came of Paschoal's comments.

By a vote of fifteen to nine the House referred the questions of Fong's and Schumacher's eligibility to the future committee on the

judiciary. No tally of the vote by individual legislator was reported in the Journal.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper also reported that,

It was said by some at the capitol that, if Schumacher and Fong were denied seats, the next highest candidates on the November ballot would be seated in their stead. This would give the places to A. Q. Marcallino of Kauai and Edward P. Fogarty of the Fifth District. Both are regarded as strong supporters of Speaker Vitousek.<sup>52</sup>

Schumacher was from Lihue, Kauai, and, as noted, one of two Democrats elected in 1938. Fong was described as "one of the Oahu members who declined to commit himself to Vitousek's speaker candidacy immediately after the election." Others at the capitol speculated that a special election would be necessary if the two were denied seats. Vitousek had been speaker since 1933.<sup>53</sup> It was later noted that Schumacher had replaced Marcallino, "a staunch Vitousek backer." Schumacher's eligibility was questioned because he had not relinquished his position as foreman of a Kauai highway crew in the department of public works until the Monday following his election.<sup>54</sup>

The Chief Justice was then called upon to administer the oath of office to all but Fong and Schumacher. Both men had to stand outside the railing which separated the duly seated legislators from the general public, recalled Fong.<sup>55</sup> The House then got on with the business of organization with nominations for Speaker. Rep. Arthur Akina, "in a speech which fittingly paid tribute to the qualities of Mr. Vitousek," nominated him. Vitousek was unanimously elected, and later appointed a temporary committee on the judiciary headed by Ralph Woolley as Chairman.<sup>56</sup> Also serving were Reps. Muller, Lai Hipp, Kimura, Ako, and Henry Robinson. Vitousek made this and other committee appointments permanent ones the following day.<sup>57</sup>

The second and less obvious attack on Fong also started on the first day. A concurrent resolution (H.C.R. No. 3), offered by Vitousek's good friend Rep. Walter Macfarlane, sought to amend the Organic Act with respect to vacancies in the legislature by memorializing the United States Congress that such vacancies be filled by "ballot of the remaining members of said House..." The House voted to refer the resolution to the Committee on Judiciary and the Committee on Enrollment, Revision and Printing for distribution to the legislators.<sup>58</sup>

Six legislative days later, another concurrent resolution was brought up on the vacancy issue, and also referred to the judiciary committee. On February 21, J. Howard Worrall offered H.C.R. No. 11, seeking to memorialize the Congress that

in the event of a vacancy in the...Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, caused by a death, resignation or disqualification, such vacancy shall be filled by the candidate who received at the last prior election for the filling of such office the highest number of votes of the candidate failing of election for such office....<sup>59</sup>

There was much discussion about H.C.R. Nos. 3 and 11. The Committee on Judiciary ultimately recommended and the House voted to send H.C.R. No. 3 to file in favor of pursuing H.C.R. No. 11. The Committee, on March 3, 1939, unanimously recommended to the membership that H.C.R. No. 11 be adopted, but action was deferred until March 6.<sup>60</sup> However, on that date, the House members unanimously voted to send the concurrent resolutions back to the Committee on Judiciary.<sup>61</sup> Finally, on March 10, the judiciary committee had the good sense to report that, "Upon further reflection...House Concurrent Resolution No. 11 should not be adopted." The reasons given included the fact that substitutions of the nature to be provided were undemocratic and not a true reflection of the electorate's wishes. While it had been argued that special elections

were too costly, the committee found that the expense would be justified. The Representatives then voted unanimously to place H.C.R. No. 11 on file.<sup>62</sup>

The eligibility question was debated in the Committee on Judiciary. Local newspapers covered the unusual event. Public interest was mounting. On February 16, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin reported that the Committee had asked territorial Attorney General Joseph V. Hodgson for an opinion on the Schumacher and Fong cases. While it had been hoped that the Committee would have been able to make a recommendation by 2 p.m. of the second day, the need to seek additional legal assistance created further delays. According to the newspaper, the Committee called before it the following persons: Hodgson, Wilfred Tsukiyama, and Louis S. Cain, superintendent of the Kauai public works department. Hodgson had noted that both Schumacher and Fong appropriately had each previously questioned his own eligibility and had been satisfied.<sup>63</sup>

The following day, Fong, Schumacher, and Leonard Fong appeared before the full committee. The Chairman read a letter from Tsukiyama which covered the history of the authorization of the position filled by Fong. Tsukiyama had requested the position of the Mayor, who then forwarded the request to the Board of Supervisors, which approved it. Fong's dates of service were given, and it was noted that Fong "handled most of the investigational work of the department, wrote minor legal opinions, handled most of the bastardy cases and a few minor civil cases."<sup>64</sup>

Fong was questioned as to his responsibilities and noted that he did not occupy his office after November 7, 1938, nor did he draw a salary after that date. He said that he had discussed his candidacy

with Wilfred Tsukiyama, his superior, who had had no objection. Fong had taken an oath of office and put up a bond in his position as chief clerk of the Bureau of Water Supply and had done the same when he joined the City and County legal department. Fong pointed out that his position was one of relative unimportance, and that the Board of Supervisors could eliminate his position at any time. He also noted that,

Mr. Charles Chillingsworth held office as a deputy county prosecutor and was a member of the Senate; that Mr. William Isaacs held a territorial office and served as a Representative, drawing salary from both positions; that Mr. James Jarrett was in the same position as Mr. Isaacs, but that he took two months' vacation during the session of the Legislature.<sup>65</sup>

He said he had always considered himself an employee, not an "official."<sup>66</sup>

The judiciary committee sought at least three legal opinions, only two of which were recorded in the House Journal. The first was from the Territory's Attorney General, J. V. Hodgson, who submitted a lengthy answer to the committee on February 18, setting forth in considerable detail the matters of law involved in this question.

Hodgson cited numerous court cases, which indicated that Fong's case might be decided either way. Fong could or could not be found to be holding any position as of November 8, 1938. Judges and juries often reached opposite findings from the same set of facts. Hodgson wrote that to be disqualified, the men must have held or be holding "an office." He said that there was a radical difference between holding an office and an employment. A position, he explained, was a public office when it was specifically created by statute. Among other things, it must be of permanent character, as opposed to duties which were temporary, occasional, or intermittent. Hodgson concluded that both men showed "good faith" when they investigated their possible

disqualification before the date of the election, and were satisfied they were eligible. He declined, however, to render an opinion as to Fong's eligibility on the grounds that by doing so he would be assuming a power which he did not in fact have, because the Organic Act provided that each House shall be the sole judge of the qualifications of its members.<sup>67</sup> While Hodgson withheld recommendations on the two men, his opinion pointed out indirectly that Schumacher was a public employee, not an official, and that Fong's case was more complex.

Unwilling to accept Attorney General Hodgson's reply, the committee sought an opinion from its own legal adviser, William B. Lymer. Lymer stated in his lengthy response of February 17, 1939 that Schumacher was eligible to election and therefore entitled to be seated in the House.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, the Judiciary Committee separated Schumacher's case from Fong's, and unanimously recommended that he be seated on February 20. The Representatives then voted to accept the report of the committee, and Schumacher was sworn into office.<sup>69</sup> While it had been expected that Fong's case would also be voted on along with Schumacher's, the Committee at the last moment decided to defer action. It was said that they needed time to study additional opinions from Lymer, as well as from that of a former chief justice of the territorial Supreme Court, A. G. M. Robertson. It was speculated in the press that both opinions were negative.<sup>70</sup> Robertson's opinion is not recorded in the Journal.

On February 21, further delaying tactics and harrassment against Fong were employed. Speaker Vitousek, an accomplished attorney and veteran legislator, must have been aware that Section 37 of the Organic Act specifically provided for special elections to fill vacancies in the Hawaii Legislature. However, he asked for an opinion on such

elections. He did this also despite the fact that the question of whether a special election was necessary to replace Fong should he be found ineligible to serve was entirely irrelevant to the issue of qualifications. Vitousek's query was immediately followed by a move to defer action on Fong's case.<sup>71</sup>

The discussion which followed was heated, with Rep. Clem Gomes stating, "I claim it is unfair to this man who is on trial before this House. We want to know if he is qualified, not how his seat can be filled in case he is ineligible." Rep. Manuel Paschoal agreed, adding that the House "should act on his case at once." The vote was a tie, 14 to 14, with Fong's three fellow Republicans from the Fifth District, Reps. Henry Akina, George Eguchi, and Kam Tai Lee voting to defer the vote. Any of the three could have voted for immediate action to end the suspense. Vitousek broke the tie by voting for deferment. Those voting to defer action until February 23, in addition to Henry Akina, Eguchi, and Lee, were Reps. Arthur Akina, Ako, Aona, Engle, Macfarlane, Muller, Robinson, Wilhelm, Woolley, Worrall, Wright and Mr. Speaker. Total: 15. Those voting not to defer action were Reps. Baker, Carvalho, Costa, Gomes, Goodness, Hayes, Holt, Kimball, Kimura, Lai Hipp, Mossman, Ouye, Paschoal and Schumacher. Total: 14.<sup>72</sup> The vote to delay was not at Fong's request. He had already indicated that he was ready to take the floor in his own defense.<sup>73</sup>

On February 23, 1939, the House acted as a Committee of the Whole to consider Fong's qualifications. The debate raged on for some three hours, during which time serious charges were hurled and met with counter charges. Rep. Woolley, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, reminded his colleagues that the law had been clearly interpreted in two opinions

and that Fong was not eligible. While Fong had acted in good faith, such matters as technicalities, good faith and expediency were matters that must come after the law, he believed.<sup>74</sup>

Representative Kimball took a strong stand in favor of seating Fong, saying that the House had already delayed a week, and, "Had Mr. Fong used his office to effect his election, might be pertinent, but if he had not, why not seat him now...." Kimball reminded the House that it was the duty of the members to do what people wanted. Since the Fifth District voters elected Fong, "what they want we should give them...."<sup>75</sup>

"Mr. Fong would be sitting in his chair instead of being on trial if he had voted for Roy Vitousek as Speaker when the caucus was held," charged Kimball.<sup>76</sup> He then "moved that the Committee of the Whole rise and report to the House recommending seating of Mr. Fong. The motion was seconded by Mr. Paschoal and several others."<sup>77</sup>

The Speaker then relinquished his chair in order to respond to Kimball's statements from the floor. Vitousek said that the problem of seating Fong

is a problem for each individual person sitting here to decide according to the dictates of his own conscience and I defy any man in this House or any lady in this House to stand on their feet and say that I have tried to influence them either for or against the seating of Mr. Fong....<sup>78</sup>

He stated that members were bound to observe the provisions of the Organic Act. The following statements, including his questioning of the right of the press to "influence" the House by means of editorials, appear below so as to present a clearer picture of Vitousek's attitudes and personality:



I also believe that in approaching a problem of this kind that we should do so deliberately and coolly, securing all the facts available, and then decide not upon the question of personality but upon the question of justness or unjustness of the proposition before us for decision. I also believe in consistence and in truthfulness. I think that is one of the essentials of the fair dealing of man to man.

I notice in the morning paper, for instance, an editorial regarding the problem coming before this house. I also notice in either last night's or the night before issue of the evening paper an editorial.

Now, in sitting here today as members of the House of Representatives, passing upon the eligibility or ineligibility of one of our members, we are sitting in the nature of judges and I would like to ask any fair minded man if it isn't improper conduct to try and influence the mind of a judge either for or against the person to be affected by the decision. I think it is highly improper that a situation of this kind should arise where the daily press endeavors to influence the members of this house upon any problem and I particularly resent the statement where it says that certain laws are nuisance and technicalities and this is one of them. [reference to the Honolulu Advertiser editorial of 2-23-39]

Probably in the future there will be before this legislature the question of reapportionment. I wonder if the daily press will say the same thing. If it be voted down by the outside island members there will be the cry that we haven't lived up to our oath of office....

The problem as brought up by the last speaker [Kimball] of whether or not Mr. Fong voted for or against me has nothing to do with the situation. It has never had anything to do with the situation. As to whether or not I am fair minded about those things I leave it to the house to decide. There were six votes against me. You can see how the two leaders against me have been treated in the organization of the house....The vote against me was a secret vote. I don't know how it was cast.

These caucuses that have been referred to were not Republican caucuses...it was my privilege to hold caucuses in my behalf. We don't invite those who are voting against us to a caucus and since the question is brought up there was never anything said by myself at the caucus where this problem was discussed as to whether Mr. Fong should be given a seat...<sup>79</sup> (emphasis added)

In his statement regarding caucuses that excluded known opponents, Vitousek was probably referring to a secret caucus that was held, perhaps early in 1939, to which Fong was the only elected Representative not invited to attend.<sup>80</sup> Two days before the Session began in February,

a House organizing caucus was held. Since Fong could not be excluded from this meeting, he was in attendance. There was a discrepancy in the number of votes for Vitousek's opponent, Manuel Paschoal, with the Honolulu Star-Bulletin reporting that he received six votes, and the morning Advertiser stating that he garnered seven votes. Vitousek, it was noted by both papers, received 21 votes. At this point Paschoal indicated he would not be a candidate for Speaker when the Legislature convened,<sup>81</sup> thus assuring Vitousek's unanimous selection as previously stated.

Speaker Vitousek called attention to the three legal opinions (from Attorney General Hodgson, Mr. Lymer, and Mr. Robertson), and remarked,

Then comes the question of whether or not the facts are such as would warrant us deciding that irrespective perhaps of how it may appear he was not actually an officer at the time. I deplore any member trying to bring in the question of personalities into this discussion.<sup>82</sup>

Lymer's opinion was brought out:

There are historic examples of persons strictly ineligible, under the law, to hold office in the United States Legislature, who have nevertheless been seated solely by the vote of the Legislature itself and in this way have become validly qualified legislators. I believe it was John Randolph in the early days of the Republic who was elected to the United States Senate before he had attained the age of thirty years--which age the Federal Constitution provided a Senator must have attained--and the Senate notwithstanding, by its vote, seated Mr. Randolph as a member of the Senate. So, also, within recent years, similar cases have occurred in both branches of the Federal Legislature. Even in Hawaii, there have been instances where citizens holding office by authority of the Territorial government at the time of the election were nevertheless seated by legislative vote and served as Territorial legislators.<sup>83</sup> (emphasis added)

Paschoal cited the case of the election in West Virginia of a United States Senator who was later found to be a few months short of the legal age, which to all intents and purposes disqualified him. Paschoal noted that the U. S. Senate, "instead of kicking this man out,

paid his salary and that of his secretary until he reached the age required to qualify him." Paschoal wondered why the territorial House could not act in a similar vein.<sup>84</sup>

It was evident from all the points being made that Fong's qualifications were at least equal to those members of the Hawaii Legislature who had served while still in public office. The discrimination against him became more and more apparent not only to the members of the House but also to the media and the spectators who crowded outside the chamber and spilled out onto the lanais and lawn area.

Fong took the floor in his own defense. He contended that the opinion of the Attorney General, while not definitely stating so, had indicated he was an employee rather than an official. Concerning the opinions of Lymer and Robertson, Fong said he believed the legal authorities had not gone fully into the case. Robertson, said Fong, had from the very start assumed Fong was an "officer," and had acted accordingly. Fong recalled that William Isaacs and James Jarrett both took leave from the City and County attorney's office in order to serve in the Legislature, and that Charles Chillingsworth was president of the Senate when he was a public official. Fong pointedly remarked, "Right in our own midst we have A. A. Akina, a Big Island deputy sheriff, who calls himself an inspector of police but his eligibility is never questioned." Fong concluded his arguments by saying, "You are judge and jury; whatever you decree will be my fate. I ask you honorable men and women that what you decide, you do only fairly."<sup>85</sup>

The Representatives were obviously swayed by Fong's arguments. Some stated they had not been fully informed on the case. Then Rep. A. A. Akina, whose resolution had originally led to the investigation, charged

that "these people who were so anxious to throw Fong out are crawling out like a person with a gun stuck in his belly." Bina Mossman, the first woman to represent the Fifth District and a firm Vitousek friend, declared, "In the distance is the echo of the voice of the people of the Fifth District. It declares him duly elected....That voice still echoes his election and asks that no maudlin technicalities prevent his being seated here as one of us today."<sup>86</sup>

In the end, the point upon which the tide turned in favor of Fong was one which had no real bearing on the issue of his qualifications. Judge Robertson had declared that a special election must be held in case Fong were disqualified.<sup>87</sup> Everyone, including the Republicans, realized that if such an election took place, Fong would run, and he would undoubtedly win. It was evident that popular sentiment had been building for the American-Chinese, who had already proved he could openly oppose his own Party's leadership. Fong was quickly becoming a cause célèbre. The attack on him had boomeranged on the Old Guard.

It was clear that Fong had won. The extent of the victory became evident when the House voted, 27 to 2, to seat him. Even Speaker Vitousek, ever the pragmatic leader, voted with the majority. The only two negative votes were cast by Reps. Woolley and Macfarlane.<sup>88</sup> The vote was received with applause from the gallery and a great deal of satisfaction by Fong and his friends.

At 12:12 p.m. on February 23, 1939, Hiram Leong Fong was administered the oath of office as a member of the House of Representatives and took his seat amongst his peers. It had taken seven legislative days (eight calendar days) to clear the question of his eligibility. The Honolulu Advertiser noted that, "Taking his seat for the first time in

the session, Mr. Fong thanked all who supported and voted for him." As might be expected, Fong was incensed over what had occurred, and instead of taking his seat quietly, the newspaper noted,

He then launched into a warm castigation of those who had been instrumental in the fight against his seating. Mr. Woolley interrupted and said there was nothing before the House. Speaker Vitousek thought the incident closed, and Mr. Fong left the remainder of the speech to the imagination.<sup>89</sup>

Many years later, Fong recalled his feelings at the time:

Oh, I was very, very angry, and I think I was quite emotional when I made the plea on the floor of the House. I think that the sentiment was all with me. People didn't feel that I should be left out of the Legislature. I was elected by the people... so why would they [the Party leaders] keep me out?<sup>90</sup>

According to the official record, the resolution to provide Fong with his salary in the Legislature was introduced by Arthur Akina, who, it will be recalled, had been the Party's earlier instrument for Fong's delayed seating. The resolution (H.R. No. 20) was unanimously adopted,<sup>91</sup> and thus the last bit of paperwork relating to Fong's full membership in the House was completed. However, there is some discrepancy between a newspaper account and the official House Journal as to which lawmaker actually offered the pay resolution. According to the Honolulu Advertiser, the man who put forth the resolution was not Arthur Akina at all, but Representative James Ako of West Hawaii.<sup>92</sup> Fong himself did not recall who offered it.<sup>93</sup> Whether the Journal was written later so as to reflect more favorably Akina's participation in the Fong affair, or whether the reporter erred, is problematical at this point, but there was no correction of the newspaper's version.

Fong's troubles, however, were not ended with his being seated. The question of money haunted him a bit longer. The issue of Fong's employment and pay schedule as Third Deputy City and County Attorney was

not resolved until later in the session. As has been noted, during the second meeting of the Committee on the Judiciary attended by Reps. Woolley, Robinson, Jr., Lai Hipp, Kimura, Ako (and at the Committee's request Judge William B. Lymer), Schumacher and Fong were invited to present their testimony. Also in attendance was Leonard Fong. Woolley read a letter submitted by Wilfred Tsukiyama, in which the latter stated that, "The record of the City and County Auditor shows that Representative Fong received his salary up to and including November 7, 1938, the date when he made his resignation effective."<sup>94</sup>

On February 27, 1939, Rep. Woolley called Tsukiyama to task. Woolley noted that Fong had received pay up to and including November 15, although he had resigned on November 12, effective November 7, 1938. On November 8, Tsukiyama had signed a pay warrant authorizing Fong's pay up to and including November 15. Woolley offered a Resolution (H.R. No. 27) which stated in part,

Resolved by the House of Representatives...that the Mayor and the Auditor of the City and County of Honolulu be advised of the fact that the payroll for...Honolulu for the first half of November, 1938, was certified to by the City and County Attorney in advance of the date for which certified, and that it contained an item for which said...Attorney well knew the City and County was not liable....<sup>95</sup>

Tsukiyama had prepared the payroll early in November and had submitted it before general election day so that it could be acted upon by the Board of Supervisors at its meeting on November 7. At the time Tsukiyama made out the payroll, Fong had not yet resigned.<sup>96</sup> Apparently the pay warrant had been sent directly to the bank and the money was deposited in Fong's account. Fong indicated he usually made routine entries in his checkbook, without checking his statement at the

bank. Fong said, "I never saw the warrant. I had no idea I received two weeks pay until I learned about it from Mr. [Edwin P.] Murray," the Auditor.<sup>97</sup>

The matter was resolved when Fong decided to return the excess monies of his own accord.<sup>98</sup> Earlier he had said, "I actually am entitled to an extra week's pay, having given up one week of my last vacation because I was so busy."<sup>99</sup>

House Resolution No. 27 was referred to the Committee on Municipal, County and Civil Service. On April 27, 1939, the Committee returned it to the Speaker with the recommendation that it be placed on file. The House voted unanimously to accept the Committee's recommendation,<sup>100</sup> thereby ending at long last the Fong eligibility incident.

#### Family Reaction

During the seven legislative days that Fong was not seated in the House, his mother was not made aware of the controversy. Actually, even his election had not created much of a stir at home. As Fong related it, his mother knew he was running for office:

And when I was elected, she knew, but...Oriental mothers don't express their feelings and she never expressed to me how she felt. It was just one of those matter-of-fact things. We didn't think it was such a great occasion...it was just accepted that I was elected...They have your picture in the papers and that was about all. Of course, it was a milestone in my life...but as far as the family was concerned, there was no celebration.<sup>101</sup>

There was no discussion at home regarding the challenge to his eligibility. He said,

...we didn't discuss this at home because this was something that I did as part of my work in life, and so she [my mother] was detached from it...Mother never took much of an interest in it ...she left to me whatever I did, knowing that I would do the right thing.<sup>102</sup> (emphasis added)

This sentence reflected two things: (1) that his mother's role in the home was very traditionally Chinese; and (2) Fong always knew she had complete faith in him. This gave him great security. However, his brothers and sisters were always present at the sessions during those trying first days. "Naturally, they didn't like the idea that I was treated that way," he reported.<sup>103</sup>

As for his wife's reaction, Fong said, "My wife is a very calm woman. She doesn't react much...of course, we were all outraged, but we never expressed it, and we knew that eventually I would be seated."<sup>104</sup> Here the Chinese characteristic of equanimity was evident. It also added to Fong's sense of security and destiny.

#### Other Reactions

Fong felt the outcome was never in doubt, although emotions ran high. The whole Territory followed the happenings in the House through the newspapers and radio, with the result that his name and face received much publicity. Editorials were written and discussions held by political and governmental pundits outside the Legislature. Fong noted,

It was quite a thing to keep a man from sitting when he was elected. Here I was a young sprout, and first elected to the legislature, and had this thrown at me. (laughter)

Well, in the beginning I would say that there was a question as to whether he [Vitousek] would control the members of the Republican Party so that they would do his bidding, but as time went on everybody looked at it from the standpoint of, "well, how would it affect me? Am I doing the right thing?" Even people who were very close to Roy Vitousek, like Bina Mossman... spoke up for me. I think that was one of the turning tides in the voting process.<sup>105</sup>

Of his later personal relationship with Roy Vitousek Fong said that, "naturally, as individuals, we were friendly."<sup>106</sup> Vitousek was not in the 1941 session, but served in 1943 while Fong was on active



military duty. After that, he did not serve again, and died in 1947. Both men were too accomplished personally and politically to let any sustained animosity surface.

The result of Fong's tumultuous entry into territorial politics was that he immediately gained a reputation as a fighter, one who prized his independence of thought and action to the extent that, as a political unknown and without many significant community contacts to speak of, he was willing to tackle the powerful representatives of the establishment. Not only had he challenged them, but he had won. The arbitrary behavior of the Republican Party had been exposed by one of its own members.

Republican power was seen as slipping in 1939 by the Hawaii Sentinel, which reported in March that Vitousek and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (H.S.P.A.) could not make his legislative steamroller work.<sup>107</sup> For example, it was noted that in the Senate, William "Doc" Hill was powerful enough to block the Speaker in other matters. The liberal newspaper also noted that Vitousek's ally, Joseph Farrington, had lost face in the Senate. By May 1939, the Hawaii Sentinel was exulting that "The Old Regime is Cracking."<sup>108</sup> While the newspaper was premature in its assessment of the downfall of the Republican Party, Fong's fight with the G.O.P. establishment had made an impact on the local voters and legislators which they did not forget.

#### Committee Assignments

Very few newly-elected legislators really expect to be placed on important committees during their first term of office. But Fong, despite his difficulties with being seated, had hoped that his legal training and experience would qualify him for membership on the Committee

on Judiciary, of which Rep. Ralph Woolley was chairman. How realistic this was, in view of the fact that Woolley was one of the two fellow-Republicans who had voted against seating him, was problematical on Fong's part. In any event, he did not get his wish. On February 27, Speaker Vitousek assigned Fong to the Committee on Public Health, Police and Military and to the Committee on Social Service and General Welfare. This prompted Fong to take some more verbal jabs at the House leadership. He commented,

It looks like Vitousek is trying to make a doctor out of me. What do I know about health? I am trained for law and think it is unfair to the people who elected me for the Speaker not to put me on the judiciary committee.<sup>109</sup>

#### Bills Introduced

From his membership on the committees on health and social service, Fong introduced legislation aimed at bettering the lot of the working class. However, he did not act alone, nor even with members of his own party. Instead, his co-sponsor was Representative George Holt, Jr., a Democrat of his own Fifth District. Essentially a "nice guy," Holt was considered not as effectual as Fong, who was responsible for most of the research and formulation of the bills.<sup>110</sup> Their first bills were introduced on March 6, the sixteenth day of the session. H.B. No. 228 (introduced simultaneously in the upper chamber by Senator David K. Trask) provided for a minimum 44 hour week for women workers whose income did not exceed \$35 a week. It also provided a maximum work week of 60 hours for domestics and exempted cannery workers during the rush season and retail store clerks during the Christmas holidays, but did not include contract or piece work in the cane or pineapple fields. Dual employment was to be prohibited; no woman could be worked

more than five continuous hours without a meal period and no employer could employ a woman four weeks before or four weeks after childbirth.<sup>111</sup>

A second bill (H.B. No. 226) would provide that all future officers and employees of public utilities come under the three-year residency requirement in order to help the local workers in seeking employment. A revision of the law governing loitering was proposed, reducing the penalty (H.B. No. 227). Fong explained that the purpose was to protect youths of the Kalihi district whom he claimed were sometimes picked up by the police when merely talking on a street corner. The bill provided that loitering be made an offense only when it constituted a breach of the peace. Under the bill, the offense would become a petty misdemeanor, or with a maximum jail sentence of ten days instead of the current 90-day maximum. Also introduced by Fong and Holt on March 6 were H.B. No. 223, providing \$30,000 for shop equipment and vocational, mechanical arts and trades instruction at Farrington High School and Kalakaua Intermediate School; H.B. No. 224, appropriating \$2,000 for surveying the Kalihi sea beach area and the establishment of a swimming beach for the Kalihi district; and H.B. No. 225, directing Honolulu Supervisors to improve the swimming pools in Kalihi Stream.<sup>112</sup>

It is not necessary to scrutinize every bit of legislation either introduced or acted upon by Hiram Fong throughout his career in the territorial House of Representatives, but it is important to note that of the 24 bills he introduced in 1939 (most of them jointly with Rep. Holt), 22 were tabled or filed in the House, two were sent on to the Senate, where one of the two was held back. Only one became law, H.B. No. 424 (Act 132), a minor bill lowering the period of time required from 60 days to 15 (later amended by the judiciary committee

to 30) days from date of filing against a libelee who cannot be found in a divorce proceeding before notice of publication could be initiated.<sup>113</sup>

Fong voted as he saw fit, not supporting the others when he differed from them. He voted against the cigarette and fuel tax, feeling that they would put an extra burden on the common man.<sup>114</sup> He also signed a joint resolution (H.J.R. No. 29)

requesting the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to authorize the City and County of Honolulu to deduct certain of its outstanding bonds which have been issued for water purposes when computing the amount of total indebtedness of such City and County outstanding in order to determine its debt incurring power.

This was also signed by Reps. Hayes, Woolley, Vitousek, H. Akina, Lee, Kimball, Mossman, and Eguchi. The resolution, however, was held back in the Senate.<sup>115</sup>

Among the most important laws enacted during the 1939 session and which Fong supported were H.B. No. 48, creating the Department of Social Security (Act 238), and S.B. No. 185, which established a Department of Labor and Industrial Relations (Act 237). Both laws were signed by Governor Poindexter on May 16, 1939.<sup>116</sup> The Legislature also provided for a statehood plebiscite at the time of the regular elections in November of 1940. Nineteen thirty-nine (1939) was also the year the Territory's first Civil Service Commission was appointed and the new labor board took office.<sup>117</sup>

### Peer Evaluation

Fong's effectiveness in his first term in the Legislature was later assessed by two of his fellow lawmakers. August Costa, Jr., Republican from the First District in Hilo, Hawaii, indicated that he was

"surprised" that a party member would question his party's choice for Speaker. Personally, Costa was not "concerned" over the question of seating Fong. Costa felt that Fong's

credentials were challenged by some disgruntled big-wigs in the Republican Party. What they forgot was the fact that Mr. Fong was elected by the voters to serve....That in itself was a mandate--justice had to prevail.

The Big Island Republican had a different view of the reasons back of the movement to keep Fong out of the legislature, stating,

I doubt very much that Mr. Vitousek engineered the challenge to Mr. Fong's credentials. I believe he was pressured by the Republican Central Committee and other influential Republican big-wigs to do so--like Mr. Wooley [sic] and Mr. Macfarlane. Mr. Vitousek was an honorable man. He always had my respect.<sup>118</sup>

Costa rated Fong's initial legislative efforts as "excellent."

Commenting on the quality of Fong's relationships with others, the Big Islander noted,

As the 1939 Legislature progressed he had excellent rapport with Republican Party leaders, Democratic Party leaders and all his fellow legislators. We respected our colleague Hiram L. Fong. He was a gentleman and a friend--his word was his bond.

It did not take me very long to find out that he was a decent man--honest and very trustworthy, intelligent, well-mannered, dedicated, a tireless public servant, a charming fellow with good balance. He impressed me as one who would be a leader some day. In his first term...he served his constituents with great distinction and satisfaction.<sup>119</sup>

Richard "Kingie" Kimball, who had been instrumental in helping to seat Fong, as previously noted, reported that the latter "got us off to a good start." He felt that others liked Fong's "independence." Kimball said that the neophyte Fong "got a good grounding in politics" even though he "trained the hard way." By the end of the session, Kimball rated Fong's performance as "impressive," explaining that Fong "argued well on the floor...was the best person on the floor. He...spoke very eloquently." Unimpressed with the makeup of the previous legislature,

Kimball said that the "caliber of people was improving" in 1939, and that Fong was a definite asset to the body.<sup>120</sup>

### Jack Hall's Evaluation

Labor was just beginning to become organized in the Territory when Fong returned from Harvard. Jack Hall, later the controversial but respected leader of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.), had arrived in Hawaii in 1935 and began editing the Voice of Labor that same year.

At the end of Fong's first term, Hall assessed his performance as "Tops." Fong was only one of three representatives who achieved that status, the others being Thomas Ouye, Republican from Lihue, Kauai, and Democrat George Holt, Jr. from Fong's own Fifth District. Hall wrote:

Hiram L. Fong. The only Republican friend we have in the Fifth District. He was ostracized by the Eguchi, Mossman, Akina, Lee clique. Good bills abound over his signature. From labor bills signed jointly with Democrat George H. Holt and Republican Tom Ouye to law bills that seek to make the lot of the working man in legal tangles a lot simpler. He introduced jointly with Holt a fine bill regulating working conditions of females, which was spiked.

A break for the working man in court can be found in his bills to clear up the divorce laws, reducing the penalty for loitering (often used to persecute workers), and permitting magistrates or circuit judges to allow up to three months to pay fines in two or three installments where it is impossible for a worker to pay up at one time.

Setting the minimum and maximum amount of public assistance is another good bill he he [sic] signed with Holt.<sup>121</sup>

Written 10 years before the labor union became powerful and two decades before the I.L.W.U. endorsed Fong for his first attempt at a seat in the United States Senate, Hall's 1939 evaluation provides a significant insight into the reasons why the predominantly Democratic union supported the life-long Republican not only in 1959, but throughout

Fong's almost 18 years of national service. From the beginning, he and Hall saw eye to eye on issues benefitting the common laborer. It became popular in later years for some individuals to attribute the union's unflinching support of Fong to "deals" he made on their behalf, or that he did their bidding without question.<sup>122</sup> However, this little-known evaluation indicates that there can be no doubt that Hall, at the earliest possible time in Fong's political career, at a time when labor unions held almost no power in the Territory of Hawaii, already considered Fong a true friend of the working man.

#### Early Community Service

In the late 1930's, Fong also began branching out into the multi-ethnic community in which he lived. The Filipino population held a huge, week-end observance of the 78th birthday anniversary of their martyred hero, Dr. Jose Rizal. Fong was special guest and principal speaker at the ceremonies, attended by some 5,000 Filipinos and friends at the Capitol grounds.<sup>123</sup>

Fong was also asked to participate in forensic activities of the Territory. On March 20, 1939 he judged the subject coverage (the Constitution of the United States) for the speeches presented at the Oahu Junior Finals of the Eleventh Annual Interscholastic Oratorical Contest sponsored by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin.<sup>124</sup> His old coach, N. B. Beck, requested him on October 18 that same year to return to the Manoa campus to judge the Annual Thanksgiving Oratorical Contest of the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii.<sup>125</sup>

Fong was also requested to take a stand on political issues affecting the Philippine Islands. On October 3, 1940, he addressed a letter to the Filipino Federation of America, indicating,

I am indeed very happy to endorse the candidacy of Dr. Hilario C. Moncado for the Presidency of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands. Dr. Moncado's wide experience in governmental affairs, his wordly [sic] knowledge of international problems, his sympathetic understanding of the needs of his people, and his dynamic personality, all combine to make of him a true leader of the Filipino Commonwealth.<sup>126</sup>

When the Aiea, Oahu members of the Filipino Federation honored Moncado at a dinner at their clubhouse on June 12, 1941, several key territorial officials spoke. In addition to Fong, they were Senator David K. Trask, Honolulu Supervisor Chuck Mau, and Territorial High Sheriff E. E. Walker.<sup>127</sup>

Fong became the Filipino Federation of American's attorney, and as such gave the closing remarks at the Mahbuhay Aloha Dinner and Ball, honoring the 1941 high school graduates on September 20. Speaking at the festivities were Oren E. Long, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, and David L. Crawford, President of the University of Hawaii.<sup>128</sup>

As one of the few elected officials of Chinese ancestry, he was often called upon to speak at a number of social and civic functions. For example, in observance of National Defense Week in February 1940, Fong was toastmaster and also gave a brief talk on the topic of defense to the Hawaii Chinese Civic Club at their banquet and dance held at the Waialae Golf Club.<sup>129</sup> When the American citizens of Chinese ancestry honored Admiral James O. Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the United States fleet on May 6, 1940, Fong was again chosen to be toastmaster at the "big social event" held at the Lau Yee Chai restaurant in Waikiki. The program also included an address by Admiral Richardson and selections of Chinese music and dance.<sup>130</sup>



### Advice to Other American-Chinese

Among Fong's favorite topics for speeches, especially to young people of Chinese ancestry, were those based upon his own difficult struggle to acquire a college education, professional training, and a measure of individual success. The elements necessary to reach a goal, as he saw them (and as emphasized by most Americans of the times), were those most familiar to the Protestant work ethic. In the case of the Chinese, this American work ethic was reinforced by their own cultural beliefs. Fong consistently emphasized that hard work in combination with the willingness to concentrate immediate efforts on the goal in expectation of future returns, were the main qualities essential to success. Identifying possible fields of endeavor and pooling common resources among the Chinese were also seen as keys to economic growth and development.

In a talk to the Mun Lun Alumni Association on February 14, 1941, Fong told the assemblage of Chinese language school graduates that the young Chinese could have an enviable future if they would examine their opportunities carefully and were willing to make some personal sacrifices. Tracing briefly the history of the coming of the Chinese to Hawaii, Fong declared that most of the descendants of the immigrant Chinese were "pursuing a livelihood as small businessmen, as white-collared employees and in a few cases as artisans, craftsmen, professional men and laborers."<sup>131</sup> Fong made it clear that for their generation to

return to the soil after receiving the benefits of a free education would constitute to many of them, a "loss" of face and an "insult" to the sacrifices of their parents. Cattle raising, dairying and fishing would tax too much their capacity for hard labor and would hold no allure for them.

Moreover, few Chinese were manufacturers.

Comparing the salaries of white collar workers, Fong stated that out of a recent survey made of 1,438 workers in the Territory of Hawaii, the Caucasian group constituted nearly half the workers with one-sixth of the population; the Chinese constituted one-fifth and the Japanese one-fourth of the total workers. The average pay the Caucasians received was \$139 per month, the Chinese earned on the average \$124 per month, with the Japanese following at \$98. Fong reported that "very, very few" of the white collar workers of Chinese ancestry received more than \$175 per month, with the majority of them paid between \$135 and \$85 per month.

Not everyone, he stated, would be dissatisfied with the few prospects for white collar wages. "However low this ceiling may be, I presume many of them will be content to remain," he said. Noting that many of the Chinese in such employment were being displaced "one by one" by Caucasians arriving from the United States mainland, Fong said that

the peak in such positions for Chinese has been reached. Therefore, it behooves our white collared [sic] workers to give forth their best efforts to retain what they have, should they be satisfied with a white collared salary, but for those whose aims are higher, I would suggest that they leave the white collared positions and try their hand in business.

Many of the young Chinese, he said, did not see the opportunities which lay in the small enterprises their forebears had started in Hawaii. He claimed that

the younger generation has not yet fully realized that in this branch of Territorial economy, the Chinese with his training, his education, and his background, will be most highly successful should he exert himself in such a calling. What may seem to be a lowly corner store selling many small items of merchandise may be the road which may lead many of us to great establishments.

The small partnerships entered into by the immigrants were necessarily limited in capitalization. The assets of the fraternal

organizations should be better utilized, said Fong. How much more advantageous it would be, he suggested, if

we should form companies, pool our resources together, save our earnings, give life to our respective provincial societies which were founded by our fathers and see that the holdings of these societies may be used for the general welfare.

Opportunities for such advancement should be pointed out by the established Chinese, for it was

incumbent upon our business leaders to make a study of the businesses in which we are not represented, in order to find ways and means to direct our resources to the end that we will be able to compete favorably with others in these fields of endeavor,

he continued.

More of the young Americans of Chinese ancestry should be encouraged to seek entry into the skilled trades or to become artisans. Fong did not delude his audience that success would be an easy goal to reach.

Demands of a personal nature would be required. He stated,

Too many of us, however, are loathe to put forth too much sacrifice in long hours and small wages. Let us not be overly concerned as to hours spent and compensation received in the early period of our struggle. Let us not be overly concerned as to maximum hours and minimum wages. Let us not think in terms of an eight-hour day or a five-day week. Let us not be afraid to work and labor, for there is dignity in labor and satisfaction and happiness in beholding the products of labor.

Fong's concluding statements disclosed his allegiance to the age-old belief of the Chinese that their work, however plodding and lowly, would ultimately result in bettering the family's condition in life. He encouraged his listeners to strive toward their goals:

Let us labor industriously so that we may leave to those who come after us something better than what was bequeathed to us, so that they may have the advantages to build for a greater economy, for such is the way of progress.

May I say to you, my Chinese friends, that you have the industry, you have the education, you have the intelligence, you have the temperament, fortified by thousands of years of Chinese civilization

and culture, to build for yourselves and your children an enviable position in the economic life of this community of ours.

The following chapters will indicate the extent to which Fong followed his own best advice. While he did not become a small merchant, he did form partnerships of long and financially-sound standing. Together with these partners, he identified economic areas where no Chinese had ever entered, and he was never afraid of long hours and hard work. Certainly he was not averse to the calculated gamble, whether it was in business or in politics. His willingness to enter new fields and to prepare himself to meet opportunities as they arose was a primary element in his great success in business, law and politics. This reflected not only his Chinese upbringing but the American Protestant emphasis on self-determination.

#### First Business Venture

Desirous of expanding his professional and economic base, Fong attempted to enter the business field via investments, but found it very difficult to get started. The reason, he said, was because he lacked experience and the necessary capital. The established Chinese firms held little opportunity, because most of them were family owned and operated. It was general policy to hand over the business to sons, daughters, or other relatives when retirement or death caused a change in the operations. Fong therefore was forced to take such opportunities as they came to him. The first of these turned out to be an expensive endeavor and a financial disaster, but held valuable lessons for the fledgling investor.

By the time Fong returned from Harvard, his brother Leonard was a public accountant, auditor, and a tax consulting accountant. One of

the accounts he had was for Quality Dairy Products, Ltd., a firm established in 1935 by a group of Chinese businessmen. One of these was William N. F. Ching, who had been in the milk and dairy field for over 25 years and was the firm's manager. The company, described as "a pioneer Chinese-operated milk retailer,"<sup>132</sup> seemed to have financial troubles almost from the beginning.

On several occasions Fong was approached by the firm's officials for small loans of \$1,000, \$1,500, or \$2,000 each, which he understood was to "help them meet the payroll." Since Leonard was the bookkeeper, Fong assumed that his loans were known to his brother and that the latter was "watching the business."<sup>133</sup> He explained that he was rather "flattered" to be asked to invest in the company, and as a neophyte businessman, did not pay much attention to the details of the operation.<sup>134</sup> Finally, his investments qualified him to be an officer of the company. In January 1940, it was announced that Representative Hiram L. Fong had been elected president of Quality Dairy Products, Ltd. Ching continued on as manager. Other officers were Yuk En Tseu, first vice-president; Dr. Archie Chun-Ming, second vice-president; Mrs. Alice Tseu Wong, secretary; Kan Yen Chun, treasurer; and Leonard Fong, auditor. It was also announced that "in response to a rapidly increasing business," the company had just been expanded with the "addition of more equipment and personnel, and the increase of its paid-in-capitalization to \$10,000." The company had recently moved to 919 Kekaulike Street, from which location it continued to sell cream, butter, and eggs as well as milk. At the time Fong joined the firm, he was also secretary of the Commercial Associates, secretary of Jack Sin Tong (a Chinese benevolent society also known as Chuck Sin Tong), and president of Ocean View Cemetery,

Ltd.<sup>135</sup> The expansion of Quality Dairy so impressed the editor of the Chinese community newspaper that he praised the growth of the firm as an example of successful businesses operated by the local Chinese.<sup>136</sup>

Lum Fong had been active in the establishment of the Tong, which had been formed in part to provide for the burial of members who had emigrated from the Wong Leong Doo subdistrict of Chungshan, China. Eventually, the Ocean View corporation operated the Ocean View Chinese Cemetery, located at Hunakai and Waiālae Avenues (tax map key 3-3-12-1 and 3-3-12-29). The cemetery itself occupied a small section (tax map key 3-3-12-26) of the property. In later years, most of the land was leased to Royal Theaters, Ltd., for the Waiālae Drive-In Theater.<sup>137</sup>

The milk firm continued to operate at a loss, but it was a shock to Fong to learn how deeply into trouble the company had gone. He had "assumed" that the people he had "relied" on were doing their jobs adequately, and that the firm would succeed in the end. He recalled, "I woke up one day and found that I was \$10,000 into the business, and the business was going broke." By 1941, the firm was defunct and a trustee was appointed to pay off the debts. Fong lost his total investment. Ruefully he recalled, "That was my first venture into business, losing \$10,000. Now, if I had that \$10,000 and invested it wisely, I would be 'way ahead today." However, he found some good in the bitter experience, stating, "But that taught me a lesson, that when you go into business, you'd better get into business with someone who really knows the business, who is really willing to work hard, who is honest."<sup>138</sup>

Fong did not claim that there was any dishonesty on the part of the milk company's officers, but his advice to potential investors was as follows:

You've got to watch it, because so many businesses fold up because people run away with the money...people don't know what they are doing...because a man has not paid attention to the business. So therefore, when you put your money into a thing, you've got to be very sure who your associates are, and you've got to be very sure that you keep an eye on it so that if [anyone] is derelict, you [can] call him to task.<sup>139</sup>

The lesson was well-learned, for Fong made it a point in future endeavors to surround himself with individuals who were qualified and dedicated to the same principles in which he believed. We shall see that he maintained this same philosophy of attracting and keeping good staff people not only in his highly successful business ventures, but in the political arena as well.

#### Success as an Attorney

In 1938, having established a one-man office, Fong began to apply his considerable energies to the work for which he had studied so diligently and prepared so carefully. Like so many new attorneys building up a law practice, he did not specialize, but began in the general practice of the law. He drew cases primarily from among the multi-ethnic community in which he lived.<sup>140</sup> As he became successful in contesting wills, defending accused persons of various crimes, and in handling medical malpractice suits and other legal work, he became more and more sought after professionally.

Fortunately for him, his success in legal work received good attention in the general press, so that by 1941, various law cases which he handled effectively were reported in not only the Hawaii Chinese Journal, but in the major dailies such as the Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin as well. For one thing, the publicity attendant to his eligibility case in the Twentieth Legislature had made him well-known throughout the islands far in excess of his personal

achievements in 1938-1939. Whatever he did subsequently was "news." For another, the experience he had had as a part-time contributor to the Advertiser and as editor of Ka Leo o Hawaii had made him extremely aware of the benefits to be gained as a public servant and attorney in keeping his name before the public.

Before the advent of World War II and the 1943 repeal of the onerous immigration laws against Chinese citizens and travelers, it was often difficult for persons born in Hawaii to visit their ancestral villages in China and to re-enter the Islands without being challenged by the United States immigration officials. Travelers often were detained for what seemed like prolonged periods of time, and some were even deported. While there were those who knew the law and applied to Hawaii's Delegate to Congress for assistance, there were many more who did not.

A leading territorial politician with national ties has indicated to the author that more persons of Chinese ancestry could have, and should have, attempted to seek redress through Hawaii's Delegate, particularly since these services were free. It had not been necessary, claimed this individual, to pay what appeared to be rather exorbitant attorney's fees in order to achieve the same results. Indeed, delegates routinely introduced bills in Congress and historically consulted with officials of the Department of Justice on immigration cases. Certainly many problems were resolved in this manner.<sup>141</sup>

However, the process was often protracted and cumbersome. It is understandable why many Chinese in Hawaii elected to take their problems to local attorneys like Fong, albeit it was more expensive to do so. The reason was that these troubled people felt more comfortable discussing their particular situation with an attorney of the same ethnic background.



Additionally, press coverage of Fong's successful cases brought more and more clients to his office.

The first immigration cases which Fong appealed successfully to the nation's capitol received full coverage not only in the Hawaii Chinese Journal, but also in both of Honolulu's dailies. Such publicity was an indication that he not only understood the law of the land, could practice it effectively, but also was one who could be heard in the highest departments of government in Washington, D. C.

One newspaper article, captioned "Young Ruled Eligible to Enter US; 4th Recent Case," serves to illustrate the kind of press coverage Fong received. It is quoted in full below in order to properly illustrate this point.

Young Mew Lam, 43 year old citizen who arrived here on the President Coolidge August 23, has been ordered to be admitted here as an American citizen by the central office of the department of justice, Washington, D.C., according to word received by Rep. Hiram L. Fong, his attorney, from the local immigration office.

This is the fourth case in two months in which citizens of Chinese ancestry have been admitted here through the efforts of Rep. Fong. The three others admitted were Lum Kwai, Lum Chock Quon, Kong Nyuk Foo [Fu].

Mr. Young, who claimed to have been born in Honolulu February 22, 1898, the son of Tom Shee who died in 1899 and was buried in Manoa Chinese cemetery, was denied admission by the local immigration officials on the ground that Tom Shee was not his mother and that he had expatriated himself from American citizenship by remaining in China for a period longer than six months contrary to the Nationality Act of 1940.

Mr. Young claims to have been taken to Peking on January 18, 1901, at the age of three, where he was educated and attained the age of 24. He returned and was admitted without question in 1922. After 11 years in Honolulu, he returned to the Orient in 1933 and remained in China for eight years.

Denied admittance here, Rep. Fong appealed his case to the department of justice in Washington which ordered the release of Mr. Young.<sup>142</sup>

## The Twenty-First Legislature, 1941

### Regular Session

Having established himself in 1939 as a rather autonomous member of the House of Representatives, Fong continued to assert his independence from the Republican Party, labor groups, and other factions. Even as a member of the Republican County Committee, he consistently stated that he was his own boss. Declaring his intention to run for re-election in October of 1940, Fong let it be known that "he will vote on bills according to his conscience."<sup>143</sup>

He experienced no difficulty in being elected to a second term, polling 8,787 votes in the general election to lead the delegation. However, he only narrowly edged out the veteran George Eguchi, who had 8,766 votes, for first place honors. Third place was taken by Kam Tai Lee (8,226); other winners were Democrats Yew Char (8,082); and George Holt, Jr. (7,978); and Republican Henry Akina (7,957). Fong's total was 46.42 per cent of the vote.<sup>144</sup>

There was some speculation that Fong might create problems in the seating of certain legislators who continued being employees of the Territory, in retaliation for the treatment he had undergone in 1939. Following the general election in November 1940, a "warm battle for the house speakership...mostly undercover" was waged. Roy Vitousek was not in the legislature in that session, but another member of the Fourth District, J. Howard Worrall, was mentioned as a contender. In Fong's Fifth District, it was understood that Reps. Lee, Eguchi and Henry Akina were for Worrall, but Reps. Fong, Char, and Holt were committed to the Maui veteran, Manuel Paschoal. Fong was quoted as

saying, "You can say for me that Arthur Akina of Hawaii is out of the race as far as I know."<sup>145</sup> The Honolulu Star-Bulletin noted:

Mr. Fong did not need to add that his animosity for Arthur A. Akina dates back to the '39 session when the Big Islander introduced a resolution to keep the sturdy Hiram from being seated on grounds that he was holding the office of deputy city-county attorney at the time of his election to the house.

Mr. Akina himself has been repeatedly seated by the house while taking a leave of absence from his duties of deputy sheriff of Hawaii county....

He did not say that he would be in favor of the reported move to prevent the seating of Hawaii's Rep. Akina this session, although it is known that Rep. Fong holds Arthur more vulnerable in such a circumstance than himself.<sup>146</sup>

It was also noted that,

You'll have trouble finding any of our statesmen quoted on this, but the real reason behind much of the opposition to Rep. Arthur A. Akina's candidacy for the speakership is the cry: "Roy Vitousek's behind him. We thought Vitousek was supposed to be out of politics."

However, with the possible exception of Rep. Hiram Fong, none of the boys will say this "on the record"....<sup>147</sup>

Fong's position as a maverick or independent Republican was enhanced by such reporting. Readers gained the impression that he was not afraid to speak out for his beliefs despite the odds. However, he did not always press an issue. On the first day of the session, following a "short-lived wrangle" over the selection of the temporary Speaker, Fong rose and stated, "If there is any fear in anybody's mind that any member's right to be seated will be questioned, let them [sic] forget it." Arthur Akina was elected the Speaker of the House shortly thereafter. Manuel Paschoal became the Vice-Speaker again.<sup>148</sup> While Fong may have had grounds to dispute the eligibility of Arthur Akina to be seated, his decision to abide by the voters in West Hawaii took precedence over legal technicalities. In so doing, Fong undoubtedly

earned the respect of his colleagues, who may have feared that another series of headlines were forthcoming to illustrate the inner machinations of the Republican Party and its control over the territorial legislature. He also gained a notch in the power structure of the House.

In return for Fong's cooperation, Speaker Akina appointed him to the powerful judiciary committee and to the Committee on Public Health, Police and Military. Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary was Rep. D. Hebden Porteus, a young attorney affiliated with Roy Vitousek's law firm. Porteus was serving his first term in the House of Representatives. As a neophyte legislator, it was surprising that the chairmanship of this crucial committee had gone to Porteus, since obviously he had not built up any seniority at all in the Legislature. One can only speculate that through Porteus, the Republican Party leadership felt it could maintain some control over the legislation being considered in the Territory.

Like Fong, Porteus was a Phi Beta Kappa member and a graduate of Harvard Law School, completing his studies there one year later than Fong. However, there the resemblance sharply ended. Porteus was the son of the social scientist Dr. Stanley Porteus, and was totally accepted in Big Five circles. Upon graduation, he was placed in Vitousek's law firm, remaining there between 1936 to 1942. Then he joined the Big Five company of Alexander and Baldwin and stayed with them until 1960, when he established his own law office. He served in the territorial House from 1941 to 1957, often unsuccessfully vying with Fong for positions of importance in the House, as will be noted in subsequent pages. Following the attainment of statehood, Porteus served in the Hawaii State Senate between 1959 to 1970.<sup>149</sup>

The Twenty-First Legislature was convened in the shadow of war in Europe and increasing defense work by the federal government in Hawaii. It seemed inevitable to many individuals that the United States would be drawn into the war sooner or later. In that event, the strategic importance of the Hawaiian Islands to the war and defense efforts would be even greater than ever before. Emergency powers to handle any situation in the event of war were thoroughly discussed by Governor Poindexter and the various County and Honolulu City and County officials. Even before the 1941 session began, it was well-known that the Governor would ask for mobilization legislation, or an "M-Day bill." This would permit him broad powers in the event of an emergency, provide for the establishment of certain agencies to handle the crisis, and related matters.

In his opening message to the Legislature in the Spring of 1941, Governor Poindexter also advocated the improvement of harbor facilities at the port of Honolulu, adding that necessary additional harbor facilities could be financed by the issuance, by the Board of Harbor Commissioners, of revenue bonds to cover the cost of such improvements. He continued,

Another plan has been suggested, which has much merit, i.e., that all private wharves in Honolulu harbor be acquired by the Board of Harbor Commissioners, by purchase or condemnation, to be financed by the issuance of revenue bonds by the Board. As these privately owned wharves and piers, during the first ten months of 1940, handled 67 percent of the cargoes in and out of Honolulu, it would seem that the Board could carry these bonds and reduce rates now required to be charged, if all these wharves and piers were owned by the Territory.<sup>150</sup>

Except for the port of Honolulu, all public wharves and piers at the time were operating at deficits, and were of necessity "carried" by the receipts at Honolulu. It was felt that the increase of revenues

at Honolulu and the consequent anticipated reduction of harbor rates and tolls would benefit the entire territory. Hawaii's chief executive also stated, among other concerns, that "No young person can be a useful citizen unless he has a job."<sup>151</sup>

#### Protectionist and Other Bills

Fong introduced the usual bills expected of a member from the Fifth District, such as one for improvements for vocational training (H.B. No. 96), an appropriation to study and survey the feasibility of a swimming beach in Kalihi (H.B. No. 94), and related pieces of legislation. At the time, there was a great influx of workers to Hawaii from the United States mainland to fill the new jobs created by the national defense effort. He must have had the Governor's admonition regarding jobs for Hawaii's youth in mind when he took a strong protectionist stance with regard to the local labor force. On the fifth legislative day, Representatives Fong, Holt, Ouye, and Yew Char introduced H.B. No. 93. It was entitled, "An Act providing for three years' residency requirements for all employees and officers of public utilities." Backers of the bill, according to Fong, wished merely to protect "our local boys" who were looking for jobs with the utility companies. The measure also provided that in cases where persons could not be found with residential qualifications, other persons may be employed.<sup>152</sup>

The sponsors of H.B. No. 93 found it unusually difficult to get the bill out from the judiciary committee to which it had been assigned following the first reading. As noted, Fong was a member of this committee. The parliamentary procedures Fong learned while at McKinley High School and the University of Hawaii came in handily in this situation. One month after introducing the bill, he resorted to

a little-used procedure by introducing a resolution (H.R. No. 60) requesting the judiciary committee to report the bill out for second reading. Following much discussion and a close 14 to 12 vote, the House adopted his resolution. The judiciary committee complied on the same day, April 25, but released it "without recommendation," over the querulous objection of Rep. A. Q. Marcallino, Republican from Kauai, who wrote, "I do not concur with the method of forcing legislation."<sup>153</sup>

The following day, much discussion ensued. It was noted that the bill would also prevent persons from the United States mainland from entering the Territory for the purpose of fomenting labor disturbances from within the public utilities after securing employment with them. Fong indicated that was not his original intention, that he merely wished to keep the local boys employed. He said, "This bill is not unfriendly to labor. There is nothing to prevent a mainland labor man from coming here, meeting labor and helping workers with problems that might arise."<sup>154</sup> The bill was referred to the end of the day's calendar at Fong's suggestion. It was learned that Rep. Porteus held H.B. 93 in the judiciary committee because he considered it unconstitutional. When he so advised its supporters, they were not willing to drop it, however. The concensus was, "O.K....let the courts decide."<sup>155</sup>

Finally, by a vote of 19 to 10, the bill passed final reading in the House and was sent to the Senate. The higher body passed the bill on third reading on April 29. The Governor signed it into law on May 20, 1941 as Act 203.<sup>156</sup>

Eventually, however, it was tested in the courts and ultimately repealed. Many years later, when questioned on the circumstances surrounding his introduction of residency requirement legislation, Fong

said that the idea was "his own." No representative from labor or management groups sought his support, and no ethnic groups were involved. Because the public utilities were virtually "monopolies in the territory," and they were bringing in "many workers from the mainland," he felt that a restrictive clause would help provide more jobs for Hawaii's youth. Since the public utilities were regulated by the Territory, he felt it proper to include employment limitations because there was chronic unemployment in Hawaii. Fong further clarified that it was not his intent to legislate against the importation of labor agitators who might organize more unions and foment strikes. However, other supporters of the bill saw it as an opportunity to control the movement of labor organizers.<sup>157</sup>

Another "protectionist" pre-war measure introduced by Fong recognized Hawaii's unique social and cultural history and multi-ethnic population. It was to place a residency requirement of five years in order for persons to qualify for trial and grand jury service. In explaining the purpose of the bill (H.B. No. 117), Fong indicated that newcomers to the Islands could not intelligently sit as jurors. He said, "A juror must know about the people of Hawaii, their racial make-up and a little of the customs prevailing here. Many of our jurors have never even voted or have been here no more than six or eight months."<sup>158</sup> The bill, however, did not pass final reading in the House.<sup>159</sup> While residency requirements were contrary to the national law, Fong's concern in trying to assist the people of Hawaii by whatever means earned him much favorable attention throughout the Islands. His popular power base was widening.



Being both of Chinese heritage and a staunch believer in the Christian and Chinese tenets of marital fidelity and loyalty, Fong nonetheless recognized the problems of persons seeking divorce. They faced a two-year residency requirement. In an attempt to alleviate the situation, on February 27, 1941, he introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 10, memorializing Congress to lower the residency requirement for divorce applicants to the much-shorter period of six months by amending section 55 of the Organic Act. Fong felt that the existing law was too stringent upon many of the persons who had come to Hawaii to live and to work in the defense industries. The House amended the residency requirement to one year, and forwarded the resolution to the Senate, where the judiciary committee felt that "this concurrent resolution is admirable as a great hardship has been imposed upon the great number of newcomers to the Territory whose marital situation is an unhappy one." The Senate, moreover, reduced the time period back to six months. The House agreed, and HCR No. 10 passed on April 30, 1941.<sup>160</sup>

As a concurrent resolution, it did not require the signature of the governor, and was then sent on to Washington, D. C., where no action was taken. It was not until several years after Hawaii had become a state that the divorce residency requirement was lowered, and then it was to one year.<sup>161</sup> Again, Fong was clearly ahead of his time, but his humanitarian concern was not lost on the public. However, in 1941 he was able to effect minor changes in the divorce laws through enactment of House Bills Nos. 343 and 494 as Acts 180 and 217, respectively.<sup>162</sup>

He also sought to capitalize upon Hawaii's national wonders. On March 26, 1941, Representatives Fong and Holt jointly introduced a

bill (H.B. No. 365) providing for a new \$200,000 aquarium to replace the existing facility at Waikiki. The structure had first opened in 1903 through the generosity of Charles M. Cook, James B. Castle and the Honolulu Rapid Transit Company. The Territory took it over in 1919 and placed it under the jurisdiction of the University of Hawaii. Authorities noted that the building was in a "bad state of repair, outdated and overcrowded." Fong said, "The old aquarium has had its day. It has won world recognition for Hawaii with its superb collection of marine life." The bill proposed a new aquarium to be designed by an expert architect, something along the lines of the famed studio at Marineland, near St. Augustine, Florida, where large fish like sharks and porpoises lived in concert with smaller fish. All would be clearly visible to spectators from a corridor encircling the planned 90-foot-wide single tank. The whole effect would be very realistic, and would help the Territory capitalize on one of its greatest natural educational resources--South Seas fish. Financing was to be with bonds amortizing over a 30-year period, beginning in 1943. Fong also envisioned, perhaps unrealistically, that revenue from admission fees "would pay for the cost."<sup>163</sup>

The aquarium bill passed first and second readings, but the House Committee on Municipal, County and Civil Service recommended that it be filed, and so the bill died.<sup>164</sup> Fong was clearly much ahead of his time in advocating such a modern attraction for Hawaii, but he gained much publicity. As an official with big dreams for Hawaii, Fong was building an image of a legislator who was aware of Hawaii's potential as a showcase for the Pacific, and this, too, was not lost on the general population.

Various miscellaneous appropriations bills introduced by Fong, including one asking \$115,000 for the construction of a new wing for the territorial archives building, also failed of passage. House Bill No. 379, regarding Workmen's Compensation, was stymied. Other bills, introduced jointly with several other Representatives, including one banning slot machines and pin ball games, also were lost in the legislative hopper of 1941.<sup>165</sup>

Among Fong's successes, however, was one in which he teamed with Rep. Porteus to defeat Senate Bill No. 346, which provided that any graduate of an approved law school with a bachelor of law degree, aged 21 years and over, a resident of at least 15 years, and was of good moral character, would be permitted to practice as an attorney upon payment of a \$10 fee without having to pass the bar examinations. Porteus spoke eloquently about the bill's evils. Fong spoke against it in his customary hard-hitting way, saying, "This is the most vicious bill I have seen in this legislature this session...and it passed the senate at that." The bill, he added, was an insult to his profession. He continued:

I stand here on this issue not only as a representative of the bar, but also as a representative of the 400,000 people of this Territory, and my conscience tells me this is a bad bill. If we were to open the flood gates the way this bill would have us do, we might just as well let everybody, the trained and the untrained and ignorant, practice law. Our bar association has a high standing and ranks well with the best on the Mainland, and you surely will not lower this standard. We provide examinations for doctors and men of all other professions, and why not lawyers, probably the most important in many respects.<sup>166</sup>

Sudden Adjournment Kills Emergency, "Pier 15,"  
and Other Legislation

The emergency "M-Day" bill and other legislation appeared to be moving smoothly through the Legislature toward the end of the session. There was hope that work would be completed on time. Conference committees were scheduled to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions of bills. However, still to be passed was House Bill No. 9, dealing with county finances, which had gone early in the session to the Senate. However, after much wrangling in both houses about Honolulu harbor improvements, Senator Harold Rice of Wailuku, Maui successfully tacked on an amendment to H.B. No. 9 that provided a

bond issue of \$2,500,000.00 or so much thereof as shall be necessary for the construction of a new pier at the site of the present piers 5-A, 6 and 7, provided the Federal government will approve the new harbor line at that location. If such harbor line is not so approved, then the said money to be used for a new pier at the 15-16 site, provided the new harbor line at that site shall be so approved.<sup>167</sup>

The House was divided evenly on a move to accept the Senate amendment, with Fong and some of the more independent Republicans joining with the three Democrats to oppose it. His reasons were that the Territory should not be funding private piers with public monies.<sup>168</sup> The same vote prevailed on a move to get the bill passed on final reading. Rep. Macfarlane introduced a resolution (H.R. No. 62), requesting the Governor and the Chairman and the members of the Board of Harbor Commissioners to appear before a House executive session to further define the "undertaking" and to authorize the increased issuance of bonds for certain harbor improvements. The resolution pointed out that H.B. No. 9 included other items of major importance to all the counties. On a vote to table, Fong voted "Aye" and again there was

a 15 to 15 tie.<sup>169</sup> It was April 28, very late into the waning days of the session and tempers were getting extremely short.

It was speculated that the Dillingham interests favored the bill, but the Matson interests feared competition on the wharfs. Reported the Star-Bulletin, "The fight against this terminal by private interests, was carried on to the last moment of the session, with the private interests alertly watching the legislature."<sup>170</sup>

No solution was found. It appeared that an extension of the legislature would be sought. However, on April 30, in a surprising move, acting Speaker Paschoal strode to the dais and called the session into order. Noting that the clock, which had been turned back once, was still running and was almost at midnight, he immediately declared the House adjourned. None of the weary, shocked members objected.<sup>171</sup> Because the Senate had already adjourned, clearly piqued at the House members over the deadlock, the Twenty-First Legislature came to a sudden and surprising end.

Major bills were still in committee or on the clerk's desk. Among these were the crucial M-Day bill, although the measure had been agreed to with amendments at a joint conference shortly before. Also awaiting action were a wage-hour bill, the gas tax-federal aid highway program measure, and many others. The lawmakers were in an uproar over what had happened, and the community, also upset, was left with very little in the way of accomplished legislation. Each house blamed the other for what happened.

Senators Rice and William H. Hill said they had no doubt that "Pier 15" was at the bottom of all this "house sitdown strike." Senators Francis K. Sylva and George P. Cooke conceded that the bitter

House fight against the pier project might be a contributing factor to a "sitdown"; they observed also, "The house has been out of control. That is evident." Senator Rice charged that two conference committee reports had failed to be sent to the Senate because "Rep. Walter J. Macfarlane and not Chairman William H. Engle runs the house finance committee," and "Macfarlane succeeded in keeping five persons, himself included, from signing those reports."<sup>172</sup>

Hebden Porteus remarked many years later that the "M-Day" bill and several others were all ready for House action when the sudden adjournment came. Moreover, the emergency laws passed in the 1941 special session which followed were quite different from those prepared for the regular session.<sup>173</sup>

The Twenty-First Legislature had clearly been more concerned about power blocs in each house fighting with each other as well as across the legislative halls. By putting their internal wrangling ahead of the safety and welfare of the Territory, the solons caused widespread concern about their capability to deal with matters of critical importance and timing. At a time when the national crisis was apparent, they could not even enact one bill giving the governor enough emergency powers to be effective in case of disaster.

In view of this behavior, it is perhaps more understandable why the governor so willingly and quickly turned over the existing government of the Hawaiian Islands to the military leaders immediately following the surprise attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor a few months later. He may very well have had serious doubts about the efficacy of the lawmakers to deal effectively with needed legislation at a time when genuinely cooperative leadership was demanded.

### A Practical Joke

Legislative sessions are not without their lighter moments, and those in Hawaii were no different from the norm. Newspaper coverage of the biennial sessions was extensive during Fong's tenure. Hi-jinks as well as important discussions leading to major legislation were reported in special columns of the two major dailies. Fong was something of a practical joker. When a fellow solon was late for the opening prayer on the second day of the 1941 session, the following interchange between the two was noted. The accounts are given here verbatim to provide an insight to Fong's personality as well as to illustrate newspaper reporting of the period:

Several very noisy knocks of the door on the throne side of the house yesterday morning disturbed the offering of prayer by Chaplain Kelii. After the prayer Member [Wallace] Otsuka of Kauai entered and resumed his seat.

"Say," Member Fong in the rear of Mr. Otsuka whispered to him, "you've got to go into the speaker's chamber, where the prayer will be repeated to you: that's the rules, you know."

Meekly, Mr. Otsuka rose from his chair and started to walk out. "Oh, wait," the Fifth district colleague advised. "I guess you don't have to go this time. You see, the chaplain has gone home."

In his legislative diary the Garden Island member wrote: "Missed prayer today."<sup>174</sup>

The evening paper gave this briefer, slightly different, version:

Rep. Wallace Otsuka missed the prayer this morning. He was knocking on the door of the house to get in, but Paul Kaelemakule, sergeant at arms, paid no attention until after the prayer was finished.

Then Rep. Otsuka entered, and rather sheepishly went to his seat.

Said Rep. Hiram Fong, sitting next to him: "Otsuka, if you go into the back room the reverend will give you your prayer."

The tardy solon started out but Hiram called him back saying: "Hey! I didn't mean it."<sup>175</sup>

Yew Char

By 1941, Fong was quickly developing into an effective legislator, and it was evident that he truly enjoyed the give and take of the legislative and political process. He was also aware of some of the problems suffered by one of the few fellow American-Chinese in the legislature, Yew Char. Char was a Democrat (who, in 1926, was the first person of full Chinese ancestry to be seated in the Hawaii House of Representatives. Char also employed Fong for the temple tours, as previously noted). While Fong experienced his own difficulties in getting legislation moving, at least he was of the party in power. For Char, it was even more difficult.

No legislative body is free from parliamentary controls and machinations, but Char's case was especially interesting because it illustrated some of the tactics used by the Republicans to maintain control of Hawaii's elected officials. He said that previous to 1941, he had experienced problems getting the attention of Speaker Vitousek and was therefore keenly aware of being denied his rights to be heard in the lower chamber. Char complained on one occasion on the floor, "Mr. Speaker, turn your orbs this way." On another occasion, the feisty Democrat Char was outmaneuvered by Vitousek. Char had asked permission to speak, but Vitousek put him off, asking, "Can you wait awhile?" Char agreed, but Vitousek soon adjourned the meeting without letting him speak. Thereupon Char called the Speaker "a crook." Char remarked that "He didn't enjoy that...I'm a bit sharp at times." He said that he was never afraid of the Republicans: "If you are afraid, they will take advantage of you....The Republicans tried to shut me up. They tried all kinds of ways."<sup>176</sup>



Subtle economic pressure was one way. Char's main line of work at the time was as a photographer and good assignments were not always easy to get. The Republicans, aware of this fact and willing to capitalize upon it, devised a scheme on one occasion to keep Char out of the House when a bill crucial to their interests was coming up for a vote. Char reported that Rep. Woolley went to him and said, "I have a job for you...out at Wahiawa" (a plantation town distant enough from the main city so that if Char took the assignment, he would be out of the Legislature that day). But Char was equal to the situation. He agreed to do the work, and the Republicans were satisfied that they had forestalled their opposition. However, unbeknownst to them, Char assigned the job to his brother, also a competent photographer, and was at his accustomed seat for the vote. Rep. Woolley was shocked to see him, saying, "I had a job for you...didn't you go out?" Char said, "My brother is doing it...he's a good photographer." Then he noted, "he [Woolley] shut up." Following that incident, Char admitted that he had some personal concern that Matson Navigation Company would no longer permit him to go on board their ships to take pictures of the tourists. Picture-taking often provided him fees of \$60 to \$70 per day. He decided not to worry, saying, "I figured that they won't be so small... so no trouble...I stay on."<sup>177</sup>

His every movement in the legislature was closely observed, Char indicated, and stalling tactics were used. The Republicans "were always wasting time...stalling...recess...recess," hoping that the opposition would get disgusted and leave the chamber. Then the leadership quickly brought key pieces of legislation up for action while the opposition members were detained outside. Catching on to their schemes, Char

delighted in circumventing them whenever he could by quickly darting back to his seat from another direction.<sup>178</sup> In 1941, having successfully staged a political comeback, Char took up such matters immediately with the new Speaker, Arthur Akina. On the second day of the Twenty-First Legislature, the following interchange between Akina and Char occurred:

Mr. Yew Char raised the question which he stated in this form:  
"Has the Speaker the right to recognize members as he pleases?"

The Speaker stated that he tried to recognize anyone who wished to be heard on any question and recognized them in the order in which they arose to address the chair.<sup>179</sup>

Many years later, Char evaluated Fong's performance in the territorial House. He considered him a "very able fella...a sharp and shrewd lawyer." Char also noted that Fong was willing to "compromise with his fellow legislators."<sup>180</sup> We will see that it was this ability and willingness to compromise that ultimately won for Fong control of the House, but also led to continuing agitation against him from the leaders of his own party.

### Homes and Real Estate

Further evidence of Fong's increasing success in law and politics can be seen in the fact that just prior to World War II, he was able to purchase the lot at 2193 North King Street, adjacent to his mother's home. He said that there were about five "broken-down shacks bringing in about \$40 per month," on the property when he bought it. Later these were razed, and an automobile repair shop located there. Eventually, the two lots were consolidated as the site of the present Jack-in-the-Box hamburger establishment in Kalihi, across the street from the Kalihi Union Church. The restaurant leased the land from Fong.<sup>181</sup>

By this time, Fong could afford to move his wife and infant son, Hiram, Jr., from the old family home to a small house they had purchased at 1258 Alewa Drive. His wife had made the final decision on the house. As Fong explained it, he left certain choices to his wife, feeling that she spent more time at home and should have one to her satisfaction.<sup>182</sup>

Being sociable people, the Fongs entertained in their new residence. One of the first groups invited were the members of the board of directors of the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association, which met there in March, 1941.<sup>183</sup> Mrs. Fong was a gracious and popular hostess, who also entertained at various restaurants in Honolulu.

#### Special Session, 1941, is Scheduled

Due to the fact that the Twenty-First Legislature had not passed the M-Day act nor other key pieces of legislation before its sudden demise, House and Senate leaders approached the Governor about holding a short special session, at first suggested to be for three days with no additional pay for legislators.<sup>184</sup> The Governor wanted the session to be limited to M-Day matters, but the solons, after several meetings, would not agree to this limitation. Ultimately the lawmakers prevailed and the Governor authorized a Special Session with pay, beginning on September 15, 1941.

#### Public Discussion

Fong was never shy about expressing his opinions on a variety of topics. Even before the Special Session of 1941 convened, he publicly discussed attitudes and ideas which his party and others in Hawaii considered progressive and even "radical" for the times. He took advantage of a radio appearance on the program "Hawaii Town Hall" on Tuesday, August 12, 1941 to expound on these ideas.<sup>185</sup>

His counterpoint on the radio debate was James G. Needles, a Democratic senatorial aspirant. They debated the issue of the upcoming Special Session. Needles said that the Session should be limited to consideration of the M-Day or emergency measures, and to reapportionment. He noted that if the Territory of Hawaii were reapportioned "to give Oahu its per capita share of representatives and senators, control of our government by private interests would wane." Declaring that the "pressure boys of private interests," through their "paid propagandists and high-pressure lobbyists," exerted more influence over a longer session than their voting strength entitled them to, Needles opted for the shorter session. He also claimed,

It is high time that the middle class unite with the workers at the bottom and realize their interests do not coincide with the few at the top. Prosperity comes up from the roots and does not trickle down from the leaves.

Favoring a full 60-day session, Fong opposed the two-week schedule. He said that, regardless of the fact that some people felt the solons should have enacted certain needed legislation at the regular session, the fact was that it was not done. Hawaii could not very well wait until the next regular session of 1943. Moreover, he pointed out, legislators would earn the full \$500 whether they met for one day or for 60. Realistically, the volume of work that needed to be completed could not be accomplished in two weeks.

Fong advocated that the solons consider urgent matters, which he outlined as in a ten-point program:

1. The emergency legislation. He opposed the acceptance of private money to initiate emergency work: it created a dangerous precedent and brought indirect pressure on the solons, while

at the same time he did not doubt the patriotism of those who favored it.

2. Classification of government employees and providing them a blanket \$25 per month increase. He did not favor a ten per cent boost, as it would give larger increases to those in the higher brackets. Fong bitterly rebuked Budget Director James Lloyd for his part in freezing territorial salaries and denounced the Harvey classification system.
3. The financing of county government, because both Hawaii and Maui were in dire straits.
4. Amendment to the civil service law to provide workers protection from arbitrary department heads.
5. A wages and hours bill establishing a minimum of 30 cents an hour, rather than lower wages for workers on the outer islands.
6. Provision for additional police officers to care for the 100,000 increase in Honolulu's population.
7. Reapportionment.
8. A conditional sales act to protect the buyer.
9. Legislation providing for federal matching funds for highway construction.
10. Discussion on Pier 15 improvements, which should only be considered after all other matters had been decided.

Countering Needles' objection to lobbying, he said that it was part of the democratic system of government by which legislators get the advantage of experience and wishes of the electorate. He stated, "What is needed is more lobbying by the man in the street." Then, perhaps, steam-roller politicians would be more attentive to the desires of the populace.

Although Fong agreed with Needles on "many points--especially his estimation of certain politicians"--he insisted that the 1941 Legislature was the most "liberal" in five sessions. A "conservative" majority of 16 to 14 had control of the House, and it was not the fault of the minority that such vital measures as the M-Day bill were not enacted, he claimed. He asked,

Do you want a legislature dominated by a dictator where there is no friction such as characterized previous sessions, or would you rather have a last session where at least there was a vocal minority?

The radio audience telephoned in many questions, which Fong answered extemporaneously. In answer to certain queries, he declared that he favored outlawing "star" sessions of the Legislature and its committees, feeling that "all meetings should be open to the press and the public." (It is interesting to note that he expressed this attitude over 30 years before Hawaii enacted a "sunshine" law.) He also advocated the election of the governor of Hawaii who would be responsible to the people.

A large stack of questions remained to be answered when "Hawaii Town Hall" ran out of station time. Such listener participation was an indication of Hawaii's great interest in politics and politicians, but it also meant that one legislator, Fong, was reaching an audience outside his own district. He was building a reputation as a capable speaker, a leader who was not afraid to deal with the issues of the day and a pragmatic politician who had much more to offer to the electorate than his two terms in office would seem to indicate.

### The Speakership and The Steering Committee, 1941

In an attempt to influence the power structure of the House for the Special Session, Fong flaunted his dislike of the incumbent Speaker, Arthur Akina, whom many considered the mouthpiece of the Big Five. Akina's weak leadership, it was claimed, was the cause of the fiasco of the closing days of the session just past. Fong came out openly to replace Akina with his old favorite nominee, Manuel Paschoal. During the first week in September, he threatened that a swing to "Paschoal for Speaker" was materializing. Fong indicated that 16 of the 30 House members were tentatively lined up for the veteran legislator from Maui. Two key Republicans, Reps. Walter Dillingham of Oahu and Juichi Doi from East Hawaii, had decided to switch their votes to Paschoal.<sup>186</sup>

However serious Fong may have been about making a fight for the speakership in the Special Session, Paschoal himself was not sure whether he wanted to be a part of any power play. Although it was reported that Akina would not press for the position, Paschoal finally decided that he would not be a candidate; the reason given was that he wished to keep the session from any possible controversy.<sup>187</sup>

Paschoal's decision was apparently made following a meeting called by Walter Macfarlane at his office in the Castle and Cooke office building. Invited to the special meeting were Reps. Akina, Paschoal, Engle, and one Hiram L. Fong.<sup>188</sup> This was the first reported instance in which Fong was clearly placed among the power blocs in the House. He was now seen to have established himself in a leadership role, with enough of a following among the Democrats and several of the more independent Republicans to be considered a force to be acknowledged.

The extent to which Fong had moved up in House authority in his second elected term can be seen by the fact that he was named to the important Steering Committee for the Special Session. Two members from each representative district and one at large were chosen to

scrutinize all bills and joint resolutions proposed for introduction at the current Special Session...and no other bill or joint resolution shall be introduced until the introduction of the same is sanctioned by said committee....

Serving with Fong from the Fifth District was the veteran George Eguchi, but Kam Tai Lee was edged out in the power play. Steering Committee members also included Reps. Arthur Akina, Paschoal, Engle, Worrall, Porteus, Marcallino and several others.<sup>189</sup> Fong was now in that select group charged with the crucial determination of legislation to be considered.

#### Legislation, 1941

A major piece of legislation accomplished in 1941 was the teachers' single salary bill which Fong and Manuel Paschoal introduced on the first day of the Special Session as H.B. No. 7. It was later amended to include the bonus provision of H.B. No. 17. As passed and signed, the teachers' pay bill instituted for the first time in the Territory a single salary schedule based on educational qualifications and teaching experience in the Department of Public Instruction rather than upon the grade and class taught.

Under the old salary schedules, teachers in senior high schools were paid more than those in intermediate schools, and the latter were paid more than those in elementary schools. As a result, most teachers were not motivated to follow their natural inclinations, but were always striving to be "promoted" to the higher schools for financial reasons.



Most were resigned to financial sacrifice should they remain at the elementary level. Superintendent of Public Instruction Oren E. Long characterized the single salary schedule for teachers as the most important single piece of school legislation in the 24 years that he had known the schools of Hawaii. Governor Poindexter signed it into law as Act 83 on October 29, 1941.<sup>190</sup>

In all his later campaigns in the Territory, Fong garnered a great deal of support from the teachers because of the successful passage of this key bill.

Key bills which Fong supported during the regular session and again during the Special Session included the wage-hour bill (S.B. No. 30), which was finally signed into law on October 18, 1941 as Act 66. Provisions included a minimum wage set at 25 cents per hour for Oahu and 20 cents per hour on the Neighbor Islands; the maximum hours per week were 48; the bill also provided for an overtime rate of one-and-one-half the regular pay for overtime, and related benefits. There were certain exceptions, such as those already making more than \$150 per month, agricultural workers, domestics in private homes, and so forth.<sup>191</sup> By and large, passage of this measure was a major accomplishment, and was another indication of his strong support of labor legislation from the very beginning of his political career. The Mobilization-Day bill was passed and signed on October 3, 1941 as Act 24 (S.B. No. 11). Fong, of course, voted for the bill.<sup>192</sup>

Rapid increases in population, particularly on Oahu, resulted in a movement toward reapportionment of Hawaii during the Special Session of 1941. Delegate Samuel W. King advocated that the Oahu membership in the House be increased from 12 to 24, and that 24 separate representative

districts be created on Oahu, thereby providing one representative from each district. However, a majority of House members adopted a concurrent resolution asking Congress to increase the Oahu membership of the lower chamber from 12 to 24, and to increase the number of representative districts from two to six. A vocal minority attempting to block adoption of the resolution included Reps. Fong, Yew Char, Pedro, and Doi. Fong had devised his own reapportionment plan, which he introduced as an amendment to the resolution. It provided for 24 Representatives, 12 members to be elected from the Fourth as well as the Fifth Districts (which comprised the island of Oahu). However, Rep. Worrall moved to table Fong's amendment, and succeeded by the close vote of 13 to 12.<sup>193</sup>

Fong accused Rep. Worrall and other backers of the concurrent resolution of attempting to put over the "worst piece of gerrymandering in history." He claimed that the proposed new districts would guarantee control of elections to the conservative and reactionary groups, "leaving the liberal element that wants to help the poor man out in the cold." He specified that he was for reapportionment, but not as proposed in the resolution. "Reapportionment should be along the lines called for in the Organic Act," he said. Maui would then get another representative or two and the setup on Hawaii would be changed. He believed that reapportionment should be for the entire Territory and for both houses. The vote to adopt the resolution was 14 to 9, with seven members absent.<sup>194</sup>

While Fong was not able to stop the majority, his ability to mount a strong campaign against the entrenched faction within his own party was not lost on people in both parties. Daily news coverage also kept his name in the limelight.

### Fred H. Merrill and the Oligarchy

It has been noted that the social and economic milieu of the Islands during the period prior to World War II was dominated by the Big Five, or Caucasian, elements. While Fuchs, Daws, and other writers have alluded to this fact, few, if any, documented their opinions with names of those individuals most directly involved in practices illustrating the prevailing climate in which the Caucasian and non-Caucasians (or Orientals) operated. Fortunately, a few Caucasians have recently spoken openly out about those practices, at least one of whom recalled events surrounding Fong and his associates.

He was Fred H. Merrill, retired head of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, a major firm in the United States that he helped sell to American Express in 1968.<sup>195</sup> He was an American who had come to Hawaii just before the onslaught of the Pearl Harbor attack. He was not only willing to be identified as being personally aware of discriminatory practices against the Orientals in Hawaii, but also to have his memories recorded for future reference.<sup>196</sup> Merrill had been investment management manager of the stock brokerage firm of Dean Witter and Company in San Francisco at the time he was first brought to the Islands by the Hawaiian Trust Company, having been recommended by his former employers and associates at the Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco. Wells Fargo had been the American correspondent for the Hawaiian Trust Company for many, many years.

Merrill and his family arrived just before Thanksgiving in 1941. On the morning of December 7, his household effects, which had just been delivered the day before, were still unpacked. Somehow he got his family

through the horror of the exacting days that followed, and began to establish himself in the financial community of Hawaii.

The only person with whom Merrill was really acquainted in the general community was Chinn Ho, who had also been associated with Dean Witter for about a decade. The two men had met and come to respect each other on Ho's frequent trips to the Bay area, so it was natural for Merrill to be included in Ho's various activities. One of those activities exemplified the demarcation line drawn by the Caucasians between themselves and the Orientals in Hawaii. Merrill's own words describe it best:

The Hawaiian Trust Company was a terribly stuffy place. It was run by what they used to call in Hawaii--maybe still do--"Scotch coolies." These were those old Scotchmen that were brought over to be bookkeepers, and they had the mentality of bookkeepers, and no imagination, no anything. Chinn, very shortly after I arrived in Honolulu...told me that once a week he and a group of friends had lunch at Wo Fat's. They included Judge Heen, Ernie Kai, Hiram Fong--all people that since have become very prominent. They were prominent then, but they've become really the leaders in the community.

And so I began to have lunch once a week at Wo Fat's, with this round table group, I being the only haole, really. Terribly interesting to me. But one day I came back from that luncheon, into the trust company office, and Peter McLean, who was then the [vice]-president of the trust company, called me into his office.

He said, "Fred," he said, "I understand that you're having lunch once a week with a group of Orientals down at Wo Fat's." And I said, "Yeah, Peter, it's fascinating; very interesting people." "Well," he said, "Fred," he said, "you must remember we don't do that sort of thing down here. We don't associate with those people down here."

And I said, "Peter, what in the hell are you trying to tell me?" I said, "Here you bring me down here, I'm supposed to make my career here, and you're telling me I can't associate with 85 percent of the people that live in this island? That are our potential customers? You mean I've got to confine myself to this little 15 percent?" I said, "Don't be silly." I said, "After this war is over, it is the Japanese and Chinese and the Orientals that are going to run Hawaii, and you just put it down. Because you're not going to have anything to say about it. And I want to be their friend if I'm going to live in Hawaii." That was the mentality of the people.

Merrill stated that what McLean was voicing was not an isolated feeling. That attitude was prevalent throughout the whole haole community. "Oh, you go out to Waiālae Country Club, or up to the Oahu Country Club, and they just would have nothing to do with other people," he said.

According to Merrill, Fong was just "one of the luncheon group." On those occasions, Fong did not speak out much, and like Ho and some of the others, was more deferential to Heen and Kai. Merrill recalled, "Judge Heen was a sort of a leader and the more vocal one of the group. And Ernie Kai was very vocal. Those two I remember as being the ones that talked the most, that led the conversations." Merrill also said that from time to time, another haole, attorney J. Russell Cades, also joined them for lunch. "As far as I can remember, we were the only haoles that I ever saw there [at our table]," he specified. The main topic of discussion was the war, and what was going to happen next.

Because Fong entered active service in May of 1942, Merrill and he did not become well-acquainted. Merrill's recollections of the business and social climate of Hawaii, however, corroborates and reinforces what the Orientals had felt all along about haole exclusiveness. There were several other incidents which compelled Merrill to evaluate his prospects in Hawaii.

Quite by happenstance, Merrill said, he had remained with the members of a board of directors of an important company with close ties to the Big Five, following one of their regular closed door meetings. The talk turned to the selection of the next chief executive of the firm, the last one having died unexpectedly. They chose a young man who was related to one of the haole elite, despite the fact that he was still

attending a university on the mainland at the time and had had no experience to speak of in running the company. Merrill was aghast, because he had expected that one of the more mature, experienced executives known to be available in Hawaii would be the choice. It was then that he was told that the job had to go to a kamaaina (one born in Hawaii or a long-time resident; in this instance, one of the haole elite).

Following the meeting, Merrill went to see Peter McLean. He said, Peter, Heavens, this isn't a place for me. I mean, you gentlemen sit around a table and pick the people that are going to succeed and have the good jobs in Hawaii. Then this is no place for me, because I'm not a kamaaina! Well, he was a little flustered and a little embarrassed. But it was about that time I made up my mind that [Hawaii] wasn't the place for me. I wasn't a kamaaina.

One of the reasons the Chinese in Hawaii established their own banking institutions was because of the fact that they had difficulty obtaining financial help from the regular Big Five-controlled banks. Most refused loans, and those that would extracted heavy demands upon the borrower. According to Merrill, "Before the war and during the early part of the war, the Bank of Hawaii wouldn't make a loan to an Oriental. They didn't want an Oriental customer." Merrill recalled that it was not until after the war was over that a new head of the bank, Rudolph Petersen, opened branches all over the main islands and invited Orientals to become customers. It was then that the other haole banks followed suit. It took someone coming in from outside the Hawaiian community to recognize the potentials for growth within the community itself. Merrill felt that this was a sorry commentary on the financial and social thinking of the times in Hawaii.

In the months following the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, volunteer policemen, or "society cops," were assigned to check on the community.<sup>197</sup>

Merrill was not on active military duty, so he joined the volunteer force. He said their purpose was to "raid every Japanese establishment on the island...homes, businesses, hotels, apartments." What most impressed the volunteers during those searches was the feeling of patriotism for America in the great majority of the Japanese establishments. He noted, "about all we'd find were war bonds...drawer after drawer, you'd open it up, and there'd be war bonds in an envelope."

Hawaii was too repressive a place for Merrill, and while he had hoped to build a position with Hawaiian Trust Company, he left the Islands in 1943. Returning to San Francisco, he became president of Fireman's Fund in 1957 and later board chairman of ITEL Corporation, a leasing firm.<sup>198</sup> However, he kept his ties with Hawaii as a director of American Factors along with his close relationship with Chinn Ho.<sup>199</sup>

### The Pearl Harbor Attack

The sneak attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor drastically changed the lives of all Americans, but it obviously affected persons living in Hawaii most drastically of all. It made a tremendous difference in the life of the Hiram Fong family, who were then living at 1258 Alewa Heights Road. He vividly recalled the actual events:<sup>200</sup>

December 7, that was a Sunday morning. I was looking for my newspaper...All of a sudden I heard these firings above my head. I was wondering what it was. I thought there was some [shooting] practice. There were no planes in sight ...just the sound of firing. Then later on I went in and turned on my radio...and some announcer...said that the Japanese had landed at Waianae and that they were marching towards town. That I remember very, very distinctly.

Naturally, we were all surprised that we were being attacked. That night we were supposed to have gone to Dr. Stephen Young's party for his daughter, I think, [for] a new baby. We were supposed to go, and they called a curfew, and naturally we couldn't go....The governor later on relinquished his office, and turned it over to the military, which he should not have done.

Fong explained about the effect the military government had on him personally. "The military took over and they ruled supreme here. They had the military courts, for example. The courts were closed for several days, and the lawyers were in a quandary as to how to make a living." However, even as an elected official, Fong did not object to the takeover: "That is the funny part of it. We all went along." There was no attempt on the part of the solons to question the takeover,

probably because we were hit, you see, and I think we were stunned, and probably people felt that martial law should be declared.... We didn't know how imminent the Japanese were....During that period it was really one of survival rather than talking of liberties and rights and elective privileges....Not too many months after that, the big Battle of Midway came. If they [the Japanese] had won the Battle of Midway, we would have been taken over. So it was a time in which you worried, but was a time where there was a lot of confusion and we never thought of our individual rights.

Fong was still practicing law alone in his downtown office. He recalled,

We were closed for three to four days, I think. This concerned me a lot because it was a curtailment of business....I presume all the lawyers had an economic concern. Everybody in town probably had an economic concern because we did not know what the situation would be. We were attacked and how close was the enemy? If he could inflict such heavy casualties on us now what were his capabilities?

...later on, if you violated any laws you went before a military judge. Colonel [Neal] Franklin was the judge who meted our sentences, which probably was very illegal but he carried it on.

On Monday morning, December 8, Fong was able to get to his office, but there was not much that he could accomplish. He reported that everyone had to darken their automobile lights except for one small hole where a tiny beam could shine through. Service stations did the blackening out. Curfew was declared. Fong said, "You had to be home. You couldn't be on the streets. Yet Pearl Harbor...all of Pearl Harbor and Hickam Field had their lights on, because the people had to work, day and night."



Katsuro Miho

In April, Fong was notified that he was to report for active duty in the Judge Advocate's office effective May 1, 1942. Having been a one-man law firm, Fong was prepared to close up his small operation for the duration, but a fortuitous meeting with an acquaintance on a downtown street corner changed matters to his benefit. One day, just as he was about to enter military service, he saw attorney Katsuro Miho on the sidewalk near his office. They had met casually before, but were not close friends. Miho was of Japanese ancestry, and was born on August 10, 1912 in Wailuku, Maui. A graduate of the George Washington University law school in 1938, Miho was a law clerk for the firm of Stainback and Masee from 1939-1942.<sup>201</sup> Miho was looking for something better, as he was not very happy in the firm. He wore thick glasses, and poor eyesight meant he was not eligible for military duty. Miho approached Fong, and asked what the latter planned to do with his law practice. Fong advised him that he would just have to close up shop. Miho offered to work with Fong, and characteristically, Fong made an immediate decision. He agreed to take Miho into his office. There on the sidewalk, the two men shook hands to close the deal.<sup>202</sup>

Miho recalled how informal the arrangement was in the beginning, and how the two men have never signed a formal partnership agreement. Even the office work was conducted very casually at first, with no bills sent out to clients. Miho stated that the two attorneys trusted their clients to pay as much as they could, whenever they could. It was not until years later that more formal bookkeeping was instituted. When funds were received, it was up to Fong to disperse them, and Miho recalled that it was always done satisfactorily.<sup>203</sup>

Had it not been for the chance meeting of Fong and Miho on the street, Fong's law practice would have surely deteriorated during the years he was in the military. However, with Miho able to work full-time, the firm prospered. In later months, Fong received permission to practice law on weekends, and spent Saturdays at his personal office for the balance of his military service.<sup>204</sup>

### Civic Leader

During the 1940's, there were two prominent organizations in the Chinese community. One was the United Chinese Society (U.C.S.), considered to be the representative Chinese organization in the Territory, as previously noted. Every Chinese adult was eligible for membership. Established in 1882, the society's building was destroyed in the fire of 1886, but new headquarters were built the following year at 42 North King Street. The other major organization, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (C.C.C.), sponsored with the U.C.S. undertakings benefitting the Chinese community not only in Hawaii but also in China. Floods and famine relief for China were regular projects. The C.C.C. was organized on August 4, 1912 and since 1929 had been located next to the U.C.S.<sup>205</sup>

Under military rule, an Office of Civilian Defense was established, which created a morale section on December 18, 1941. One month later the unit became the morale section on the office of a military governor<sup>206</sup> with three co-chairmen, one Caucasian, one Chinese and one Japanese. By the first week in February 1942, it was announced that a Chinese advisory committee had been instituted. There were 14 members on this Committee, all of whom had to be approved by the military governor. The members selected from among themselves a five-man executive committee with Fong

as its head. Already active in numerous community groups, he was also acting president of the Hawaii Chinese Civic Association (H.C.C.A.).<sup>207</sup>

The H.C.C.A. was an organization "relating to American politics," to which only American citizens of Chinese ancestry, naturalized or native-born, could belong. Aliens were not eligible. There were 1,600 members in 1934, and the group remained a large, active one for many years. (However, by the mid-1970's, membership had declined to approximately 800.) Members took an active part in each of the territorial elections, and held an annual Fourth of July picnic.<sup>208</sup>

The purpose of the Advisory Committee was two-fold: to discuss and act on problems arising from the war which affected the Chinese community, and to organize the community so as to cooperate more closely with the authorities in prosecuting the war to victory. Under the military rule of Hawaii during the war, such groups served merely as a communications link between the power of the military governor and the residents of the Islands. Those of Chinese ancestry (already supportive of the United States in the war and having backed the Chinese government in its battles against the Japanese since 1939) cooperated whole-heartedly with the military government during this entire period, even though the onerous Chinese Exclusion Act was not rescinded until 1943.

Outlining the important issues with which the Committee was dealing, Fong stated, "Our committee will try to help the Chinese community in every way possible." Recognizing that the Chinese had many schoolmates, friends, and consumers of Japanese heritage, Fong emphasized that the committee was

backing President Roosevelt in his plea that we should not discriminate against loyal Americans who are of Japanese ancestry. We are asking the Chinese merchants and businessmen to back the President on this matter.

Another problem was the making of the Chinese language school buildings (closed for the duration of the war, as were the Japanese language schools), available for civic purposes. Another immediate issue was the need to study the problem of registering the unemployed. Fong indicated the solution was to try to have

the Chinese Chamber of Commerce make a branch of this work for convenience of the non-English speaking people. I wish to emphasize that anyone who has a problem affecting his business or his welfare should feel free to come to see us.<sup>209</sup>

It is important to note here that Fong became the spokesman for the Chinese community in 1942, after being in the House of Representatives for only two terms (as compared to Kam Tai Lee, for example, a fellow-Republican who had served previously in the Legislature and enjoyed strong Party support). Despite the fact that Fong was not associated with a major Chinese business or fraternal organization (the Jack Sin Tong being one of the smaller ones), he was given that honor.

The group he headed included T. F. Farm, president, Chinese Chamber of Commerce; Samuel K. Young, president, United Chinese Society; Richard C. Tongg, past president, Chinese University Club, Hawaii Chinese Civic Association, and the Honolulu Chapter, Alumni Association, of the University of Hawaii; and Lau Tang, executive secretary of the Chinese Chamber and of the United Chinese Society, who was secretary of the committee. Other members of the advisory committee were C. K. Amona; Theodore C. H. Char, C.P.A.; Dr. Dai Yen Chang; Tin Yuke Char; Dr. Fred K. Lam; Representative Kam Tai Lee; Willis K. Leong; Dr. Min Hin Li; and Doo Waising, venerable businessman.<sup>210</sup>

It is interesting to note that Fong did not recall working on this committee. The Chinese community did not present very many problems for the government during World War II, and other American-Chinese like

Hung Wai Ching played a prominent role in its operation. The fact that Fong went on active duty in May of 1942, probably accounts for his inability to remember anything concerning the Advisory Committee.<sup>211</sup>

#### Military Service, 1942-1945

Awarded the rank of First Lieutenant in the United States Army Reserve on September 28, 1933, Fong maintained that rank at the time he was inducted into the regular army on May 1, 1942. While awaiting assignment to Camp Schofield on Oahu, he was assigned to the Judge Advocate's Office of the Seventh U. S. Army Air Corps at Hickam Field. On January 17, 1943, he was advanced to the rank of Captain, and a little more than a year later he was promoted to the rank of Major on March 20, 1944. His entire wartime service was in Honolulu.<sup>212</sup>

His superior officer was Lt. Col. (later Colonel) Neal D. Franklin, who was born on June 29, 1897 in Texas, went to tank school, and later received a law degree from the University of Maryland in 1926.<sup>213</sup> Fong credited his increasing capabilities as an attorney to Franklin. A hard task-master, Franklin required Fong to write legal cases in an exacting manner. Although Fong had written speeches and delivered them with prize-winning results, he claimed that he did not really know how to write. The teachers in the public schools, the University of Hawaii, and Harvard Law School did not stress the correct use of the English language. He recalled his first real lesson in the basic rudiments of writing under Col. Franklin as follows:

And it came very, very strikingly to my attention, when, during the Second World War, I was called into military service...I was placed in the Judge Advocate's Office because I was a lawyer. I wrote the first opinion for an appeal that the Colonel asked me to do.

Then he questioned me all over the place. Oh, did I feel like a five-cent piece! Then I began to realize my lack of training. I said to myself, "Gee whiz, I don't know how to write!" But under Col. Franklin, I learned to follow all the rules. I had to choose the right word, I had to be able to defend that word, be able to defend that phrase, be able to defend that sentence. It was then that I learned how to write.<sup>214</sup>

Pressed for an explanation, Fong said that his experience was a real commentary upon the public school and academic institutions of the time. He said that at Harvard, "they didn't teach us English; they taught us the law!"<sup>215</sup> As noted previously, Fong's University career did not include many courses in English grammar or literature. While one might expect that his editorial work on Ka Leo o Hawaii would have assisted him in writing, there are clear differences between working for the school newspaper or as a contributor of articles to the Honolulu Advertiser, and the exacting work demanded in military law. His previous law experience had been more in the line of claims, wills, deeds, and immigration cases. Much of this work consisted of filling out forms and following established formats.

Franklin was the first important Caucasian attorney closely associated with Fong up to this time. As provost judge, the harshness of military rule involved Franklin to a great degree. According to legal authority J. Garner Anthony, the new government was funded by a "generous Congress" which "empowered to the President appropriate funds for such an emergency." The President had come to the relief of the civil population of Hawaii, but by the time his instructions were acted upon, it turned out that what had happened was that the military governor used the monies to

keep the people under the subjection of a military rule which neither the Congress nor the President had authorized.

As might be expected, the rough justice meted out in the provost courts was a source of large revenues. During the period of December 7, 1941, to August 31, 1942, there was collected the sum of \$789,417.08 from the operations of the provost courts and the issuance of individual liquor permits. Of this \$562,674.67 constituted fines and forfeitures exacted from civilians in the provost courts, and \$226,742.41 represented fees paid by civilians to obtain permits for the purchase of liquor. The funds themselves were deposited in the name of an Army finance officer in the Bishop National Bank of Hawaii at Honolulu.<sup>216</sup>

It was during this time period that Fong and his partners were approved for a liquor license for the Hawaiian Town, of which more is forthcoming.

The City and County of Honolulu was thereby deprived of its usual revenues, and sought through its controller to seek some redress from the military governor on the disposition of provost court fines. The controller said that he was advised by the Chief of Police "that the monies are being held in the bank, 'subject to the disposition of the military governor' at the orders of Colonel Neal Franklin, provost judge."<sup>217</sup>

Life for the Fongs, according to the future Senator, was full of a "vague, dull, dread feeling" during the war years. He said that the feeling of persistent anxiety never fully lifted from his shoulders; moreover, a pall of uncertainty lay over the entire community and he was in its shadow until peace was finally declared. There was also the possibility of being sent overseas, as long as he was on active service. When the peace agreement was signed, then and only then was the feeling of being in peril dispelled from his life.<sup>218</sup>

However, once he settled into the routine of work at the judge advocate's office, it was like having a "regular" peacetime job; he was privileged to have the usual business hours of going to work in the mornings and returning home in the evenings. As noted, on Saturdays he was permitted to work at his private law office. As the war

progressed favorably and the American forces gained superiority over the Japanese forces in the Pacific, he and the civilians resumed more of their normal pursuits.

Among Fong's closest friends during the wartime period (as well as in later years) were Mr. and Mrs. John Lai. Lai was the owner-operator of the Metronome Music Store in downtown Honolulu and the KaLae String Instrument Manufacturers. Mrs. Lai was the former Ellen Jay whose father had been a shoemaker on the plantations until he established his own business. At the onset of World War II in the Pacific, the Lais lived at 404 Olohana Street in Waikiki. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor and their subsequent evacuation to the home they had fortunately just purchased at 3050 Pacific Heights Road, the Lais rented out their beach property to wartime nurses and Seabees according to the priorities for housing established for workers in the war effort. Their Olohana residence was later the place where many Fong supporters met to plan campaign strategy, particularly when John Lai became Manpower Chairman in Fong's senatorial campaign.<sup>219</sup>

The home on Pacific Heights Road became the setting for much of the wartime social activity enjoyed by the Fongs' circle of relatives and friends. The Lai home was the largest in their group, having four bedrooms and an equal number of bathrooms. There was also an attic and a large sun porch. Blackout conditions dictated that no one could be on the roads after 7:00 p.m., and there was an 8:00 p.m. curfew. Accordingly, the families gathered before dark and stayed overnight or for the weekend. Often there were from 16 to 20 people in the home, with every family bringing some food and other supplies. The adults



often entertained themselves with various Chinese games, such as tin gao, mah jhong, and card games. The Lais often included military personnel in these social weekends. Some of them were Fong's friends in the service, like his fellow-officers. It was likely Colonel Neal Franklin was among those invited, but Mrs. Lai did not recall exactly. Of course, Mrs. Lai emphasized, they also invited buck privates, not just officers.<sup>220</sup>

With military office and connections, Fong and his friends were able to secure items like butter and meat, which they brought to their hosts in Pacific Heights. They did, of course, abide by the territorial office of food control's May 15, 1943 request for cooperation in observing a "roastless and steakless" two weeks in order to equalize the territorial civilian meat supply.<sup>221</sup>

Despite the aura of uncertainty, Fong and his associates were relatively untouched by the restrictive conditions of the war, adjusting to hardships with the philosophical capability of the Chinese. Although on March 10, 1943 certain civilian functions were returned to the civilian government, it was not until October 24, 1944 that martial law was ended and civilian rights fully restored.<sup>222</sup>

The Pacific Heights home was later the spot to which Fong brought Victor Johnson, leading Republican from Washington, who had arrived to encourage him to run for the Senate in 1959. Ellyn Fong was with the Lais when Fong entered and jokingly asked her, "Do you want to live in Washington?"<sup>223</sup>

Chun Ming vs. Ho

It was around this time, while Fong was still on active duty, that he was retained as attorney in one of the "longest pending legal cases in the history of Hawaii."<sup>224</sup> Referred to as the Chun Ming v. Ho case, it involved the heirs of Ho Poi, who had 17 children, seven by his first wife, and ten by a second wife, or concubine. His will left all his property to his "children," but there was disagreement as to which children were "legally" his. Attorney Earl S. Robinson, Fong's part-Hawaiian associate from 1952 to 1980 in the law firm, supplied the following summary of this important case:

When Ho Poi, a widower died in 1941 he left a Will which bequeathed all of this property to his "lawfully begotten children." His executor (a son) listed only seven of his 17 surviving children as his lawful heirs. The other ten children retained Hiram L. Fong to represent them in their claim for their shares in their father's estate. After some delays all 17 children signed a family settlement in 1948 agreeing to share equally in both parents' estates, their mother Ho Chung Shee having died without a Will in 1939 owning several valuable parcels of land. The pending Ho Poi probate matter was thus settled and an Order Distributing the Property duly entered. In 1951 the "ten" children discovered that their "executor" brother had leased several valuable parcels of land in their father's estate to the oldest brother (one of the seven) for a long period of time at minimal rents. When they filed suit to cancel said leases, and surcharge their executor brother he countersued to annul the family settlement on the grounds that it was procured under fraud, duress and mistake.

After a lengthy, bitterly contested equity proceeding in the First Circuit Court of Hawaii Judge Calvin McGregor upheld the family settlement, finding that it had resolved a family controversy. On appeal to the Hawaii Supreme Court that judgment was reversed and the Settlement set aside on the ground that there was evidence that some of the "seven" children mistakenly thought the Settlement only affected their father's property and not their mother's property also.

However, before that decision on appeal was made the "seven" children started equity proceedings in the First Circuit Court before Judge Frank McKinley for the Determination and Declaration of Heirs of Ho Chang Shee, the wife of Ho Poi, since she had died without a Will. This trial took weeks to try with the children and their witnesses testifying and producing documentary evidence

as to who their natural mother was. Needless to say, the evidence, both oral and documentary, was in conflict, leading the Judge to characterize it as a "Chinese puzzle wrapped in an enigma." His decision found all 17 children to be born of Ho Chang Shee, based on the same policy of law which obtains in a legitimacy hearing.

On appeal the Hawaii Supreme Court sustained that judgment and the policy it applied.

The "seven" tried an appeal to the United States Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals but that court denied the appeal for want of jurisdiction under the Hawaii Admissions Act. As a final resort the "seven" applied for a Writ of Certiarari from the United States Supreme Court, but were denied in 1966.

During the pendency of those proceedings the State of Hawaii condemned several parcels of land for the H-1 Freeway. The eminent domain proceeding was the only one in which both the "seven" and "ten" sets of children were on the same side.

After those paternity proceedings were finally resolved the 17 children did manage to resolve the pending matters involving the old surcharge against their executor brother and the sale of the remaining parcels of land in 1978.<sup>225</sup>

When Fong resigned from his law firm upon his election to the United States Senate, Earl Robinson saw the Ho Poi case through to its final and successful completion. According to Robinson, it was Fong's ability and strategy which brought about the final resolution in favor of the ten children of the second wife. It was his knowledge of Chinese customs, the law, and human nature which led to this landmark case in the annals of Hawaiian legal history. Robinson said that Fong really enjoyed courtroom battles. He "liked a good fight," and found them "challenging." Fong was "excellent at cross-examination." Fong also kept politics out of his law work, never involving his legal associates directly in the political arena. Earl Robinson joined the firm in 1952, when Walter Chuck left, and became a partner in the firm of Fong, Miho, Choy, and Robinson in 1959.<sup>226</sup> (In 1980, he left to form his own law firm.)

### The Hawaiian Town

Around the time of American involvement in World War II, Fong started to exhibit the business acumen, the ability to form successful partnerships, and the instinct to capitalize upon local situations that were to be his trademarks in later years. A prime example of this faculty was a business venture, operating a nightclub and restaurant called the Hawaiian Town, beginning in the spring of 1942.

Originally a "liquor-dispensing establishment," or bar, the lease on the Campbell Estate property at 1502 Kapiolani Boulevard had been held by Charles Amalu. Apparently because of the fact that it was not possible to sell liquor for some time following the takeover of the government by the military, Amalu did not renew his lease. Reasoning that matters would return to a more normal state in the due course of time, and recognizing that defense workers, military personnel, and the general population needed a place to relax from the rigors of the war, Fong formed a partnership with Rudy Tongg, Richard C. Tong, Kwai Kong Chang, and Yew Kai Chang to secure the lease from the Campbell Estate. The partnership was organized on May 25, 1942, and registered as a liquor business the following day. On March 31 of the next year, Fong withdrew from the partnership in favor of his wife Ellyn, and on August 31, 1943, Rudy Tongg also withdrew, in favor of Nicholas F. Tong.<sup>227</sup>

Having secured the liquor license and a license to sell food, Fong recruited his brother Herman as general manager of the Hawaiian Town, even though Herman had had no experience in the field. Herman said that at that time, he "didn't know the difference between a T-bone steak and a chopped steak," but he quickly learned what was required to make

a success of the venture. Food was rationed during this period, and it was difficult to locate enough supplies to prepare meals for their patrons. Herman had to go out to the duck ponds, most of which were operated by persons of Chinese ancestry, and personally make the deals to buy as many ducks as possible. He learned to plan meals ahead of time; one of his major responsibilities, as he saw it, was to be sure the freezer was well-stocked. Whenever it began to empty, he "scrounged around for more food." Actually, according to Herman, food service was incidental to the success of Hawaiian Town. What was really needed was just a place to which people could go, to have fun, and to forget as best they could the war going on around them.<sup>228</sup>

The existing facility included two permanent buildings, one housing the bar, and one the kitchen. As business grew, the partners saw the need to enlarge the facilities, but building materials were rationed at the time. Their answer was rather ingenious: they moved some of the activity out-of-doors. A large 60x120-foot concrete slab was poured, over which a tent was erected. This became the area for food service and dancing. In the four years that the Hawaiian Town was in operation, the tent held up "pretty well"; fortunately, there was never a rain or wind storm heavy enough to tear it down.<sup>229</sup>

Not only was improvisation needed to expand the seating space, but Herman also had to supply pots and pans for the cooks and tables for patrons. The first he commissioned from ironsmiths, since it was impossible to buy cookware; in a similar manner, he had to have wooden tables fashioned by carpenters. He recruited kitchen workers and waitresses from among his relatives and acquaintances. His brother-in-law, working in the kitchen at Queen's Hospital during the day,

"moonlighted" as a cook for Hawaiian Town. Waitresses were sought from among the office staff at the Honolulu Post Office, where Herman had been previously employed. There was no problem getting enough employees. Most of those approached jumped at the opportunity to earn some extra money in their spare time, because there were few places where recreation could be had. During the war, Hawaiian Town was the "biggest nightclub in town." At its zenith, between 40 and 50 waitresses were needed to serve capacity crowds of approximately 1,500 people.<sup>230</sup>

Hawaiian Town was also the location for the party celebrating the birth of Rodney Fong, the Fong's second child. Invitations in the form of a letter dated September 15, 1943, were mailed out to their families and many friends and acquaintances to join in the luncheon party held on September 26 at 11:30 a.m.<sup>231</sup> As previously mentioned, Hawaiian Town was also the site of the wedding party following the marriage of Fong's youngest sister Beatrice.

The success of Hawaiian Town was due to the fact that war workers were "making plenty of money," and military personnel and citizens in general had few places to spend their wages. Conviviality was a necessary ingredient to the morale of the people, and Hawaiian Town was one place where they could meet, eat and drink, and dance. It was successful also because management was able to secure enough food and liquor to dispense, as well as enough help in the kitchen and dining area.<sup>232</sup> Just as its success was tied to the war, its demise was related to the war's end. After the end of hostilities, and with six months more on the lease to run, the partners decided not to renew the lease. After having failed to file an annual statement with the department of regulatory agencies for two consecutive years and nothing for the

years 1951, 1954, 1955, and 1956, their license was automatically cancelled on August 12, 1957.<sup>233</sup>

According to Herman, it was a "smart" move for Fong and his partners to pick up the license for the Hawaiian Town. They were correct in predicting that "things would open up again."<sup>234</sup> Here again, Fong's sense of timing was good, and he was in the right place at the right time. He was fortunate to have the right kinds of help to make the investment successful. By the time the men let the partnership lapse, Fong was already developing other financial investments.

#### Attempts to Enter the 1942 Elections

Politics was already a main endeavor for Fong, and even though he was on active military duty, he believed he could get a leave of absence to campaign, and if successful, to serve in the 1943 Legislature. However, problems arose immediately which kept him out of the election.

Three years after Fong's tumultuous entry into the territorial House of Representatives, he was once more embroiled in a controversy over whether he was eligible to sit in the Legislature. As in 1938-39, one other solon (this time Rep. Walter H. Dillingham, a liberal Republican, Fourth District) was also involved. Both men were on active duty, Fong as First Lieutenant in the judge advocate general's department, and Dillingham as Captain in the Army Air Force Reserve. Both had filed for re-election, and were listed as candidates in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin issue of September 4, 1942.<sup>235</sup> However, their candidacies were questioned on September 8th.<sup>236</sup>

Confusion regarding the eligibility of Fong and Dillingham arose because of the changing rules issued by the War Department. Prior to filing for re-election, Fong was advised that he could "represent the

people in legislative halls as well as the firing line." According to a letter received by Raymond C. Brown, executive secretary of the Republican Party, from Angus M. Taylor, Jr., U. S. attorney, reserve officers on active duty could seek election or re-election provided they met certain conditions. Taylor enclosed a military order from Major General E. S. Adams of the adjutant general's office in Washington, D. C., which specified:

AR 600-10 as amended prohibits all persons on active duty from taking part in political management or in political campaigns.

The war department is cognizant of the fact that certain members of reserve components now on extended active duty are in leave status from public office held by them prior to entering upon active duty and that some may wish to seek election or reelection during their period of active service.

If such person can accomplish the necessary campaigning by taking ordinary leave due him, and if his election to and occupancy of civil office will not interfere with his military duties, the war department will consider exempting him from compliance with pertinent army regulations.

Each such case must be submitted to the war department through military channels with a detailed statement of the circumstances upon which the request is based and the specific recommendations of commanding officers concerned.<sup>237</sup>

Fong was very happy to be informed of Taylor's order, and acted immediately to comply with its provisions. However, the War Department, for reasons never clear to Fong, issued a new ruling which was more specific and adversely affected his application.

According to a letter received on August 10, 1942 by the Republican Central Committee from Hawaii's Delegate Samuel W. King, both Dillingham and Fong were "barred" from running for re-election by the War Department. Delegate Samuel King enclosed a copy of a letter received by him from Major General James A. Ulio, adjutant general, definitely stating that the two representatives could not enter the local political race.



General Ulio advised that "a new order by the War Department" provided that "army officers may not seek election to political offices, the only exception applying to officers who had been granted permission to run for office prior to July 24, 1942." The order, however, made "no exception on applications filed before this date which had not been acted upon." On receiving this news, Fong indicated that "before mailing his application he had received permission here from his superiors to do so" and that he had mailed his application to the War Department on July 12. He "added that he would endeavor to obtain further information on the new ruling."<sup>238</sup>

Part of the confusion arose because of two communications received from Delegate King. Foster L. Davis, Chairman of the Republican territorial central committee, made them public. In the first communication received August 27 in Honolulu, King said:

War department states officers on active duty may not sit in state legislatures but commanding general Hawaiian department has authority grant leaves of absence for this purpose. Understand war department so notifying General Emmons.<sup>239</sup>

The second message from King was dated August 29, in which he stated:

Further reference your inquiry war department today informs me officers on active duty may not seek election or reelection to political office or take active part in management political campaigns.

Circular 243 rescinds previous instructions on this matter. Only exception applies to officers to whom permission had already been granted by department but does not apply to those whose applications were filed prior to July 24 on which department has not acted.

Apparently only alternative is to request inactive duty status during both campaign and session and doubt if war department would approve such requests.

Expect formal letter confirming this ruling before September 3 and shall advise further.<sup>240</sup>

Both Fong and Dillingham disclosed that they had contacts in the nation's capitol assisting them. At the time Fong clarified,

I have someone working in Washington for me on this matter apart from Delegate King. I applied to the war department for permission to seek reelection July 9, and made a similar application to the Hawaiian department July 12. My application was approved by the Hawaiian department on July 25. Circular 243, incidentally, was not received in Hawaii until August 15.<sup>241</sup>

In the face of official uncertainty, Dillingham and Fong did not cancel their re-election bid. On September 14, Rep. Fong was quoted as saying, "We haven't withdrawn. There are certain things we are doing and which we think will go through that will enable us to stay in the race." In the event that the men withdrew, the Republican central committee was ready to name a replacement for Rep. Fong but not necessarily for Rep. Dillingham. Fong's withdrawal would mean there would be only five Republican candidates for the six seats to be elected from the Fifth District but there were enough (14) Republicans running from Dillingham's Fourth District.<sup>242</sup>

Their names were on the primary election ballots because of the printing schedules. Both permitted their names to appear because the ballots had to be sent to the printer in plenty of time before the October 3 voting date.

The Republican Party was of course unhappy with the indefinite status of Fong and Dillingham. At a party rally at Kapiolani Park on Sunday, September 27, Rep. Walter J. Macfarlane, party spokesman and himself a candidate from the Fourth District, noted,

We have two candidates for the House, one in the Fourth District, the other in the Fifth District, whose status is not clear. I think it is incumbent upon the Republican party to clarify the position of these two candidates.

I think it is only fair to the voters in both the Fourth and the Fifth districts that this clarification be made right now. Supposing that each of these two candidates receive 10,000 votes and are then disqualified by the army. This would mean that these 10,000 votes which could have gone to other candidates will have been thrown away. This would be unfair not only to the voters but also to the other candidates.<sup>243</sup>

While the issue was important to the Republican Party as well as to the men involved, apparently the people at the rally did not seem overly concerned. From the nearly 200 persons in attendance following the weekly Sunday afternoon concert of the Royal Hawaiian Band, the crowd dwindled to less than 100, "including soldiers, sailors, and children" just a half-hour after the rally had been under way.<sup>244</sup>

While some voters may have been apathetic about Macfarlane's statement, Fong was not. Macfarlane had not mentioned any names, but it was apparent whom he meant because Fong and Dillingham were the only two candidates for the House who were in the army. It will be recalled that Macfarlane had voted against seating Fong in 1939. Fong issued a prepared statement, and received newspaper headlines, "Fong Delivers Stinging Reply to Macfarlane." His statement is given in full because it denotes his method of reasoning, the state of his mind at the time, and illustrates his frustration with what he considered meddling in a personal affair. He fell back upon the provision of the Organic Act:

The Honorable Walter Macfarlane, a candidate for reelection to the House of Representatives, has attacked the candidacy of Walter H. Dillingham and myself on the theory that because of a War Department circular and as active army officers in the air forces [sic] of the United States stationed in Hawaii, we are not qualified to seek reelection to the territorial legislature. By so doing he has certainly garbed himself in the robes of that chivalrous buffoon, Don Quixote, and has ridden out on his mare into the political world to right imaginary wrongs. (Don Quixote, as you undoubtedly know, tilted with a windmill thinking he was a knight helping a princess in distress.)

In reply to the question as to our qualifications, I would like to state that the Organic Act prescribes the qualifications requisite for those seeking and holding political office. I can definitely state that we have met every requirement as set forth therein. Were it not so, the Secretary of the Territory of Hawaii would not have certified that we were qualified candidates for reelection.

All this loose talk about our not meeting the qualifications of a candidate is nothing more than the fretful whimperings of a spoiled brat frustrated in his childish attempts in the last and previous legislative sessions to push class legislation for self-aggrandizement. It is a type of selfish behavior, which was very much in evidence when the trustees bill which would have qualified the Honorable Mr. Macfarlane as a trustee of the Campbell Estate was vetoed.

The onerous reflection of the defeat of the M-Day Bill upon the reputation of the Territory of Hawaii as an American community must be laid before the crib of the Honorable Mr. Macfarlane. What type of an American is he, who would resort to political chicanery to gain his own ends at the expense of the life of the people of this Territory? It was the Honorable Mr. Macfarlane who let it be known that the M-Day Bill was his "Big Stick Bargaining" Bill, and that it will have no chance of passing the House until the opposition voted with him on the Pier 15 bill. The Honorable Mr. Macfarlane certainly betrayed the trust those of Hawaiian and part Hawaiian ancestry placed in him when he fought doggedly to defeat the Molokai water bill but when he saw that he was outvoted, voted for the bill, so that at least on the record of the journal of the House it would look like he supported the bill.

Whether we have received consent from the Adjutant General in Washington to seek reelection is a matter of no import to the Honorable Mr. Macfarlane or anyone else except to ourselves and our superior officers, and does not in any way qualify or disqualify us as candidates as far as the Organic Act is concerned.

The Honorable Mr. Macfarlane in attacking our candidacy is certainly echoing a voice which is not his own. It is the voice which uses him as a sounding board to lay the first step in the fight for the speakership and the control of the territorial legislature of 1943. With Walter H. Dillingham out of the way the candidate who is also a member of the central committee would have one better chance for election. With both of us out of the House of Representatives healthy opposition against his self-gain group would be practically non-existent.

I would like to state in concluding that we are trying as officers in the Air Corps in Hawaii to contribute our little bit in this war and as long as it does not interfere with our military duties, we would like also to again serve the people of Hawaii

in the legislature. May I ask, what is the Honorable Mr. Macfarlane doing for his country, except to exploit his political advantage as a smug civilian to wax rich and prosperous?<sup>245</sup>

The fact that Fong was not in a battle situation on the firing lines but was processing paperwork in the judge advocate's office, as well as the shortness of the legislative sessions, combined to make him feel that he would be given a leave of absence to run. It can be conjectured that there was a suspicion that powerful political figures in Hawaii were manipulating events in Washington to keep his appeal from being acted upon until it was too late. It could also be speculated that, in Dillingham's case, his siding with the minority Republicans in the Pier 15 and other issues also made him a target for political maneuvering.

In any event, the nature of Fong's "stinging reply" to Macfarlane almost mandated that the latter respond in some fashion. Macfarlane did react by issuing the following statement:

Lt. Fong has patriotically undertaken a share in the armed forces' defense of American liberties. I am sure he will give his best efforts to that task.

But it is regrettable that Mr. Fong, a commissioned officer in the United States Army, has seen fit to cast aspersions upon the loyalty of the American men and women who because of physical or other legitimate reasons have been deprived of an opportunity to wear the uniform of their country. I feel that in this he in no way expresses the sentiment or belief of his brother officers or of the enlisted men in the armed services.

I refuse to believe that his superior officers and the adjutant general have given him permission to say we civilians are "smug and unpatriotic" when they know, and he knows, that our cooperation with the military under martial law has been an example to the whole nation.

Mr. Fong knows the truth about my legislative record, but has chosen to distort it. He knows that he voted for my trustee bill because it was a good bill. He also knows that the late Speaker Akina, Rep. Porteus and myself called on Governor Poindexter requesting a three day special session just to pass the M-Day

bill but Mr. Fong would not cooperate. Also I voted for the Molokai water bill so I am content to let the record speak for itself.

Let's go on fighting the real war. All I wanted to know, and so do several thousand other civilians, whether Lt. Fong is legitimately a candidate or not. The answer should be simple without calling every man out of uniform unpatriotic.<sup>246</sup>

The date of the October 3 primary election was quickly approaching. The United States Army authorities finally stepped in to resolve the whole matter. They ordered Fong and Dillingham to withdraw from their respective candidacies on September 30, 1942. That same day, an editorial appeared, stating, "They Should Withdraw." Immediately, Fong took action, he advised that he "was writing a letter of withdrawal to the secretary of the territory" that very day.<sup>247</sup> Dillingham telephoned his intentions, but did not file a letter until later. Fong also issued the following statement:

I wish to state that my actions in filing my nomination papers and in allowing my name to remain on the ballot were all done in good faith and in the belief that I would be allowed to seek re-election by the War Department..

My application for permission to seek re-election was submitted on July 12, twelve days prior to the issuance of the War Department circular that prohibited from seeking office those who did not secure permission prior to July 24. The application was duly approved locally but due to unavoidable delays, action on the application was not taken by the War Department in Washington until August 6.

Upon receipt of an unfavorable reply from the War Department, a request for reconsideration was forwarded to the Adjutant General. Pending receipt of a reply to the letter of reconsideration, I received permission to allow my name to remain on the ballot. Today I was notified that the request for reconsideration was not granted.

To all my friends who have advocated my candidacy and would have favored me with their kind support, I say Mahalo nui loa and do sincerely hope that when the victory has been won, I will again have the privilege to serve the good people of this Territory and particularly the residents of the 5th Representative District.<sup>248</sup>

The same day he formally notified Foster Davis of his withdrawal from the race, expressing the hope that this would be a banner year for the Republican Party. Fong noted that the "fortunes of war have precluded me seeking public office" and also thanked Mr. Davis and the Republican central committee for past courtesies. The committee selected Edwin K. Fernandez, Sr., former representative and showman, to take Fong's place.<sup>249</sup>

Notices were posted at all polling places informing voters in the primary to disregard the names of Fong and Dillingham. However, both men received some votes. These were not counted. Fernandez received only 639 votes, while Dillingham may have received more because he had not officially withdrawn until after balloting had started.<sup>250</sup>

NOTESCHAPTER VI

- <sup>1</sup>Hiram Leong Fong [HLF], Recorded interview, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>2</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 27 September 1979.
- <sup>3</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 23 July 1979.
- <sup>4</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>5</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 6 April 1977.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin [HSB], 2 September 1938, p. 3.
- <sup>8</sup>Kalihi Community Club, "Resolution," 1 September 1938. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>10</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. House of Representatives, Journal, 1939, p. 1897. Hereafter cited as Hse. Jnl.
- <sup>11</sup>HSB, 5 August 1938, p. 3.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup>Honolulu Advertiser [HA], 30 September 1938, p. 11. Translation courtesy of Mrs. Nancy Morris.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup>HA, 17 September 1938, p. 2.
- <sup>16</sup>HA, 13 September 1938, p. 7.
- <sup>17</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>18</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>HLF, Letter to "Dear Fifth District Voter," 1 November 1938. Courtesy HLF files.
- <sup>22</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.



<sup>23</sup>HSB, 9 November 1938, p. 10. See also Hawaii (Ter.) Office of the Secretary of Hawaii, Official Tabulation; results of votes cast, Territorial General election: delegate, senators, representatives (Honolulu: 1938). Hereafter cited as: Official Tabulation.

<sup>24</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>25</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 99.

<sup>26</sup>HSB, 12 November 1938, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>27</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 27 September 1979.

<sup>28</sup>HA, 18 November 1938, p. 1. See also HSB, 16 November 1938, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup>HA, 20 November 1938, pp. 1, 9. See also Men of Hawaii, ed. George F. Nellist (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1935).

<sup>30</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.

<sup>31</sup>Nippu Jiji, Honolulu, 17 February 1939, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Hawaii Sentinel, 8 September 1938, p. 5. Hereafter cited as: Hi. Sen.

<sup>33</sup>Richard "Kingie" Kimball, Recorded interview, 18 August 1978.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Official Tabulation, 1938.

<sup>38</sup>Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 484.

<sup>39</sup>Gwenfread E. Allen, Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1950), p. 417.

<sup>40</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 315.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>42</sup>Kam Tai Lee, Recorded interview, 6 September 1978.

<sup>43</sup>Revised Laws of Hawaii (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1935), p. 41.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 10 October 1979.

- <sup>46</sup>Hi. Sen., 17 November 1938, p. 1.
- <sup>47</sup>Hi. Sen., November 24, 1938, pp. 1, 5.
- <sup>48</sup>HLF, 10 October 1979.
- <sup>49</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>50</sup>HSB, 15 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>51</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 3.
- <sup>52</sup>HSB, 15 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>54</sup>HSB, 16 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>55</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>56</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 5.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 31.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- <sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 88.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 194-195.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 211.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 311.
- <sup>63</sup>HSB, 16 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>64</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 99-100.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 100-102.
- <sup>66</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977. See also Telephone interview, 10 October 1979.
- <sup>67</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 89-95.
- <sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 99.
- <sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 68-69.
- <sup>70</sup>HSB, 21 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid. See also Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 102.
- <sup>72</sup>HSB, 21 February 1939, p. 1.

- <sup>73</sup>HSB, 20 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>74</sup>HSB, 23 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>75</sup>HA, 24 February 1939, p. 2.
- <sup>76</sup>HSB, 23 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>77</sup>HA, 24 February 1939, p. 2.
- <sup>78</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>79</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>80</sup>Hi. Sen., 9 February 1939, p. 1.
- <sup>81</sup>HA, 14 February 1939, p. 1. See also HSB, 13 February 1939, pp. 1, 5.
- <sup>82</sup>HA, 24 February 1939, p. 2.
- <sup>83</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 97-98.
- <sup>84</sup>HSB, 23 February 1939, pp. 1, 3.
- <sup>85</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>86</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 108.
- <sup>89</sup>HA, 24 February 1939, p. 2.
- <sup>90</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.
- <sup>91</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 109.
- <sup>92</sup>HA, 24 February 1939, p. 2.
- <sup>93</sup>HLF, Personal interview, 12 October 1979.
- <sup>94</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 99-100.
- <sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 134.
- <sup>96</sup>HSB, 25 February 1939, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>97</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>98</sup>HSB, 2 March 1939, p. 1 (?). Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>99</sup>HSB, 25 February 1939, pp. 1, 4.

- <sup>100</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, p. 2139.
- <sup>101</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>102</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>103</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>104</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>105</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>106</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>107</sup>Hi. Sen., 2 March 1939, pp. 5, 8.
- <sup>108</sup>Hi. Sen., 4 May 1939, pp. 1, 8.
- <sup>109</sup>HSB, 27 February 1939, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>110</sup>Kimball, 18 August 1978.
- <sup>111</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 225-226.
- <sup>112</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>113</sup>Ibid., p. 2216.
- <sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 2087. See also HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>115</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1939, pp. 2217, 2375.
- <sup>116</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. Senate. Journal, 1939, p. 1591.  
Hereafter cited as: Sen. Jnl.
- <sup>117</sup>All About Hawaii, 1940-1941, pp. 104, 207-208.
- <sup>118</sup>August Costa, Jr. Written Statement, 12 July 1978.
- <sup>119</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>120</sup>Kimball, loc. cit.
- <sup>121</sup>Jack Hall, "Labor Looks at the House of Representatives," Voice of Labor, 12 May 1939, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>122</sup>Michaelyn P. Chou, "Memories of Thomas P. Gill" (Honolulu: 1978), pp. 23-30.
- <sup>123</sup>HA, 18 June 1939, pp. 1, 8.
- <sup>124</sup>"Program," Oahu Junior Finals of the Eleventh Annual Inter-scholastic Oratorical Contest, 20 March 1939. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>125</sup>N. B. Beck, Letter to Hiram Fong, 18 October 1939. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>126</sup>Hiram L. Fong, Letter to the Filipino Federation of America, 3 October 1940. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>127</sup>"Program of Filipino Federation of America," 12 June 1941. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>128</sup>"Program of Mahbuhay Aloha Dinner and Ball," 20 September 1941. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>129</sup>Hawaii Chinese Journal [HCJ], 15 February 1940, p. 5.

<sup>130</sup>HCJ, 25 June 1940, p. 1.

<sup>131</sup>HCJ, 20 February 1941, pp. 2-3. This article is the source of all quotations and information on pp. 355-358 except as otherwise cited.

<sup>132</sup>HCJ, 11 January 1940, p. 3.

<sup>133</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>134</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 24 September 1979.

<sup>135</sup>HCJ, 11 January 1940, p. 3.

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>137</sup>Char, The Sandalwood Mountains, p. 173.

<sup>138</sup>HLF, 6 April 1977.

<sup>139</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup>Anonymous interview, Summer 1978.

<sup>142</sup>HCJ, 6 November 1941, p. 2.

<sup>143</sup>HCJ, 3 October 1940, p. 18.

<sup>144</sup>Official Tabulation, 1940.

<sup>145</sup>HSB, (?) November 1940. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup>HSB, 19 February 1941, p. 1.

- <sup>149</sup>Men and Women of Hawaii, ed. by Betty Finley Buker (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin Printing Company, 1972), p. 472.
- <sup>150</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Regular Session, p. 116.
- <sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 118.
- <sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 212.
- <sup>153</sup>Ibid., pp. 1977-1978.
- <sup>154</sup>HA, 27 April 1941. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>155</sup>HA, 28 April 1941, p. 7.
- <sup>156</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., pp. 1896, 2229, 2544.
- <sup>157</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 16 November 1979.
- <sup>158</sup>HSB, 27 February 1941, p. 6.
- <sup>159</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., p. 2464.
- <sup>160</sup>Ibid., pp. 244, 2007-2008, 2386, 2532. See also HA, 30 April 1941, p. 2.
- <sup>161</sup>1965 Supplement to the Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1955 (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1965), p. 995.
- <sup>162</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., pp. 2641, 2651.
- <sup>163</sup>HSB, 26 March 1941, p. 1.
- <sup>164</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941, Reg. Sess., pp. 2474, 2642, and passim.
- <sup>165</sup>Ibid., pp. 2639, 2640, and passim.
- <sup>166</sup>HA, 24 April 1941, p. 3
- <sup>167</sup>Sen. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., p. 1063.
- <sup>168</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 16 November 1979.
- <sup>169</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., pp. 1776-1778, 2080.
- <sup>170</sup>HSB, 1 May 1941, p. 1.
- <sup>171</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., p. 2482.
- <sup>172</sup>HSB, 1 May 1941, p. 1.
- <sup>173</sup>D. Hebden Porteus, Recorded interview, 18 April 1980.

- 174 HA, 22 February 1941, p. 2.
- 175 HSB, 21 February 1941, p. 9.
- 176 Yew Char, Recorded interview, 26 August 1978.
- 177 Ibid.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Hse. Jnl., 1941 Reg. Sess., p. 37.
- 180 Yew Char, loc. cit.
- 181 HLF, Telephone interview, 10 October 1978.
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 HCJ, 13 March 1941, p. 7.
- 184 HSB, 6 May 1941, p. 1.
- 185 The Herald, 15 August 1941. Courtesy of HLF files. This article is the source of all quotations and information on pp. 382-384.
- 186 HSB, 5 September 1941, p. 1.
- 187 HSB, 8 September 1941, p. 3.
- 188 HSB, 12 September 1941, p. 2.
- 189 Hse. Jnl., 1941 Special Session, p. 27.
- 190 HSB, 29 October 1941, p. 1.
- 191 Hse. Jnl., 1941 Spec. Sess., pp. 729-730.
- 192 Ibid., p. 407.
- 193 HA, 9 October 1941, p. 2.
- 194 HA, 14 October 1941, p. 3.
- 195 Donald K. White, "Fred Merrill Made It Happen," San Francisco Chronicle, 16 February 1979. Newspaper clipping courtesy of Chinn Ho.
- 196 Fred H. Merrill, Recorded interview, 9 November 1978. All quotations and information on pp. 389-393 were supplied by Mr. Merrill on this date except as otherwise cited.
- 197 See also Allen, Hawaii's War Years, p. 353.
- 198 White, loc. cit.

<sup>199</sup>The author is deeply indebted to Chinn Ho for travel funds to interview Mr. Merrill in San Francisco, and to Mr. Merrill for his complete cooperation in recording his memoirs with respect to Hawaii, Mr. Fong, and Mr. Ho.

<sup>200</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977. All quotations and information on pp. 393-394 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date unless otherwise cited.

<sup>201</sup>Men and Women of Hawaii (Honolulu: 1966), p. 348.

<sup>202</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.

<sup>203</sup>Katsuro Miho, Recorded interview, 31 January 1978.

<sup>204</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.

<sup>205</sup>Char, Sandalwood Mountains, p. 148.

<sup>206</sup>Allen, Hawaii's War Years, p. 144.

<sup>207</sup>HCJ, 5 February 1942, p. 1.

<sup>208</sup>Char, p. 158.

<sup>209</sup>HCJ, 5 February 1942, p. 1.

<sup>210</sup>Ibid.

<sup>211</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 3 October 1979.

<sup>212</sup>United States, General Service Administration, "Statement of Service regarding Hiram L. Fong," issued 2 May 1979.

<sup>213</sup>United States. Army. Official Army Register, 1943, p. 305.

<sup>214</sup>HLF, 12 October 1979.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>J. Garner Anthony, Hawaii Under Army Rule (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 48.

<sup>217</sup>As quoted by Anthony, p. 49.

<sup>218</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.

<sup>219</sup>Ellen Jay Lai, Personal interview, 12 February 1979.

<sup>220</sup>Ibid.

<sup>221</sup>All About Hawaii, 1944, p. 32.

<sup>222</sup>Feher/Bushnell, p. 459.



- 223 Lai, loc. cit.
- 224 Earl S. Robinson, Personal interview, 13 February 1979.
- 225 Earl S. Robinson, Letter to the author, 23 February 1979.
- 226 Robinson, 13 February 1979.
- 227 Hawaii. Department of Regulatory Agencies. Business Registration Division. Telephone call, 22 October 1979. Hereafter cited as BRD.
- 228 Herman Fong, Recorded interview, 17 August 1978.
- 229 Ibid.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 HLF, Ellyn Fong, and Hiram L. Fong, Jr. Letter [invitation] to party, 15 September 1943. Courtesy of HLF files.
- 232 Herman Fong, loc. cit.
- 233 BRD.
- 234 Herman Fong, loc. cit.
- 235 HSB, 4 September 1942, p. 2.
- 236 HSB, 8 September 1942, p. 1.
- 237 HSB, 6 May 1942, p. 5.
- 238 HA, 11 September 1942, p. 1.
- 239 HSB, 8 September 1942, p. 1.
- 240 Ibid.
- 241 Ibid.
- 242 HSB, 14 September 1942, p. 3.
- 243 HSB, 28 September 1942, p. 4.
- 244 Ibid.
- 245 HA, 29 September 1942, pp. 1, 7.
- 246 HA, 30 September 1942, pp. 1, 9.
- 247 HSB, 30 September 1942, p. 6.

<sup>248</sup>HA, 1 October 1942, p. 4.

<sup>249</sup>HSB, 1 October 1942, p. 6.

<sup>250</sup>HA, 4 October 1942, pp. 1, 15.

CHAPTER VII1944-1948The 1944 Election

The war in the Pacific was going better for the United States by late 1944, although peace was not achieved until the following year. Fong tried again for permission to run for the upcoming Legislature. This time he was successful. The War Department approved his application to run for his old Fifth District seat in the House of Representatives. At the time, he was on the staff of Brigadier General Albert W. Douglas, commander of the Seventh Army Air Force. Due to the fact that permission was granted providing that he did not actively campaign, he enlisted the services of his wife Ellyn to campaign on his behalf. She willingly appeared to speak at all the Republican rallies, and passed out cards. Friends of Fong supplied money for newspaper advertisements showing him in civilian clothes, although the caption stated, "At present, Major, 7th Air Force." The ads noted he was "experienced, capable, fair," and that "Major Fong's legislative accomplishments and his unblemished record of personal integrity are your guarantee that he will continue to serve you humbly, sincerely, and well." Furthermore, he was "Born and reared in the 5th District."<sup>1</sup>

Republican Party advertisements called him "A capable public servant," but did not come out directly to state "Vote for Fong." It should be noted that in the same advertisement, the pictures of all Republican candidates appeared, followed by brief statements ending in the following manner: "Henry C. Akina...A valuable man to vote for.

William M. Furtado...Vote for Furtado. Benjamin F. Kong...Vote for Kong. Kam Tai Lee...Vote for Kam Tai Lee. Bina Mossman...She deserves your vote." While the voter was encouraged to "Vote for all Six," one can note the subtle differences in the pleas to "Vote for..." or "She deserves your vote," and Fong's "A capable public servant."<sup>2</sup> While it may be a small distinction, the party was pointing out consciously or unconsciously to the voter that in the party's estimation, the others were more desirable than Fong.

Ellyn Fong proved to be an excellent campaigner. Having been a public speaker in high school and a certified teacher, she met the public well. For example, she joined other Republicans at Laie, and appeared at rallies in Waianae, Nanakuli, Ewa, and Waipahu. On one occasion she said, "Before entering the air force, Major Fong was practicing law in Honolulu. Major Fong has always demonstrated courage and honesty," in speaking at a rally before 500 persons at Puunui Park in what was described as "a chilly wind," on October 3, 1944.<sup>3</sup> Two days later, she was at Fernandez Park in Kalihi, where she noted, "As your former representative, Major Fong always maintained a fair attitude in legislative matters. His experience as an attorney and his present war service are deserving of your consideration."<sup>4</sup> To an audience of some 700 people at Palama the following day, she said, "He has been a courageous legislator and merits your support."<sup>5</sup>

Her campaign efforts and the newspaper advertisements, combined with Fong's past history as a legislator and successful attorney, succeeded in Fong's garnering the highest number of district votes cast in the October 8 primaries. Leading with 6,290 votes, Fong outdistanced Kam Tai Lee (5,452), Bina Mossman (5,437), Henry Akina (4,993), William

Furtado (3,331), and Benjamin Kong (3,034). Among the Democrats, Charles Kauhane led with 5,620.<sup>6</sup>

Mrs. Fong conscientiously and effectively carried on the campaign on her husband's behalf through the general election in November 1944. Appearing before 300 people at King and Banyan Streets on November 1, 1944, she said, "As Major Fong, who is on active duty, is still unable to appear on this platform, he has asked me to speak for him. While serving in the House, he fought constantly against all measures not for the public good."<sup>7</sup> She also made a radio presentation over KGMB on November 3, speaking along with candidates between 8:00 and 8:30 p.m.<sup>8</sup>

Fong's Fifth District was becoming increasingly Democratic, but he still did well at the polls. In the general election, Fong had 8,371 votes, compared to frontrunner Democratic Charles Kauhane (9,536) and well ahead of George Holt, Jr. (7,582); William Furtado (7,356), Yew Char (7,312); and Bina Mossman (7,192). Republican losers included Kam Tai Lee and Henry Akina. The Democrats and Republicans were evenly represented in the Fifth District in the 1945 legislature.<sup>9</sup>

### Labor Influence

In the 1944 election effort, labor forces played a significant role in the Fifth District. The Labor's Political Action Committee (L.P.A.C.) published a flyer entitled, "Prevent a Postwar Depression! Elect Honest, Independent Legislators." The organization backed Democrats Yew Char, Holt, Frederick K. Kamahoahoa, and Charles Kauhane, of whom all were elected except Kamahoahoa. The only Republican they supported was Fong, but Republican Bina Mossman became the sixth representative.

L.P.A.C.'s program included the following points: "(1) Taxes--repeal the unfair two percent tax and perfect a new pay-as-you-go net income

tax allowing personal and family exemptions; (2) education--free book rentals; adult education department; extend free kindergartens; expand vocational education; (3) post-war--create agency to aid returning veterans in every way; service credits and pay increments for government employees in military service; planned reconstruction to develop our resources; (4) labor--cover agriculture under the Unemployment Compensation Law and Wage-Hour Law; territorial "Little Wagner Act" to afford field workers legal protection in collective bargaining; 40 cents minimum wage and overtime after 40 hours for all labor; (5) popular will--statute for initiative and referendum to enable the people to propose laws and enact them by majority ballot vote; statute to permit the people to recall by majority vote incumbents in public office who fail to honestly and adequately represent us!"<sup>10</sup>

#### Chinese Accused of "Plunking"

It has been noted that Fong was "self-consciously and unashamedly Chinese,"<sup>11</sup> and he was continually aware of his ethnic background. Not only was his mother still speaking only Chinese (with a smattering of Hawaiian) at home, but much of his legal work came from persons of Chinese ancestry in difficulty over the harsh racially-motivated, anti-Chinese immigration laws. As previously noted, none of the haole law firms, particularly those associated with the Big Five companies, referred any legal business to him. Rather, he drew upon his own ethnic group as well as the other racial minorities, such as the Filipinos and the increasingly numerous Japanese. Some Portuguese were also his clients. Moreover, the business partners who invested with him in Market City and other real estate and business developments were predominantly of his own racial extraction.

In politics, he and other Chinese in Hawaii were made painfully aware of racial discrimination following the October primaries of 1944 in which a large proportion of Chinese and part-Chinese candidates, 13 out of 14, were selected. Someone using the name "Politico" wrote a letter to the editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on October 14, claiming that the cause for their success had nothing to do with individual qualifications or merit, but was due to balloting on a racial basis. "Politico" accused the Chinese of "plumping" (plunking). In the literal sense, plunking means to come out in favor of someone or something. In the election process, plunking means that the voter votes only for favorites, and does not vote for candidates to fill every possible vacancy, or what is known as a "short ballot." For example, out of a total of six seats to be filled, the voter votes for any number less than six. The practice is common wherever voting occurs, and is done to permit favorite candidates to have a numerical advantage. However, in 1944 the term was used to accuse the Chinese of voting by crossing party lines, short balloting, and only for persons of their own ancestry.<sup>12</sup>

There was nothing subtle about the attack. Captioned "'Plumping' at Primary Flagrant," "Politico" said that the Chinese were guilty of voting by racial blocs. The letter read in part:

A glance at the primary election returns for this island shows that the Chinese voters have lived up to their reputation for plumping on the race line, with the result that of 14 Chinese candidates, 13 were nominated.

All stood at or near the top of their tickets. That is a much better showing than the candidates of any other racial descent were able to make. It was accomplished by systematic plumping by an organized minority.

The question arises, how long will the voters of other racial strains stand for the Chinese game? When will they seek to even the score by boycotting Chinese candidates?<sup>13</sup>

Using an involved process, "Politico" claimed that the Democrats crossed party lines to ensure Democratic Senator William Heen's re-election and his domination of the Senate judiciary committee by voting for Republicans who would be easy to defeat in the general election. Heen was part-Chinese. The letter concluded, "Out of that the question arises, how much longer will the Republican party stand for a primary law which permits the Democratic politicians to name the Republican ticket?" The implication was that voters of Chinese ancestry had crossed party lines to vote for only candidates of Chinese ancestry, thus ensuring that their favorites would win.<sup>14</sup>

The letter stirred up a great deal of controversy in the community. A flurry of responses, taking the form of more letters to the editor, appeared in the Star-Bulletin. To the newspaper's credit, it attempted to print letters which covered a broad spectrum of reaction. Between the appearance of "Politico's" letter and the general election three weeks later, no less than four editorials on the subject of plumping were published, attesting to the newspaper's and the public's great interest in the controversy.

The first editorial, "'Plump Voting' Ventilated," expressed satisfaction that the

letter column has brought effectively into the open what hitherto has been a whisper situation on alleged 'plump voting' in the recent primary election...[it] is not new in Hawaii elections. It's been going on, more or less, for many elections....The point emerges clear that 'plump voting' by voters of any race, any faction, any clique, is unadvisable. It is not in accordance with the American way of conducting political campaigns and elections. It invites retaliation. It is shortsighted as well as unfair.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the letter-writers stated, "I don't see why it is anyone's concern how the Chinese vote. A man votes according to how he sees fit and for whom and not the way others do or think he should." A suggestion



was made to check ballots for plumping by an impartial person. Another political observer wrote, "I dislike to see any one racial group singled out for criticism so long as other racial groups are apparently as equally if not more 'guilty' of plumping." With obvious reference to the relatively small number of people of Chinese ancestry in the population, the writer concluded, "I shudder to think of what might happen in Hawaii should voters of other nationalities really develop plumping to its fullest possible extent."<sup>16</sup>

The second Star-Bulletin editorial said in part,

At every precinct there will be scrutiny to see whether there is such 'plump voting,' and if so, for whose benefit the 'plump votes,' or 'short votes' are cast. This scrutiny will be not only to determine if...the 'Chinese vote' goes specifically to members of the Chinese race, but also to see if the 'haole vote' goes in strong haole precincts to haole candidates.<sup>17</sup>

The editorial encouraged voters "to vote for competent candidates irrespective of race." It went on to say that as a rule, balloting of Hawaii's voters had "not been governed by racial considerations. Again and again, candidates who are of races minor in Hawaii's population have been elected, for the reason that their worth as potential public officials was generally recognized." The editorial agreed that if plumping were done, a backlash would surely ensue. It warned

If retaliation of that kind gets headway, it can become a political civil war which nobody wants, and which could only do Hawaii harm...those races which have the most numerous votes will dominate those with lesser numbers.

Feeling that the voters in Hawaii would still exercise "good judgment, innate sense of fair play and tolerance," still the "accusations and counter-accusations" should serve as a reminder that farsighted and fairminded citizens will scrupulously refrain from "plump voting."<sup>18</sup>

A week later, following many more letters to the editors, the afternoon daily stated,

Plumping by or for any race or any group or clique of candidates is both un-American and shortsighted. American citizenship does not rest on race ancestry but on acceptance of and practice of American principles.<sup>19</sup>

Just before the general election, the Star-Bulletin editor noted that

the point was made by several letter writers and speakers that 'plump voting' is not confined to the Chinese but that haoles and others have been likewise guilty of this effort, to make sure of the election of certain favored candidates by concentrating on them, omitting other candidates on the same ticket....Don't 'plump' tomorrow.<sup>20</sup>

Honolulu's morning newspaper perhaps naturally stayed out of the issue of plumping so as to not add to reader interest in the other daily. However, following the general election, in which three veteran officials of Chinese ancestry (Supervisor Philip Ng Sing, veteran of 12 years; Rep. Kam Tai Lee, member of the House of Representatives for eight years; and Rep. Henry C. Akina, who served in four regular and one special session) were defeated, the following editorial appeared, entitled "Racial Politics in Hawaii."

Regrettable racial issues were introduced into the recent political campaign here by leaders from whom better judgment was to be expected. Ill feeling and sense of injury were caused that will be long in the healing, and, as is inevitably the consequence, innocent by-standers suffered the greatest harm.

In some instances this departure from the racial amity, which has been Hawaii's outstanding characteristic and its most valuable asset, brought about the defeat of public servants who had given long and faithful service to the community. In others, its victims won re-election by the skin of their teeth. All because those to whom they looked with confidence for leadership permitted personal animosities and greed for victory to overcome their conscientious scruples.

This is bad for Hawaii. Quite aside from the injustice to the individuals concerned, racial divisions here, no matter how minor,

have disproportionate weight in the judgment that is passed upon the Territory by the rest of the nation. The pathway to Statehood certainly does not lie in this direction.<sup>21</sup>

The people in the Chinese community of course were aware of the controversy being stirred up by the sentiments expressed in the Star-Bulletin, but nothing appeared in the local American-Chinese press. Then a few days following the end of the general election, "Pake Politico" wrote an article which appeared in the Hawaii Chinese Journal. Interestingly enough, the article laid the blame for the defeat of Sing, Lee and Akina to the tactics of their own Republican Party. It is quoted here in large part to provide a clearer picture of the times. Captioned "Anti-Chinese Campaign Blamed for Dumping of Three Veteran Officials," it read in part:

The anti-Chinese campaign conducted so adroitly by a few leaders of the Republican party between the primary election and the general election has borne its fruit in the dumping of three veteran candidates of Chinese ancestry....The anti-Chinese campaign caused many other candidates of Chinese ancestry to lose part of their votes....The fact that this campaign boomeranged against three veteran Republicans won't bother the Republican leaders as those who edged in are also Republicans....

It is important to note, furthermore, that the Republicans who abided by Campaign Manager Roy Vitousek's Mutual admiration rules were the ones who suffered the most in the election, while the candidates who dared to continue their lone wolf radio broadcasts, mailing of letters soliciting votes, throwing of parties, and other tactics that won them individual attention, continued to pull well.

This strong individual campaigning by the Democratic candidates accounts for much of their vital gains in this election. The candidates of Chinese ancestry running on the Democratic ticket-- Chuck Mau on the supervisorial ticket; Yew Char on the house ticket; Herbert K. H. Lee, who broke into the house from the fourth district--received carte blanc to stage as strong campaigns as they could without having to worry about carrying the rest of the ticket. Furthermore, they received excellent support from Democratic campaign manager Senator William H. Heen.<sup>22</sup>

The writer itemized what, in his estimation, must have occurred:

In the primary election, Supervisor Sing ran second on the Republican ticket. In the general, he was pushed down to fifth

place on his own ticket. The Democrats polled strongly, it is true, but within his own ticket he was dumped from second to fifth.

In the 14th precinct of the fourth district, the Manoa Park booth that votes straight Republican, every Republican candidate of haole ancestry regardless of qualifications in the general election received more than 545 votes. Sing received 481.

In the primary Sing led Teves by 1,376 votes. Even in the Manoa Park precinct, Sing led Teves by 28 votes. Between the primary and the general when this anti-Chinese campaign was conducted, Teves' stock rose and in many precincts including Manoa Park, Teves topped the veteran Sing.

The same thing happened in the house race. It was not an upsurge of Democratic votes alone that threw Lee and Akina out. It was changing of minds within the Republican party, a changing of minds that changed Lee from second place on the Republican ticket in the primary to fourth place in the general.

Between the primary and the general there were no other issues involving these men. They have a fine record back of them. The only issue that plagued them was an issue brought out by their own Republican leaders, a trumped-up issue accusing the people of Chinese ancestry of plumping and urging a boycott of candidates of Chinese ancestry.<sup>23</sup>

The identity of "Pake Politico" still cannot be ascertained at this writing. Neither Fong nor Kam Tai Lee knew who the writer might have been. Lee recalled the anti-plunking issue,<sup>24</sup> but Fong indicated he did not remember it at all. As a matter of fact, he did not recall that he had pushed passage of an "anti-plunking" bill introduced early in the 1945 session by Rep. Bina Mossman.<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Mossman, a dedicated member of the Republican Party and later its National Committeewoman from Hawaii, placed House Bill No. 254 into the hopper on March 5. Her bill provided for the rejection of short ballots. The bill was much discussed in the judiciary committee. The committee was divided on its recommendation to pass the bill. Fong, as chairman, was a proponent, as were Reps. Porteus, Kenneth Bond, and Herbert Lee. Opposed were Reps. Amos Ignacio, Joseph Kaholokula, Jr., and Manuel Henriques. The majority report stated in part:

This bill is progressive legislation and has far-reaching implications for the good of the Territory....Where a voter used to vote for one or two persons out of four or six, he is now required to vote for as many positions as are called for on the ballot. This will force him to study his candidates so that in voting outside of friendship, faction or race he must necessarily vote for the more qualified candidates.

The old law engendered much bad feelings between supporters of various candidates, for in every election some one group is accused of plunking for candidates of that particular group. As a counter measure to offset the alleged plunking of one group, other groups feel that to elect their candidate they must necessarily plunk. The passage of this bill will eliminate suspicion and will also eliminate ill will among the voters of our cosmopolitan Territory which will in the end make for a more tolerant and happy Hawaii.<sup>26</sup>

The report of the judiciary committee was accepted by a vote of 15 to 6, and the bill came up for final reading on April 17. Then the debate raged back and forth, during which Fong stated,

There's been a lot of "free speech," "free press," "freedom," and "democracy" shouted around here this morning, but those who have been using the phrases don't know what they're talking about. Democracy also tells a people what they can't do. We can have personal freedom only to the extent that we don't infringe upon the rights of others.<sup>27</sup>

Opposing forces claimed that the bill would force electors to vote for some candidates they did not sincerely wish to be elected, that it was "unconstitutional," and that its passage would be in direct contradiction to the principles under which the nation was fighting World War II. Proponents said that its passage would lift suspicion from various racial groups which in the past had been accused of plunking for candidates, that such a law would have to come sooner or later and it might as well be now, and that it was essential to assure the future good government of Hawaii. The debate went back and forth, with rapid-fire motions to pass the bill, to table it, and then to indefinitely postpone it. In the end, the bill died by a vote of 16 to 14.<sup>28</sup>

When reminded of his strong stand in favor of H.B. No. 254 Fong said that it was definitely on the basis of harmony among racial groups that he had argued so strenuously and voted for its passage. He also recalled that it was the C.I.O.-backed Democrats Henriques and Ignacio who voted against it because plunking was a tactic useful to their cause.<sup>29</sup>

The attack upon the Chinese came in 1944, Fong asserted, because Chinese and part-Chinese politicians were then in the "ascendancy." Just as the Chinese were the first immigrants to arrive, leave the plantations, settle in towns, begin small businesses and enter the professions, so their descendants were among the first to succeed in politics. The way had been opened by popular Hawaiian-Chinese William Heen and others, he said. They made it possible for full-blooded Chinese like Yew Char, Henry Akina, Honolulu Supervisor Philip Ng Sing, Paul Low, and himself to get elected. Fong said that anyone of a minority group "in the ascendancy" or the group itself was therefore subject to jealousy and discrimination by the ruling power elite.<sup>30</sup>

The accusations of plunking and race voting were very sensitive concerns to the members of the ethnic Chinese community. When the bill was defeated over Fong's strenuous objections, an article appeared on the front page of the Hawaii Chinese Journal. Normally a non-political paper, it spoke out because the accusations reflected adversely on the whole Chinese community. The caption read, "Anti-Plunking Bill Tabled But Chinese Can't Be Blamed." The writer took a very defensive stance, noting that,

one of the local haole dailies launched a vicious crusade against alleged plunking by voters of Chinese ancestry...and urged voters of other racial ancestries to boycott the candidates who were unfortunate enough to be born of Chinese parents.<sup>31</sup>

The charges were "unproved" and "unfounded":

The results of the general election saddened the voters who believed that all Americans are created equal despite various last names, but the campaign manager of the Republican party publicly gloated over the election results.

Despite accusations by the haole paper's crusade that the candidates of Chinese ancestry are elected by plunking, the black and white record of voting shows that they are the very ones who supported the anti-plunking measure.

Vice-Speaker Hiram L. Fong led the fight for the measure. Rep. ...Lee, Akana...and Aona voted for it. The last names of those who voted against the measure don't sound very Chinese....The only exceptions being Rep. Yew Char, and Rep. Alfred Afat....

The haole daily's crusade against Pake Plunking won its desired results.

The voting on this issue, however, is down in black and white and no paper no matter how rabidly anti-Chinese can twist these facts to blame the non-passage of the anti-plunking bill on those of Chinese ancestry. This is one of the rare times when we can't be used as the whipping boys.<sup>32</sup> (emphasis added)

While the plunking issue died down after the election, Chinese sensitivity to criticism and their desire to be acknowledged as being fully assimilated Americans remained. Evidence of this concern can be seen in a proclamation issued by Governor Oren E. Long in 1952 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first group of assisted Chinese contract laborers to the Hawaiian Islands. It was printed on the front page of the Hawaii Chinese Journal, and said in part:

Whereas, this 100 anniversary shall be in spirit and in thought a rededication to their forefathers of their industriousness, their pioneering spirit, their continuous effort to develop their community, and their everlasting resourcefulness in building a better territory in which to live....

Whereas, the offspring of these contract laborers do now solemnly desire to make known to this community as well as to all Americans all over the world that they and their forefathers have completely assimilated themselves into the American way of life, of thought, of leadership and of government, and

WHEREAS, the Territory of Hawaii is aware of the great and intrinsic significance of the coming of these Chinese contract laborers, and of the role in which they have played in the Territory through the past years as laborers, merchants, artisans, educators, and professional men and women...I...do proclaim this celebration as evidence of the friendship, fellowship, loyalty, devotion, and spirit of Americanism which the Chinese in Hawaii have always shown to this Territory.

(signed) Oren E. Long, Governor of Hawaii  
June 12, 1952.<sup>33</sup>

### "Plunking" Study

A University of Hawaii faculty group consisting of Christopher Gregory, Bernard Hormann, Andrew Lind, Norman Meller, Allan Saunders, and W. Edgar Vinacke supervised a survey of the elections of 1948. They analyzed 15,000 votes in the primary and 4,400 ballots in the general elections on the island of Oahu. Their findings indicated that Hawaii's voters did not plunk or vote by races; voters that did made up only a small percentage of the whole.<sup>34</sup>

### Jack Hall and the I.L.W.U. Endorse Fong

By 1944, Fong had earned a good reputation among labor leaders in Hawaii. Jack Hall, who was then the international representative for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, wrote to Louis Goldblatt and J. R. Robertson of the I.L.W.U. in San Francisco regarding various matters, including the political situation in Hawaii. Hall wrote that in the Fifth Representative District, three Democrats and three Republicans were running for re-election. The three Republicans were

(all reactionary). We hope to be able to dump one of the Republicans and replace him with a former Liberal Republican member of the House who is now a Major in the Army, Hiram L. Fong. He led the ticket in the primary. We are voting for Fong and four Democrats in the General--Kauhane, Kamahoahoa, Char and Holt.<sup>35</sup>



### End of Active Military Service

Fong was honorably released from active duty on February 17, 1945, just four days prior to the convening of the Twenty-Third Legislature. From February 18, 1945 to April 1, 1953, he remained on inactive status in the Army reserves.<sup>36</sup>

### Fong Helps Elect the Speaker and Becomes Vice-Speaker

Just before the 1945 legislature convened, Fong answered questions upon his return from the Big Island where he had met with an East Hawaii delegation and other county officials. His assertiveness can be seen in the following statement. He said that the upcoming session had

all the earmarks of being very liberal, progressive, uncontrolled and constructive. All indications are that the common man has arrived in Hawaiian politics and will secure his rightful place in the scheme of government....

I feel something must be done to alleviate the financial plight of Hawaii County. A greater portion of help must be given by the territorial government after we can be assured that the county has done everything to help itself.

Manuel G. Paschoal is surely in [for Speaker]....Nothing can defeat him. As for myself, I'm willing to serve in any capacity the members of the Legislature and the Speaker of the House may desire. But they'll hear my voice on the floor of the House.<sup>37</sup>

It was typical of Fong to have ready for presentation to the public some of his plans for the next Legislature. Almost as soon as the final ballots were counted, he came out in favor of a new committee for labor and industrial relations.<sup>38</sup> While the emergence of labor power militated such a committee, this was, of course, a reflection of the debt he owed to labor for helping to place him in a powerful position in the lower chamber. When Fong became Speaker of the House in 1949, he instituted a Committee on Labor and Industrial Relations.<sup>39</sup>

In 1945, Fong was to use this power in wrestling the speakership from Vitousek-backed candidates, and to elevate himself into the vice-speakership and chairmanship of the judiciary committee. The Honolulu Star-Bulletin on November 18 foresaw a united effort for Manuel Paschoal for Speaker. It noted that, "Roy A. Vitousek, who was G.O.P. party chairman, has resigned himself to accepting Mr. Paschoal as speaker and is working to settle it all amicably in Republican house caucus." Appeals were said to be made for all Republicans to stick with the "old guard" in the interests of "party harmony" and "solidarity."<sup>40</sup>

The election had resulted in marked gains for the Democrats, who won nine House seats to the Republicans' 21. By supporting Paschoal, "old guard" Republicans hoped to capture certain key committee chairmanships, but apparently this conflicted with the wishes of others such as Fong. Paschoal himself was a staunch Republican and party man, but had been frankly critical of the old leadership, feeling that his counsel had been disregarded and that he had been otherwise "slighted" by the established holders of power. Labor's Political Action Committee (L.P.A.C.) claimed a minimum of 16 votes in the House and were willing to back Fong as vice-speaker. The anti-"old guard" or coalitionists were reported to be willing to back Fong for finance chairman as well, while the establishment wanted that spot for Rep. Marcallino. It was also noted that L.P.A.C. had wanted Rep. Herbert K. H. Lee of the Fourth District to have the chairmanship of the judiciary committee, but as Lee did not want it, the group was willing to let Hebden Porteus retain his old position "providing further that Maj. Fong does not wish to take it."<sup>41</sup>

As it turned out, Fong did want to be head of the judiciary committee. He maneuvered successfully with a coalition of Republicans and a few Democrats to elect Paschoal Speaker of the House. However, it was a nip and tuck, "bitter" battle conducted primarily behind the scenes. Despite earlier reports that the Vitousek camp would back Paschoal, at the Republican caucus held on February 19 and attended by only 14 of the 21 Republican representatives-elect, Hebden Porteus was nominated. "Conspicuously absent" from the caucus were Paschoal and Fong, as well as Reps. Andrews, Nobriga, Afat, Goodness, and Carvalho. Nominated for vice-speaker was Rep. Francis K. Aona, who made it clear that if Paschoal wanted the position, he could have it.<sup>42</sup>

Rep. Porteus seemed assured of victory, especially following the Democratic caucus held the same day. It was reported that eight of the nine Democrats, all but one of whom attended the caucus, had signed a compact binding themselves to whatever agreement could be reached with the Porteus Republicans. Democrats Lee and Kauhane were to negotiate with the Republicans. It was also reported that the Democrats approached Paschoal and Fong to see what bargains might be struck, but Paschoal was said to have offered no more than what had been originally tendered: the chairmanship of the county committee and possibly one minor committee.<sup>43</sup>

The Democrats were believed to have been promised the chairmanship of the judiciary committee for Lee and the county committee for Kauhane in return for support of Porteus. There was also some apparent discussion among the Paschoal backers to support Porteus "and not ask anything in the way of committee posts with a view of keeping a solid Republican front." In that event, the Republicans could organize the House within their own party and not require Democratic assistance. These developments

were interpreted as meaning a "major defeat" for the "independent" Republicans favoring the team of Paschoal and Fong.<sup>44</sup>

The two were more than equal to the challenge, however. On the opening day of the Legislature, it was Fong who nominated Paschoal, saying in part,

The man whom I am going to nominate came to this House as a member of the Third District and has served for 30 years consecutively in all regular and special sessions. His work has been recognized as outstanding. I place his name in nomination so that we may be able to raise him to the highest office we have in our hands to confer. It is a pleasure to place in nomination the name of Manuel G. Paschoal for Speaker.<sup>45</sup>

Rep. Aona nominated Porteus, and Rep. Kauhane seconded the nomination, admitting, "My personal interest is for power."<sup>46</sup> Paschoal let it be known how bitter he was about the challenge by the Porteus group in coalition with the Democrats, saying on the floor, "How is it that you 12 Republicans are dealing with the Democrats and forgetting that we have 21 Republicans in the House?"<sup>47</sup>

The right for secret ballots was won by the Fong faction by the close vote of 16 to 14. But the session deadlocked 15 to 15 in each of the two secret ballots cast. Then Fong moved to recess until 2:00 p.m. Apparently, much went on behind the scenes, because when the members reconvened at 2:31 p.m., another secret ballot was taken. There were 15 votes for Paschoal, 14 for Porteus, and one blank vote. The margin was very narrow, but by virtue of the secret ballot, the Fong/Paschoal faction won out. Porteus moved to have the election made unanimous, and this was done.<sup>48</sup>

Rep. Nobriga nominated Fong for Vice-Speaker and Rep. Lee seconded the nomination. On motion of Rep. Aona, seconded by Rep. Kauhane, further nominations were closed, and Fong was declared elected. He made

a short speech in accepting the office, but went further than might be expected by singling out for recognition the two key Democrats who helped elect Paschoal, stating,

Representative Lee of the Fourth District, and Representative Kauhane, of the Fifth District, were men of integrity and good members of the Legislature, and when they made a promise they stuck to it. I, for one, would like to clear their names from the criticism that has been attached to them. It gives me great pleasure to work with them.<sup>49</sup>

Fong did not indicate why their names needed clearing of criticism, but presumably it had to do with their backing of Paschoal at the end. This was Fong's first official acknowledgement concerning his working with the Democrats, but both Republicans and Democrats would remember his ability to straddle the line in future sessions.

In organizing the House, Speaker Paschoal assigned ten Republicans and four Democrats (Kauhane, Lee, Hanna, and Holt) to head standing committees. Porteus was named chairman of the committee on public institutions. Fong won the chairmanship of the judiciary committee, on which Porteus continued to serve. The Republicans who had stayed away from the Republican caucus (Andrews, Nobriga, Afat, and Goodness) received chairmanships. Fong was also named to the Committee on Public Expenditures and Accounts and Miscellany.<sup>50</sup>

After only two sessions as a Representative and following a hiatus of three years on active military duty, Fong returned triumphantly to the territorial House of Representatives. Aided by the competent campaigning of his wife, having the backing of friends and family in the community, and supported strongly by the emerging forces of labor, Fong adroitly maneuvered himself into a strong position of power by backing Manuel Paschoal for the speakership. By 1945 Fong had prevailed

over the Republican "old guard." By wresting the chairmanship of the judiciary committee from Hebden Porteus, and assigning him to head a relatively unimportant committee, the team of Paschoal and Fong effectively placed the Vitousek followers in a less-favored position than they had ever before occupied. But there was no visible acrimony.

Following the House organization, Fong represented the ailing Paschoal at a cocktail party and dinner hosted by Roy Vitousek and his wife. As G.O.P. territorial central committeeman, Vitousek called upon party members to support their Republican legislators 100 per cent "for the good of the record at the close of the session." Fong pledged his support of "party principles in formulation of laws." Moreover, he complimented Vitousek as a good party organizer.<sup>51</sup>

#### Cumulative Voting

Fong took particular pride in the fact that his work on the House judiciary committee resulted in more equal representation of stockholders in the election of directors to the boards of corporations. Legislation had originally started out in the upper chamber with Harold Rice of Maui introducing Senate Bill No. 117. Included in the Rice bill was a provision giving stockholders of a corporation holding less than one-half of the stock of the corporation an opportunity for proportionate representation upon the board of directors upon giving notice of the intent to vote cumulatively.<sup>52</sup> The Senate judiciary committee amended the bill, which the House upon receipt further amended. Following several conferences to iron out differences between the House and Senate, and discussions on the floor of the Legislature, the bill in its final form included a new Section, 8332.03, among others. This section provided for:

Cumulative voting. If not less than forty-eight hours prior to the time fixed for an annual meeting...[or time for] any other special meeting...for the election of directors, any stockholder or stockholders or member or members of the corporation shall deliver to the [officers] a request that the election...shall be by cumulative voting, then the directors...shall be chosen as follows: Each stockholder present...or represented by proxy... shall have a number of votes equal to the number of shares of capital stock owned by such stockholder or member multiplied by the number of directors to be elected...each stockholder or member shall be entitled to cumulate his votes and give all thereof to one nominee or to distribute his votes in such manner as the stockholder or members shall determine among any or all of the nominees; and the nominees receiving the highest number of votes on the foregoing basis up to the total number of directors to be elected...shall be the successful nominees. The right to have directors elected by cumulative voting...shall exist notwithstanding that provision therefor shall not be included in the articles of association or by-laws, and such right shall not be restricted or qualified by any provisions of the articles of association or by-laws.<sup>53</sup>

On April 30, 1945, Senators Heen and Gomes agreed to the House amendments while opponent Sen. Hill was absent.<sup>54</sup> The Governor signed it into law as Act No. 228 on May 19, 1945. The law is still in force at this writing. The procedure provides for stockholders to concentrate their voting power in one nominee and was a powerful addition to the corporate laws of the times.<sup>55</sup>

#### The "Little Wagner Act"

The most significant and far-reaching item of legislation passed by the 1945 territorial legislature was the "little Wagner Act," which permitted the unionization of agricultural workers in Hawaii. The federal National Labor Relations Act of 1935 was the aegis under which this was done. The act began as Senate Bill No. 72. It was introduced by the Big Island's Republican Senator William "Doc" Hill, and Kauai's Democrat J. B. Fernandes. In the House, similar legislation was introduced by Democrat Charles Kauhane and six others as House Bill No. 63, but this was later incorporated with the Senate version.

Following a hearing on the proposed law on March 22, 1945, a subcommittee comprised of Senators Hill, Heen, and Fernandes consulted with representatives of labor and employers, and redrafted the bill along the lines of the Wisconsin law.<sup>56</sup> Several Senate hearings were held, the bill was amended, and then passed on April 12.<sup>57</sup>

In the House, however, more amendments were proposed, partly as the result of many communications sent from various labor unions. On April 23, the judiciary committee under Fong held a lengthy meeting at which representatives of both management and labor opposed certain sections of the bill. There was so much community interest that special arrangements had to be made with the police department for the approximately 100 persons, gathered for the 7:00 p.m. meeting, to pass through the curfew lines. Employer representatives requested a three-man board rather than a single director of the proposed department of labor relations. The bill should apply to all workers and employers of the Territory. Moreover, employees should have the right not to join the union. Arthur Rutledge of the A.F. of L. testified that plantation workers desired representation and opposed that portion of the Senate bill which set up a code of "unfair labor practices." George Mulkey, a representative of the A.F. of L., indicated that the Wisconsin law on which Hawaii's proposed bill was based was not acceptable to the working population of Wisconsin, but there was conflicting testimony on this point. Fong at one time asked Mulkey, "Do you consider this bill a slap at labor?" Mulkey replied in the affirmative, saying the Hawaii version had some merit, but as it stood, labor would be better off without it. It was not until 11:15 p.m. that all the testimony was taken.<sup>58</sup>



The House proposed amendments to the bill which were not acceptable to the Senate. This necessitated a conference committee of Senators Hill, Fernandes, and Heen, and Representatives Fong, Porteus, and Ignacio.<sup>59</sup> Finally the bill was passed by both houses in amended form. Jack Hall was not entirely pleased with the final version, but he was in general agreement with its provisions. The bill became law when Governor Stainback signed it on May 21, 1945 as the Hawaii Employment Relations Act.<sup>60</sup>

As chairman of the judiciary committee, Fong had a great deal to do with the passage of the "little Wagner Act." If he had been diametrically opposed to it, he could have held it up in his committee, or attempted to amend it to the extent that it would be ineffectual, or otherwise manipulate its process through the House so that it would not pass. As it was, Fong was very sympathetic to the improvement of labor conditions in Hawaii. Hall's evaluation of Fong, following his first session, has already been cited. In a discussion of his relationship with labor leaders in the 1940's, Fong said:

Jack Kawano was one of the early labor leaders, but I did not have much contact with him. In the early days of the labor movement, men like Jack Kawano would come and listen to the proceedings in the legislature, but took very, very little part in discussion or in requesting anything, because unions were not well-organized.

Jack Hall was a little more active, and from time to time he would come to talk to me about various bills that he was interested in. And if I thought the bill had merit, I would tell him that this bill, I think, we would pass because it had merit. Other bills, which were more partisan, I felt that we could not pass, and I would tell him so. And when I told him that we didn't have a chance to pass a particular bill, he was willing to accept my word for it.

Because I was very frank with him, he told many of his friends that he could depend on me; that if I said that I would do a thing, I would do that thing. I never hesitated to carry out what I said.

If I said that I would help in a certain measure, I would help. If I felt that I couldn't do it, I would tell the person that I couldn't do it, because that was the only way that I felt that I could carry on my duties as a member of the legislature.<sup>61</sup>

Fong captured the essence of their relationship when he explained simply, "I believe Jack Hall felt that with me he could depend on my candor and my sincerity. And that whenever I gave my word, I would live by it...and so they respected me."<sup>62</sup>

#### Community Property Tax Law

Among other key bills passed in 1945 was one dealing with tax relief and community property. Fong described the reasons and brief history of the bill, saying that he and his fellow legislators felt that "taxes were high during those periods, so somebody [he did not recall who] had a bright idea that we should have a community property law so that our taxes would be cut in half."<sup>63</sup>

On March 19, 1945, he introduced House Bill No. 474, seeking to enable married couples to pool their income for federal tax purposes. The judiciary committee recommended passage, noting that community property laws were in effect in Texas, Washington, California, Arizona, Louisiana, Idaho and Nevada. Its report stated:

In theory the marital relationship in respect of property acquired during its existence is a community of which each spouse is a member, equally contributing by his or her industry to its prosperity. The avowed object and purpose of the community system is to place husband and wife on an equal footing as to their property rights. The community estate is created by law as an incident of marriage. The property owned by each spouse before marriage remains his or her separate estate, while all that is acquired during coverture otherwise than by gift, descent, or devise becomes community property.

As a "Community Property" Territory, married couples have the right of pooling their incomes, each returning 50% of the joint income, thereby coming within a lower income bracket with a subsequent lower Federal income tax.

Mr. William Borthwick, tax commissioner of the Territory of Hawaii, states that this is sound and progressive legislation and that the savings that will be effected by reason of lower Federal taxes will materially strengthen the financial and economic structure of the Territory of Hawaii.

Its economic advantages to the Territory and its people are so far reaching that the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and the general public have urged its passage.<sup>64</sup>

On May 1, the Senate passed the bill in an amended form, to which the House had agreed. Governor Stainback held on to it, but a few hours before it would automatically have become pocket-vetoed, he signed it into law as Act 27 on May 22, 1945.<sup>65</sup>

The Act was a popular one, at first, and, as will be seen, Fong used it as a strong positive item for his next political campaign. However, the question of its legality and the inequality it created among tax payers (because those in the higher income brackets benefitted the most) combined to make the legislators take another look at its provisions. It was repealed in 1949, during Fong's first term as Speaker of the House. He explained what happened:

Then later one of the lawyers came to me and said, "Hiram, they might rule that this is unconstitutional. I think we'd better repeal it before they catch us." So we repealed it after a while...It was really a "shenanigan," then, when we went through the legal process. We didn't know whether the supreme court would have ruled that it was unconstitutional but we were a little afraid so we eliminated it...it never came to a test case, but during those periods, the people who had high incomes cut their taxes in half. In fact, everybody who was married cut their taxes.<sup>66</sup>

### Housing

Noting the chronic housing shortage in Hawaii, Governor Stainback in a special message to the Legislature had recommended the passage of legislation aimed at breaking up private land holdings and selling them to the people. Rep. Hanna and others introduced House Bill No. 475 on March 20. It called for the creation of an Hawaiian Home Development

Authority and provided for the opening up of lands on Oahu for subdivision and sale as private home sites.<sup>67</sup> The community and the press were very interested in the bill's progress. When the judiciary committee did not report it out quickly, Hanna complained loudly and bitterly against Fong as committee chairman. The Maui Democrat then offered House Resolution No. 86 ordering Fong to bring out the bill.<sup>68</sup>

Coming to the defense of his committee, Fong stated:

The Judiciary Committee stands on its own two feet. It votes on measures in the manner it believes best. I don't fear any man or the editor of any newspaper. If an editor thinks a bill is a good one, he's entitled to that opinion and entitled to express that opinion.<sup>69</sup>

The major problems facing the committee included whether to confine condemnation to a restricted area or make it territory-wide; the advisability of giving to an authority the power to issue an unlimited amount of bonds as requested in the bill; the problem of mortgaging the land by purchases; the administration of the development area; and the size of the lots. While the committee agreed that condemnation was necessary, it felt that it did not have sufficient time to work out the necessary details before the end of the session. It was decided to refer the matter to the 1945 Holdover Committee.<sup>70</sup> In this instance, Fong used his power to postpone action on what would have been a hasty piece of legislation. While he must have been aware of the tremendous interest in providing housing for the people of Hawaii and the breaking up of the large private estates, he was also fully cognizant of the need to thoroughly examine the proposed legislation and its probable effects. That could not be done in the short time remaining in the session.

### An "Unruly" House, and Overriding the Governor's Veto

As noted, the election of 1945 brought in nine Democrats to the House, some of whom were probably not familiar with the process of law-making and were also conscious of making their new-found power felt in the chamber. The Republicans reacted as might be expected, with resultant fireworks on the floor. The 1945 House of Representatives was called "an unruly House" in the morning newspaper, which reported that on one occasion the lower body "argued on, sometimes heatedly, on matters ranging from salaries of Hawaii district magistrates to fishing catch reports." Fong, serving as acting speaker, once "rapped for order" and instructed members to address the chair for permission to speak.<sup>71</sup>

Fong was not above scolding the members of the House for what he considered wasteful, dilatory, and irresponsible behavior. The following incident illustrated this very well: In the upper house, Republican Clem Gomes and Democrat John Fernandes introduced S.B. No. 10, calling for an appropriation of \$45,000 for building a library at Waimea, Kauai. Amendments for libraries totaling \$560,000 were added as follows: Waimea, Kauai, \$75,000; Hilo, Hawaii, \$300,000; Waialua, Oahu, \$30,000; Kaimuki, \$10,000; Kalihi, \$125,000. When the bill got to the House, the members of the finance committee amended it downward. But a flood of verbal amendments ensued. These were to add \$75,000 for a library at Hanapepe; Kaimuki was raised from \$10,000 to \$50,000; Naalehu and Pahala, \$10,000 each; Kealakekua, \$10,000; Kalihi, \$130,000; Niihau, \$25,000; Lahaina and Paia, \$25,000 each. Speaker Paschoal demanded, "What is all this, a joke?" but the amendments nevertheless were adopted. Fong stopped further amending by exclaiming heatedly, "I move that this bill and all these crazy amendments be referred back to the committee. All

these amendments are crazy and intended to kill the bill. Now let's stop fooling around and get down to business!" Yew Char successfully moved to delete all amendments offered that day, and the bill passed third reading.<sup>72</sup>

The Senate later notified the House that it had disagreed to the House amendments and a conference committee was established which did not include Fong. On April 30, the Governor signed S.B. No. 10 as Act 72 appropriating \$560,000 for the construction of public libraries with the deletion of \$50,000 for the Waialua facility. However, the Legislature restored the amount. In the House Fong was instrumental in overturning the Governor's item veto.<sup>73</sup>

#### The House Overcomes the Senate

Once Fong acquired a position of power, through placing Manuel Paschoal in the speakership of the House in 1945 and getting himself named Vice-Speaker, he never relinquished it until 1954. He was able to manipulate power to his own ends, and to support the kinds of legislation which he thought best. Moreover, he was not willing to let the Senate dictate any terms to the members of the lower chamber. The following incident illustrated this clearly:

In the closing days of the 1945 session, the Senate sent over S.B. No. 380, an "Omnibus bill" incorporating 13 finance bills previously sent over from the House. It was an unwieldy document at best, and its timing irritated Fong and his fellow solons. As a matter of fact, the bill was so complicated that C. Nils Tavares, Attorney General, had to submit a "Synopsis and Explanation" of the bill for the benefit of the Representatives.<sup>74</sup>

The Representatives were so irritated that they took the following action:

On motion of Mr. Fong, seconded by Mr. Henriques, and unanimously carried, the bill (SB 380) was referred to the Committee on Finance with direction to delete from it items which are provided for in the thirteen house bills which have gone to the Senate....<sup>75</sup>

This action was called "retaliation" for what several long-time House members termed "unprecedented discourtesy" on the part of the Senate. On April 30, Fong spoke out, asserting,

I would have asked the other day that SB.380 be tabled on the spot had it not been for those 12,000 employees who'd have lost their bonus through such action. If the Senate didn't like our 13 House bills in the form in which we sent them over, the courteous thing would have been to amend them and send them back to us. I hope that the Senate will realize when this bill goes back that the House is an independent legislative group that votes on measures fairly and conscientiously, and I hope that in the future the Senate will extend to the House the same courtesy we have tried to show during this session.<sup>76</sup>

Other representatives were visibly upset, as they spoke. Finance Chairman Marcallino said, "We drafted and passed our salary bills and got them to the Senate in plenty of time. But the Senate ignored them and came back with S.B. 380." Rep. Henriques exclaimed with some feeling, "The Senate has considered the House as if we were rats! I'm disgusted! I think we should throw all the Senate bills in the waste basket...."<sup>77</sup> The House then held up the key bills as a parliamentary club to wield on the Senate. This is a familiar legislative procedure, it was noted, "in state legislatures as well as in Hawaii." To ensure that the Territory's employees would receive some bonuses, the Governor, on May 1, extended the session for three days. As a result of the stalemate, the House held up H.B. No. 32, the \$46,000,000 biennial appropriation bill, the final figure of which had been agreed to a few days earlier, and several other important bills.<sup>78</sup>

The specific issue on which the two houses deadlocked was that of the rate of pay for the Honolulu Police Department and the Honolulu Fire Department. The deadlock was "marked by virulent attacks by senators on house members and by representatives on senators." Senate President Eugene Capellas and Senator Gomes berated the House for withholding the general appropriation bill, charging it was "being used as a club to enforce its stand on SB 380." Senator Gomes charged the House with

having no time for work because they had luaus and Chinese dinners every day to encourage them to kill our bills. I brand the chairman of the house judiciary committee who is also the vice speaker. The judiciary chairman has been giving party after party, which he could not afford....I am contacting the FBI to make an investigation. Hiram Fong also killed the governor's meritorious bill proposing the Hawaii homesites authority because his wife owns lots of land and houses. What will he tell his constituents?....I hope Hiram Fong goes down in defeat in the next session, and if necessary, I, a holdover senator, will do what I can to defeat him.<sup>79</sup>

Because the first group of House and Senate conferees did not reach an agreement, a second team of managers with Fong as its chairman was selected May 3. This group included Porteus and Kauhane. Meeting for only one-and-a-half hours, they agreed to a compromise on several pay issues. However, "The settlement was interpreted in House corridors as a victory for the House because the Senate agreed to yield to the house's demand that the pay base of Honolulu policemen and firemen be kept at the 1943 level."<sup>80</sup>

#### Fong Chastises Senator Gomes

On the final day of the 1945 Legislature, Fong gave Senator Gomes a "scathing verbal whipping" following the latter's "bitterly criticizing" of the Vice-Speaker. Rising to a point of personal privilege, Fong read a prepared statement in which he said in part,



Mr. Gomes is apparently peeved over the fact that the judiciary committee unanimously filed his asinine billiard parlor bill which had for its purpose the denying to our workers who work at night the simple pleasure of playing billiards before twelve o'clock noon.<sup>81</sup>

The hard-hitting Fong also noted that the Senator was not invited to house parties because he behaved in an unruly manner after partaking of liquor.<sup>82</sup>

Fong explained the reason for his talk:

Mr. Speaker, I would not have dignified the accusations of the Senator with a reply, had he not attacked the character and the integrity of the members of the judiciary committee of this House, and had I remained silent it might be construed as being true by those who do not know the Senator. This man has a great propensity for hiding behind the cloak of legislative immunity to cast aspersions which have not one iota of truth.<sup>83</sup>

Fong knew the power of committees to hold up key pieces of legislation in order to extract what was wanted, and utilized his authority to the fullest. Besting the upper house on the pay and bonus bills did not go undetected in his legislative district. He was certainly gaining the reputation for being, in his own words, "a slugger."<sup>84</sup> In the rough and tumble politics of his day, Fong became known as a survivor.

#### Formation of the Republican Club of Hawaii

While Fong did not play a very active role in Republican Party matters, he was elected a temporary director of the Republican Club of Hawaii when it was organized in May of 1945, serving until July 20 when a convention was to be held to elect permanent officers for two years. The 80 party members elected Roy Vitousek temporary president. Objects of the new club were to provide the means whereby Republicans and others interested could meet and carry on educational and social activities; to collect, analyze, report upon and disseminate information concerning governmental and political affairs; to familiarize citizens

with governmental activities and with Republican policies and principles, and to promote the principles of freedom, equality and justice on which the United States government was founded. The constitution expressly provided that the club would not carry on election campaigns.<sup>85</sup>

The club was located in the same building as the Republican Central Committee at 844 Richards Street.

Much was made of the fact that it was inter-racial, that its activities and research facilities were open to all youth and adult groups without charge for dances, parties, wedding receptions, and meetings. The Republicans were successful at first, as seen by the fact that soon they claimed an active membership of 12,000 people. It was noted that

the key to this phenomenal success can be found in the roster of club directors....a litany of racial harmony. Kong and Kashima and Leser and Loo, Kennedy, Kanda, Botelho and Black; and there are MacGuire and Chung Ming and Jack Wakayama--all working together to make sure that the particular type of democracy they believe in will remain alive in Hawaii.

There the words "racial tolerance" are tabu. The relationship is one of friendly cooperation and harmony. No one feels that he is merely tolerated. Men and women whose parents or grandparents worked in the rice paddies of Japan, the jungles of the Philippines or the hot plains of Southern China are building together to improve their community and themselves. Whether a man is the blood son of old Hawaii, or the descendant of visitors who came to Hawaii from afar, he is looked upon as an active member of a committee that is doing a good job, or as a potential community leader who must be encouraged and helped.<sup>86</sup>

The Club sponsored a weekly radio Forum of the Air on Friday nights which were attended by "several hundred people," while unusual attractions brought in over 1,000 persons. It was reported that "thousands" of questions poured in every month from the radio audience

as a result of the discussions over the air. Interest in community problems obviously is not confined to any group, or any social strata. Some of the questions come in from the telephone from

people who obviously have had the benefits of university education; others, phrased in pidgin, show the same basic desire to learn more about community problems and to improve conditions.<sup>87</sup>

The educational process toward better citizenship included attempts at behavior modification, which was not unusual for the times. Dress codes and accepted standards of social behavior were stressed at the weekly dances held in connection with the radio forum:

When the forum started, some difficulty was encountered from groups of young boys and girls, who showed up in slacks, loose shirttails, unkempt hair, and bare feet. After a few weeks of quiet educational work some of the barefoot gang dropped out, but a surprisingly large number returned in conventional clothing. And when they cleaned up their clothes they found it easy to clean up their conversation and adopt a quieter tone. A humorous sidelight is that these "converted" youngsters are now the ones who complain when other people show up without coats or ties.

"When I come here I feel like a real lady," one young girl said. "I come every Friday night now because it gives me a chance to dress up pretty and be treated respectfully." This success with youngsters of a dozen different racial backgrounds was considered by the club leaders as one of the organization's major social accomplishments.

"If we can help youngsters to live more gracefully, and to develop a greater self respect, we know we have accomplished a great deal," one of the club directors said. "When a person develops self respect we know that an increased respect for others will result. The next step inevitably will be a desire to enter into community activities in order to improve things both for the individual and for others."<sup>88</sup>

The nonpartisan feature was carried into the last campaign as well, when the services of the Club's "full-time, professional research specialists" were also made available to the Democratic Party. Roy A. Vitousek, club president, explained that

...if the club's objectives of building an informed electorate, and presenting all sides of current political and social problems are accomplished, the people of Hawaii naturally will choose the best political party to carry out their ideas of good government.

We honestly feel that it is more important to impress the people of Hawaii with the necessity for good government than it is to get them to follow blindly any party....We believe most firmly in the

American two-party system, but we want people to join a political party because of principle, and because they understand what a party can do for them and for the community. The work of the club has borne fruit--we believe all the people of Hawaii today have a better chance of understanding issues and principles at stake than they did before the club was organized.<sup>89</sup>

While undoubtedly the Club's purpose cannot be faulted, and the initial results popular, it was clear that the Republicans were not realistic politicians. The people attracted to their functions were essentially already part of the mainstream of community: they were those willing to adopt its codes, mores, and systems without questions. What was really needed was to reach other segments of Hawaii's population. What the Republicans did not seem to realize was that while they were emphasizing forums, dances, educational literature and the like, the Democrats were surreptitiously reaching the very people who did not fit into the system; namely, the plantation and other workers who heretofore had not joined a political party (perhaps they did not have the right clothes nor have the social graces) even if they had been able to vote without being intimidated.

For all the attempts of the Republicans to reach out for racial harmony, at the same time, one ethnic group, the Chinese, was taking steps for its own separatist club house.

#### The American-Chinese Club

Unable to join the segregated major Caucasian social groups and country clubs, the upward-bound Chinese in Hawaii organized their own activities in what was essentially a separate but equal attempt to stay as much within the mainstream of community life in Hawaii as possible. In February 1945 it was announced that the former residence of Richard Smart, wealthy kamaaina rancher, at 2333 Kapiolani Boulevard, had been

purchased for \$160,000. The purpose was to provide the Chinese community a place where sports events, lectures, movies, group singing, dances, and lawn parties for children could be held. The renovated building was named the American-Chinese Club, and opened in a gala celebration on September 14, 1945. Featured were a dragon dance, speeches by dignitaries led by Hawaii's Delegate to Congress Joseph R. Farrington and University of Hawaii President Gregg M. Sinclair, and a noodle dinner. Over 1,000 persons attended, walking through the beautifully landscaped grounds, which included many plantings and a pond spanned by a bridge. The clubhouse's interior was spacious, cool, and appointed with modern, comfortable furnishings.

Newspapers covered the grand opening with pictures and articles. A special edition of the Hawaii Chinese Journal listing the program was published. Fong was selected to be the Toastmaster, and while he was an original member and on the Civic Committee of the Club, he was not one of the initial board of governors nor was he a charter member. The Chinese in Hawaii had been very supportive of the war effort, so that in addition to the usual songs sung in Chinese (including "The Victory Song of the Allies," sung in Mandarin), members and guests joined at the conclusion of the program in singing "God Bless America" and "The Star-Spangled Banner." Dancing completed the colorful and significant event.<sup>90</sup>

#### Economic Impact of World War II, 1941-1945

Just as the political picture in Hawaii changed completely following the war, economic changes were also drastic as a result of defense and wartime activities. Dr. James Shoemaker identified the effect of the war as follows:

1. A complete alteration in business and commerce patterns due to changes in (a) the character of administrative controls, (b) their location, (c) the economic goals of the islanders, and (d) the life of the Hawaiian communities.

2. An evacuation of non-employed persons and the tourists, and a sharp increase in total employment due to (a) the fact that almost everyone capable of employment took jobs for patriot reasons or military government regulations, and (b) the large influx of mainland laborers to build defense installations.

3. A general stimulation to the territorial economy due to (a) a sharp rise in military construction accompanied by a corresponding increase in the importation of construction materials, military equipment, and supplies; (b) the employment of large numbers of civilian island and mainland workers; and (c) the local purchases by the defense agencies and military personnel throughout the main islands.

4. An expansion of the public utilities and service industries of Hawaii.

5. The rise of Federal expenditures in the Territory to a record high of \$800 million per year, beginning with the prewar defense program of 1939-41. After December 7, 1941, the expenditures overshadowed all other forms of income and employment locally.

6. A resultant rise in inflation, as indicated by the rapid increases in bank clearings, deposits, credit, and of prices not controlled by the Office of Price Administration.

7. The economic developments were underlined by a fundamental change in the outlook of Hawaiian labor, which later took the form of a remarkably rapid expansion in labor-union organization and a complete alteration in the character of labor-management relations throughout the Islands.

Following the end of hostilities, Hawaii went through a period of postwar readjustments, generally identified as lasting between 1945 and 1949, and a period of recession and recovery from 1950 to 1954.<sup>91</sup>

Fong caught the economic tide at a high point with his investment in the Hawaiian Town. Coupled with the fact that as an officer he was making good wages and was also permitted to practice law on weekends, he had money to invest. He began his major real estate investments at the end of the war, but was not seriously affected by the period of post-war downturn in the economy because his law office prospered and he had competent business associates. As will be noted in later pages, he also caught the swing of financial and industrial loans at a time when the need and the opportunities for monies started, to the extent that he was fully established by the 1955 to 1960 period of pronounced growth identified by Shoemaker.<sup>92</sup>

#### Market City, Ltd.

Even before Fong was released from active military service, he invested in a three-and-one-quarter acre piece of land at the intersection of Kapiolani Boulevard and Harding Avenue in early 1945. The site was brought to his attention by Mr. Mun On Chun, who had been a classmate and fraternity brother at the University of Hawaii. Chun was then working as office manager at Honolulu Trust Company and also held a real estate broker's license. Telling Fong that he considered the site a good buy, Chun countered the opinion of another of Fong's real estate friends, Robert Ho, who had told Fong the land was "a hole in the ground."<sup>93</sup>

The two men, Fong still in uniform, tramped all over the spot, inspecting it thoroughly. Fong recalled, "After making a few deductions,

I came to the conclusion that it was a good buy" at the asking price of \$100,000. He formed a hui (group of investors) and told Chun, "Offer them \$75,000." Hawaiian Trust, representing the seller, flatly rejected their offer. They returned with an offer of \$90,000, which was also turned down. They then offered the full asking price, but Fong, always the enterprising businessman, told Chun, "Don't charge us a commission." Chun did agree to smaller earnings, saving the buyers \$2,500 so that they were able to purchase the land for \$97,500.<sup>94</sup>

Ultimately the site was developed as Market City, Ltd., a shopping center complex. The first unit was to be a drive-in restaurant. Because this was the first drive-in in Hawaii, he said he got some details of its operation from books at the public library.<sup>95</sup>

Ground was broken in March of 1946. Parking spaces to accommodate 250 cars was provided for a complex envisioned to hold a variety of small businesses and a theater with a seating capacity of 900 persons. The architect was Alfred Preis, and the general contractor was Thomas C. Lau. Estimated cost for the completed project was in the neighborhood of \$500,000 with \$75,000 allocated to the drive-in, \$150,000 to the theater and \$150,000 to the supermarket, exclusive of equipment.<sup>96</sup>

Fong began a six-weeks trip to the United States mainland on April 1, 1946, to make contacts and to study shopping center operations first-hand. Accompanied by Mrs. Fong, he traveled to Los Angeles and Florida,<sup>97</sup> enlarging his personal sphere of influence.

Construction proceeded smoothly. A large newspaper advertisement appeared on August 10, stating that leases for Market City, Ltd., were being considered. Offering 75,000 square feet of floor space, it was noted that the businesses desired were



grocery, meat, vegetable, fish, poultry, bakery, five & ten, drug, department store, delicatessen, florist, dry goods, hardware, furniture, taxi stand, appliances, and other. Note: Theatre and fountain restaurant reserved.<sup>98</sup>

Rentals were 20 cents per square feet per month or a percentage of gross, whichever was higher. Duration of leases were five to ten years; the deposit required was one year's rental. Applications were to be in writing, stating business contemplated, space required, amount of capital and length of experience to Market City, Ltd., P. O. Box 1521, Honolulu 6.<sup>99</sup>

While the theater complex never was finalized, the drive-in was a success, and in a short time Foodland Markets and several smaller stores opened. Fong reported that it took about five years before much money was made at Market City.<sup>100</sup> This time period coincides with Shoemaker's delineation of the economic picture following the end of the war.<sup>101</sup>

#### 1946 Election Bid

Business activities coupled with Fong's growing law practice gave rise to speculation regarding his political future, but he ended the uncertainty by announcing on August 27, 1946, that he would seek a fourth term in the House of Representatives. The front page report of his decision noted that,

In the last session of the legislature, Mr. Fong was instrumental in electing Manuel Paschoal as speaker. He was active and effective as vice speaker and chairman of the judiciary committee. (printed in darker type)

Among important measures sponsored by Mr. Fong which became law, is the community property bill to give the wife an equal economic partnership with her husband. Tax authorities have estimated that the community property law will save the taxpayers of Hawaii at least \$10,000,000 annually.

Another measure sponsored by Mr. Fong which became law is the teacher single salary bill, called one of the most progressive and outstanding bills in public school legislation.<sup>102</sup> (printed in darker type)

Three days later, Fong gave his platform for the fall campaign as follows: (1) Government condemnation of large private land holdings and the release of government lands for homesites. This was to be territory-wide and limited to 5,000 acres which would provide 25,000 lots of 10,000 square feet per lot. (2) Following the lead of many states, a bonus to each of the 30,000 local veterans below the rank of major; including an appropriation to provide a Hawaiian War medal to each veteran in recognition of his services in the war. (3) Betterment of the working man's condition which included higher wages and greater benefits under Social Security, unemployment and compensation laws. (4) A fair employment practices act insuring non-discrimination in employment on account of race, creed or color. (5) A 40-hour five-day week for government employees. (6) Early construction of a tunnel from Kalihi to Kaneohe. (7) Setting up a pupil-teacher load of 30 to 1, thereby allowing more time for teachers' instruction to each pupil. (8) More kindergartens, teachers' colleges, classrooms, auditoriums, libraries and recreation centers for the rural areas of the Fifth District.<sup>103</sup>

#### Admitted to Practice Before the Supreme Court

At the end of August 1946, it was announced that Fong had received a certificate admitting him to practice as an attorney and counsellor at law in the Supreme Court of the United States. Motion for admission was made by his classmate at Harvard Law School, Joseph A. Fanelli, formerly chairman of the United States immigration and naturalization board of appeals.<sup>104</sup> It was Fanelli, it will be recalled, whose mother's chicken had saved him from a long weekend without food at Harvard during the bank closures.

### The 1946 Elections

It is interesting to note that while Fong had L.P.A.C. endorsement in 1944, he received no such endorsement from the unions' Political Action Committee of 1946. Running again on his usual slogan of "Experienced, Capable, Fair," he reminded an election evening gathering that, "I'm a Kalihi boy who really served you during my terms of office."<sup>105</sup>

Meanwhile the Republicans were assailing the P.A.C. as "communists." Endorsements by the group (which supported primarily Democrats but a few Republicans like Delegate Joseph Farrington and Manuel Paschoal) were said to be the "Kiss of Death." Moreover, the P.A.C. sought "to rule by fear." On the other side, the Democrats, with Charles Kauhane as their spokesman, branded the G.O.P. as a pressure group.<sup>106</sup>

The 1947 voter turnout was one of the largest in history, and there was no doubt that the Democrats were effective in getting voter interest. Approximately 2,500 persons attended their Beretania Street rally during the waning days of the primaries. However, the power of the P.A.C. at the polls was still a question mark on election eve.<sup>107</sup>

A review of Fong's advertising indicated it was modest in size compared to the full-page ads of Wilfred Tsukiyama and perennial favorites like William Heen and Hebden Porteus. But it was more than enough. He came out very strongly in the primary, leading district contenders of both parties with 6,648 ballots. Kauhane (6,564), Furtado (6,281), Kido (6,280), Gilliland (5,513) and Itagaki (5,418) followed in that order. However strong Fong's showing was, the Democratic tide was surprisingly strong throughout the Islands. It was noted that "ticket for ticket, the Democrats came up from behind as a full-fledged

threat to the long control of the Republicans in the territorial legislature."<sup>108</sup>

The importance of the emerging media to Fong's campaign was underscored when he took to the airwaves just before the general election. While his newspaper advertisements were average in size, for the first time, one was devoted to advise the reader of his radio broadcast schedule:

Nov. 1	2:05 p.m.	KGMB
	5:10 p.m.	KGMB
	7:30 p.m.	KHON
Nov. 2	5:35 p.m.	KGMB
	9:00 p.m.	KGMB
Nov. 3	9:00 p.m.	KPOA
Nov. 4	2:05 p.m.	KGMB
	5:10 p.m.	KGMB <sup>109</sup>

Still, a great deal of newspaper advertisements were taken out by partisan groups on both sides. The conservative Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Honolulu Lodge No. 616, listed all the names of candidates endorsed by the P.A.C. Fong was not among those listed.<sup>110</sup> In the same paper that day, a full page advertisement appeared, charting answers to questions placed to the candidates by the Legislative Committee of the Liberal Legislation League. Mrs. Dorothy A. Skjonsby was the League's chairman; President was Iwalani Mottl. Fong's answers to their questions were as follows: He believed in an appropriation of ten million dollars for low-cost rental units by the government; favored immediate statehood; "not quite sure" on a minimum wage law; favored a fair employment practices act, and civil rights; believed in a graduated income tax, government-sponsored child care centers, and also favored

industrial research on industries which would supplement the sugar and pineapple industries in Hawaii.<sup>111</sup>

In response to the Elks' ad, several of the Democrats named took out a counter-ad, citing the Elks' by-laws limiting membership by race. It was noted that the "CIO/PAC does not discriminate by color."<sup>112</sup>

Meanwhile Fong sought to defuse his lack of labor support. The Sunday before the election, his advertisement stated that in the last Legislature, he had worked for labor, citing the "\$375,000 Department of Labor and Industrial Relations set up to handle the working people's problems."<sup>113</sup>

The all-out attack on the Republicans by the Democrats and the P.A.C. bore rich results in the general election. Mitsuyuki Kido led the ticket with 10,619, followed by fellow Democrats Frank Y. Kam (10,594) and Kauhane (9,979). The Republicans followed closely behind with Itagaki (9,785), Fong at a surprisingly low 9,721, and Gilliland at 9,234.<sup>114</sup>

#### Labor and the Election of 1946

The increasing power of the labor unions was reflected in the influence they exerted in territorial politics. Of the 51 candidates endorsed in the Territory, 35 were elected following vigorous efforts in both the primary and general elections. Three were Republicans and 32 were Democrats. On Maui and Kauai, the Democrats showed great strength. On Oahu, eight of the sixteen candidates backed were successful, including Republican Delegate Joseph R. Farrington, and Mayor John H. Wilson, a Democrat.

Both parties campaigned for: (1) statehood; (2) home rule for counties; (3) improved housing; (4) improved parks and playgrounds;

(5) a school building program; (6) increased pay for territorial employees; (7) reapportionment.<sup>115</sup>

#### Democrats Equal Republicans in 1947

The 1946 election placed 16 Republicans and 14 Democrats in the House of Representatives, so that the untimely death of Republican Francis K. Aona of West Hawaii early in 1947 created an especially deep and important void which both political parties sought earnestly to fill. The Democrats in a surprising show of strength were able to elect Earl A. Nielsen (who had been an unsuccessful G.O.P. candidate)<sup>116</sup> by a scant 16 votes in the February 8 special election. This marked the first time in Hawaiian history that the Republican and Democratic parties were divided evenly in a Legislature.<sup>117</sup>

The stage was set for the unprecedented bi-partisan deadlock over the organization of the lower house. Immediately at stake was the selection of a Speaker, and concomitant control of the committees where legislation could be effectively spurred on or just as effectively contained, or "ice-boxed." Since the Republicans already held a majority dominant position in the Senate, it was necessary for the party to maintain control of the House if it were to effect the kinds of programs it claimed it would. In the last analysis, the struggle over control of the House also was the struggle to keep Republican domination over the Hawaiian Islands.

#### The Speakership Fight

The two parties squared off in the choice for Speaker and Vice-Speaker as the session opened. As predicted, the Democrats wanted Charles Kauhane and Herbert K. H. Lee, while the Republicans decided

upon Manuel Paschoal and Fong respectively. It was Fong who nominated Paschoal for another term as Speaker.<sup>118</sup>

The Democrats were determined to be heard on every issue, while their opponents tried to hang on to their traditional power. Rep. Porteus moved that the rules of the 1945 session be adopted as the temporary rules of the current session, and the motion was quickly seconded. Acting Chairman Republican Thomas Sakakihara immediately announced that the motion carried, although the vote count was not clear. "This gave rise to a great commotion led by Mr. Henriques," who successfully called upon his fellow Democrats to abandon the session, just six minutes into the proceedings.<sup>119</sup>

However, after a recess in which a plan for procedure was agreed to, the House reconvened and got back to the business of organizing itself. It was to prove a momentous, difficult, and lengthy task, spawning complex political maneuvering and intrigues, secret meetings, violent name-calling, a fist fight involving Fong and Kauhane, and a sudden end to the battle.

Meanwhile the Senate organized without any difficulty. After two days of stalemate, Rep. Herbert Lee sought to ask the Governor to break the deadlock. Fong immediately opposed this move, emphasizing, "We are here as the representatives of the people...government is a system of checks and balances...I protest vigorously this attempt to give away any of our sovereign rights!"<sup>120</sup> The deadlock continued. Fong was placed on a Conference Committee to help end the stalemate. Various proposals were recommended, with Fong suggesting the Republicans name the Speaker, Vice-Speaker, and the House clerk. The Democrats would choose the committee chairmen, whose memberships would be equally

divided between the two parties, and other minor House officials. The stalemate continued for several more days. It was reported that Kauhane was willing to withdraw from the speakership battle in favor of Paschoal in return for the vice-speakership, but Fong was not willing to go along with this plan.<sup>121</sup>

The Democrats proposed that Paschoal be Speaker and that the position of Vice-Speaker be eliminated in favor of one Democratic floor leader and one Republican floor leader, each of whom would have an office, a secretary and a messenger. They also compromised on committees by alternating the selection of committee heads, and with equal number of memberships on the committees according to political party,<sup>122</sup> but this was not accepted.

Every day for 18 legislative days, the House members assembled into session. Vote after vote was taken, but remained tied 15 for Paschoal and 15 for Kauhane. Almost every day new plans were drafted and presented by one side to the other, but none was good enough. The members went into executive session on March 3, the tenth day, but by unanimous action on March 25, 1947, the Journals of all the executive sessions were made a part of the public records of the House.<sup>123</sup> The Senate, meanwhile, was conducting its own affairs smoothly, and was beginning to look askance at the lower chamber. The public was becoming more and more impatient with its elected representatives. The newspapers, of course, gave the deadlock front-page coverage.

Each side watched its members carefully, trying to avoid any switching, while at the same time assessing anyone on the opposite side who might waver. One vote was all that was needed. For a time, Rep. Joseph Andrews, Republican from the First District of Hawaii, was



suspect, but Fong and others encouraged him to hold firm, with the assurance, "We'll take care of you."<sup>124</sup>

### Kauhane Strikes Fong

Late in the evening of the fourteenth day, the Democrats, in a surprise move, offered a resolution placing Fong as Speaker and Kauhane as Vice-Speaker and a fairly equitable division of committee assignments.<sup>125</sup> Fong asked permission to withdraw his name from the resolution, but this was refused. He then voted with the solid Republican bloc to defeat it. The time was approximately 11:15 p.m.<sup>126</sup> Every Representative there must have been tired and irritable.

As Fong and Rep. Porteus left the House chambers, they were followed by Rep. Kauhane, who caught up with them in the lobby of Iolani Palace. As told by Lawrence Nakatsuka, a reporter at the scene, Kauhane demanded:

"Are you insinuating that I am a liar?"

Before either could reply, Mr. Kauhane shouted to Mr. Porteus, "You can't call me a liar!"

Then to Mr. Fong: "That goes for you too!"

Porteus tried to placate Kauhane: "Nobody called you a liar..."

"You don't call me a liar," shot back Kauhane, embellishing "liar" with a couple of preliminary words.

"Damn you Hiram. I went to your office. You wanted control of the house. Now you tell the people inside that I am a liar."...

"I'll cut you down to my size," Kauhane said, as he came closer to Fong. Porteus, all the while, tried to stand in between.

"Don't think that I won't do it," Kauhane challenged.

Fong angrily exclaimed, "What do you mean? You want to fight?"<sup>127</sup>

Kauhane swung at Fong, landing a blow on the latter's jaw. According to Nakatsuka, Fong swung back but did not connect. The sergeant-at-arms intervened, and a fellow-Democrat took Kauhane aside to pacify him. But on the front stairs of Iolani Palace, Kauhane saw Mary Noonan, executive director of the Republican Club, and yelled, "stool pigeon!" at her.<sup>128</sup>

Later Fong explained to reporters what had transpired in the closed session just prior to the altercation. Asked whether he had discussed the speakership situation with Rep. Kauhane or other Democratic leaders, he replied,

Many propositions were made to me; none of them ever have been acceptable.

The Democratic proposal came from a clear sky and got me absolutely flabbergasted. I believe that Paschoal should be speaker; I am not up for speaker. I'm up for vice-speaker and if they feel I'm good enough for speaker why don't they vote for me for vice-speaker.<sup>129</sup>

Not one of the Democrats would explain why their party had nominated Kauhane's rival for the top position. Fong denied that he nor Porteus had ever called Kauhane a liar, and also indicated that he did not strike back at Kauhane.<sup>130</sup> For his part, Kauhane had no comment on Fong's remarks. However, it was reported that Mrs. Kauhane had confirmed that Fong had called her husband at home one night to arrange for a meeting in Fong's office.<sup>131</sup> Whether she was protecting her husband cannot be ascertained at this writing, and Fong stuck to his story that the Democratic resolution had come as a surprise.

Many years later, Porteus said that Kauhane was angry with himself because he had not realized that by advocating Fong for Speaker, and himself for Vice-Speaker, he had placed himself in a secondary position to Fong, a spot he found personally untenable in the light of seeing the

resolution rejected and ridiculed by the House members. The blow he struck at Fong, said Porteus, was in effect a backlash against himself. While this reasoning may seem a bit unclear, it was the only statement he would make on the matter.<sup>132</sup>

Kauhane later apologized for his behavior to the members of the House. The other Democrats were so embarrassed by what had occurred that they issued a statement absolving themselves of any involvement:

We are not responsible for the actions of Charlie Kauhane, as we know that it was personal, and that it happened without the sanction of the party members. Therefore we cannot assume responsibility for the action taken by Mr. Kauhane.<sup>133</sup>

The altercation between Kauhane and Fong made for screaming headlines, and underscored all the more the inability of the lower chamber to organize itself in 1947. It also gave rise to any number of speculations as to the reasons back of Kauhane's anger at Porteus and Fong.

Nakatsuka attempted to reconstruct the events leading to the fight, and later published an article "based on information furnished privately by the legislators themselves."<sup>134</sup> His sources were probably the Democrats, as the Republicans closed solidly behind Fong's version, where it remains basically unchanged at this writing. The reason the Democrats walked out on the opening day of the session, claimed the journalist, was because they did not feel the Republicans could have passed the motion to adopt the 1945 rules of organization; yet when they protested the unclear vote, the temporary chair refused to recognize them. The Democrats were also suspicious because they had "secretly" obtained a copy of the Republican opening day plan. One move of that plan might have been to challenge the right of Kauhane and Joseph A. Kaholokula, Jr. to be seated, the first on the basis of a question of legal residence, and the latter for an indictment pending in a Maui

court. It was claimed that the walkout was also decided upon to stymie this challenge. However, from the accounts of the voting, the walkout appeared to be a spontaneous action on the part of the Democrats. It was reported that the Democrats claimed their first victory when the Republicans agreed, on the third day, to adopt a resolution seating all 30 Representatives.<sup>135</sup> Yet, the House Journal and the two daily newspapers stated that all members were seated on the first day of the session.<sup>136</sup>

Although many individuals tended to think of the struggle for power, most of which was conducted behind the scenes, as a "life and death struggle" between two evenly matched political parties controlled by "outside forces"--in the case of the Democrats, by the C.I.O. Political Action Committee, and, in the case of the Republicans, by the "Vitousek Old Guard"--the maneuvering for power was actually more a bi-partisan issue that transcended personalities and special interest groups. According to Nakatsuka, neither Jack Hall and the C.I.O.-P.A.C. nor Roy Vitousek had the grip upon their respective political parties that their opponents attributed to each man. For example, the P.A.C. attempted to get Kauhane to step down from the race for Speaker, but he would not yield. Hall was reported to be greatly displeased with Reps. Amos Ignacio and Kaholokula, Jr., both of whom were paid officials of the I.L.W.U.-C.I.O. local chapters, when they would not agree to a compromise plan that the P.A.C. leaders thought would give the Democrats a real bargain. On the Republican side, Vitousek, while not having full control over party members either, shrewdly urged them to hold firmly together, reasoning that the Democrats would crack first. This strategy proved accurate.<sup>137</sup>

Unquestionably, Fong was a key figure in the dispute. Nakatsuka claimed that he was a contender against Paschoal prior to the opening of the Legislature, but had lost out despite a strong following, especially among lawmakers from the Big Island. The reporter also said that certain Democrats had a personal dislike of Fong, one of them being Kauhane: "Kauhane was ready and willing to yield the speakership to Paschoal but never to Fong."<sup>138</sup>

Nakatsuka was informed that when the Democrats proposed a 50-50 compromise giving the Republicans the alternative of selecting a slate with the Speaker and control of certain committees, or another slate with the Vice-Speaker and control of the remainder of the committees, Republican Rep. Flora Hayes agreed to join the Democrats. She even went so far as to sign a resolution which never got to the House floor. Instead, Kauhane, it was reported, offered an identical resolution signed only by himself. At a crucial moment, a recess was called before a vote on his resolution could be taken. Several top Republicans used the recess time to get Mrs. Hayes to change her mind. The Democrats then withdrew the measure from consideration.<sup>139</sup>

Fortuitously for the G.O.P., a call from the nation's capitol had come to send four House members to appear before the Hawaii statehood hearings then about to commence in Washington. The Acting Chairman, Republican Thomas Sakakihara, wisely selected Mrs. Hayes and Alfred Afat Apaka to represent the Republicans and chose Kauhane and Herbert K. H. Lee to represent the Democrats.<sup>140</sup> Kauhane and Lee agreed to go. Strategically, the Democrats lost ground by sending their strongest leaders away from Hawaii, although honoring the two men must have been uppermost in their minds. The Republicans got Mrs. Hayes out of the

Legislature to prevent her from having another change of heart. The departure of Kauhane and Lee left the Democrats without the kind of leadership they needed, although Kauhane, in Nakatsuka's words, "had bungled several chances for settling the deadlock." However, as long as he was present, he was able to hold his colleagues together in a solid-front. Rep. Ignacio then took charge, but internal bickering weakened his hold, and the proposals he drafted went nowhere.<sup>141</sup>

On the morning of March 12, Rep. George Aguiar of Kauai came to a crucial decision. Learning that in Washington Kauhane "would be able to swing a good deal with the Republicans," presumably again with Mrs. Hayes, Aguiar decided that Kauhane was over-optimistic. On the eighteenth day of the session, Aguiar voted with the Republicans, breaking the deadlock and enabling the House to get about its work. The superior strategy of the G.O.P. had won out again.<sup>142</sup> Said Aguiar later, "It was not a matter of parties, of Mr. Kauhane, of Mr. Fong, or anything. It was a matter of the welfare of half a million people who were waiting for us to do something."<sup>143</sup>

Several questions remained unanswered even at this writing concerning the Democrats' proposal of March 7, making Fong Speaker and Kauhane Vice-Speaker. Fong consistently claimed to have no foreknowledge of it, and wondered whether it was indeed a sincere, bona fide attempt to find a solution to the problem. It was designed to split the Republicans, he said. While the topic of his becoming Speaker "did come up" in discussions on how to resolve the stalemate, he said that he backed Paschoal all the way. The reason he voted against the amendment, thereby officially removing himself from the race for Speaker, was that he felt he "couldn't double-cross" his fellow Republicans.<sup>144</sup> (It would have gone against his Chinese-bred ethics.)

Memories fade, and not all the protagonists were available for confirmation of what actually occurred. One can only speculate why Charles Kauhane, as reported, did not accost Fong first outside the chambers: instead he spoke initially to Porteus and only then turned to Fong. Then, on seeing Mary Noonan, he yelled "stool pigeon" at her. (Fong later indicated that he thought Mary Noonan had nothing to do with the situation.)<sup>145</sup> However, one might speculate that it may have been Republicans unknown to Fong who approached Kauhane and the Democrats. They may have been desirous of putting Fong on the spot, to embarrass the American-Chinese, first with his own Party members (as one who would consort with the enemy), and then with the Democrats (who were supposed to be tainted with Communist influence and therefore "undesirable" to the general population of Hawaii). Or did the Republicans try to embarrass the Democrats by "agreeing" to their proposal to make Fong Speaker and Kauhane Vice-Speaker, and then "ridiculing" them on the floor? Why did Kauhane, who was reported to be antagonistic to Fong, agree to be in the secondary position to his supposedly arch-enemy? Was it indeed a Democratic ploy? Or was it a sincere attempt on the part of the Democrats to reach an equitable solution?

It would appear that the Democrats either outsmarted themselves, or fell for a strategem that placed their leadership in an embarrassing position. According to Fong, the Democrats supported him, knowing full well that the other Republicans would not go along, and that he, Fong, would be embarrassed.<sup>146</sup>

It was not until the following year that additional light on the issue came from Rep. George Aguiar, who had cast the fateful ballot

electing Paschoal. A few months later, Aguiar had resigned from the Democratic Party. In an open letter explaining his action, Aguiar gave reasons why he may have appeared to go against the I.L.W.U. He said that the fact that he had

denounced a couple of Hall's stooges does not mean that I have deserted my friends in organized labor. I have the utmost respect for the rank and file of the ILWU. I believe that I was doing what they wanted me to do, when in a secret session of the Democratic delegation, Hall's stooges demanded my signature on a piece of paper which would have made Hiram L. Fong speaker. I naturally refused because the PAC had fought Fong bitterly during the 1946 elections. I wanted a Democratic speaker, but Hall's stooges consistently dickered with the Fong boys. Later Fong received a punch on the jaw from Kauhane for his efforts.<sup>147</sup>

The complete story may never be fully known. The House Journal noted that "after certain proceedings, the record of which was, by unanimous consent, expunged from the record," the members adjourned for the day.<sup>148</sup> What everyone could agree upon was the fact that Fong sustained a blow to his jaw. However, the two men from Kalihi did not let that skirmish bother them too much. They went on to more legislative battles, but became less antagonistic to each other personally. It was a point of pride for Fong to recall that when Kauhane's beloved wife died, he was asked to deliver the eulogy, which he said he was honored to do.<sup>149</sup>

### House Organization

The bi-partisan settlement gave Republican Paschoal the Speakership and abolished the position of Vice-Speaker. In its place, two equal positions called floor leaders were created, with Fong chosen Republican Floor Leader and Kauhane taking the post as Democratic Floor Leader. Membership on each of 16 committees was divided 50-50 between the parties. Rep. Lee was awarded the Judiciary Committee chairmanship,



Kauhane became head of Municipal and County, and Andrews Chairman of the Finance Committee. Fong received no chair positions, but was a member of the committees on Judiciary, on Public Institutions (vice-chairman), on Veterans and Housing, and on Police and Military.<sup>150</sup>

As in any contest where the stakes were so high, and the opposing forces so evenly matched, the clash was bitter and prolonged. In the long run, the history-making deadlock was an amazing spectacle of political maneuvering, with the more sagacious and tenacious Republicans winning the top spot. However, the voting power of each party was such that the 1947 session was noticeably lacking in the passage of legislation promised at the polls a few months earlier.

#### Pari-Mutuel Bill

There was undoubtedly a power struggle also between certain members of the Senate and the House, with Fong involved to a great degree on certain key items of legislation. As an example, Senate Bill No. 173 was introduced by Senators Goodness, Crozier, Hill, Silva, Capellas, Chang, Fernandes, and Brown early in the 1947 session. The bill provided for the regulation and licensing of horse racing and horse race meetings in Honolulu, wagering on race results, the creation of a territorial racing commission, and penalties for violations. In time, the bill was amended to include horse racing on all the Islands. An identical bill, H.B. No. 69, was introduced in the House by Reps. Henriques and Kauhane. In the Senate, the bill had passed quickly and without a public hearing.

This action on the part of the Senate led one group of the First Methodist Church to note in letters to both houses that:

The sudden passage of the bill in the Senate would seem to indicate a desire on the part of its supporters to avoid public opposition to it.

...We believe that the enactment of this bill into law would aid the forces of moral disintegration in the Territory and so prove to be an economic and social loss to the public while it would increase the financial gains of a few. We believe that "the proposal to turn over a large share of the receipts to public and charity causes" is but a blind, and that legalized gambling and the evils in its train would increase the charity cases...rather than help to obviate them.<sup>151</sup>

Community reaction to the bill, particularly on Oahu, was negative. Neighbor Islanders seemed to favor it. On March 21, the Council of Social Agencies requested a public hearing, which was held on April 11 at Iolani Palace. The judiciary committee was divided. Reps. Lee, Fong and Porteus were in the minority in recommending that the bill be killed.

While Fong and Porteus may have had their differences on other issues, they were firmly united in opposition to horse-race gambling. It is especially significant to note that their opposition as revealed in the judiciary committee's minority report reflected deep moral beliefs as well as the attitude that morality could be legislated. Their report cited the problems which might arise upon passage of the bill: it (1) encouraged and promoted gambling; (2) ultimately promoted political and administrative corruption; (3) promoted juvenile delinquency; (4) promoted breakdown of public morals; (5) created bankruptcies and the breaking up of homes; (6) interfered with the conduct of regular business; (7) other states having horse race gambling have noted an increase in crimes; (8) financial aid to the territory was negligible; (9) it would bring to Hawaii a class of people who in the main were not law-abiding and likely to be public charges; (10) people of the territory cannot and would not financially support it.<sup>152</sup>

The report stated in part that

Your minority's view is overwhelmingly substantiated by the deluge of protests which have reached the judiciary committee from the

organized leadership of every type of church, business, social welfare and youth group in the territory, from individual citizens of all walks of life and from the press and radio of the various islands.

...[We] can not subscribe to a measure whose effect would be harmful to the territory in general and beneficial to a selfish handful who seek to profit at the expense of the public welfare and morals of the entire territory.<sup>153</sup>

For Fong, these beliefs and attitudes had their beginnings in his early traditional Chinese training at home. They were further reinforced by the Christian teachings of the Kalihi Union Church and through the active youth programs of the Y.M.C.A., as well as through attendance at the First Chinese Church of Christ, as previously stated.

In favor of passage were Representatives Kaholokula, Jr., Ignacio, Gilliland (who later voted "yes" on the floor and then immediately changed his vote), and Ouye. Thomas Sakakihara was opposed to the bill, but favored an amendment which would leave the question to be decided by a plebiscite in each county, but this was tabled.<sup>154</sup>

The bill gave the right to conduct races to existing racing clubs, but Fong proposed an amendment to permit any jockey club whose members were residents of Hawaii to conduct the races "to prevent a monopoly." His amendment successfully outrode an attempt to table it.<sup>155</sup> Ultimately there was a deadlock vote, 15 to 15, in the House and the bill failed to pass.<sup>156</sup>

#### Senator Hill Blasts Fong and Sakakihara

By 1947, Fong was working closely with Rep. Thomas Sakakihara of the Big Island's First District. Sakakihara had first been elected to the House in 1932, the second person of Japanese ancestry to be seated there. He was re-elected in 1934 and 1936, but at the close of the 1937 Legislature was "severely reprimanded" by the House for falsely

certifying a claim against the Territory in the course of his duties as chairman of the lands' committee.<sup>157</sup> He did not serve in the 1939 Legislature, but was elected again in 1941, during which session he served with Fong on the judiciary committee and formed a lifelong bond with him.

An attorney who had qualified for the bar by "reading the law," Sakakihara was one of the Americans of Japanese ancestry who was arrested and placed in a concentration camp following the attack on Pearl Harbor. He claimed his internment was in reprisal for his efforts to assist those of Japanese ancestry to better themselves economically and politically (efforts which were frowned upon by Big Five interests), and not for any alleged disloyalty to the United States. In 1945, Fong was instrumental in hiring Sakakihara as clerk of the judiciary committee, which Fong headed. The following year, Sakakihara was once more returned to the House by the electorate and was successful in keeping his seat until 1954, as will be discussed in future chapters. Sakakihara said that he never learned on what charges he had been interned.<sup>158</sup> It was this fact as much as Sakakihara's loyalty to Fong which kept the two men legislative as well as personal friends.

In 1947, the Senate attempted to place the Hilo, Hawaii bus transportation system under the territorial Public Utilities Commission, but Fong and Sakakihara were opposed to it. An amendment was made to House Bill No. 80 to extend the authority of the P.U.C. to Maui's and Kauai's public transportation system but exempted the Hawaii County system, which would be regulated by the Hawaii County Board of Supervisors.

The powerful and fiery Senator William "Doc" Hill of the Big Island charged that Fong and Sakakihara were in the pay of Japanese bus drivers

of Hilo. Hill claimed that Katsuro Miho, Fong's law partner, was a paid attorney for the bus drivers, and that Fong benefitted from this because of his association with Miho. Earlier in the session, Miho had testified in a Senate committee hearing that he had been retained by the Hilo group to represent them in opposing the bill as it had been written. Fong had been named to the conference committee of the House and Senate to try to resolve the differences between the two versions of the bill. His ability to hold the House's position apparently rankled many Senators. Ultimately, the House supported Fong and Sakakihara, and allowed the bill to die.<sup>159</sup>

Describing the alleged setup between Fong, Sakakihara and the Hilo bus drivers, Hill shouted on the Senate floor, "It's wrong!" and called for Sakakihara to be expelled from the legislature.<sup>160</sup> The Senate adopted without dissent a resolution calling upon the House Speaker to appoint a new committee in conference which should not have Fong as a member:

Whereas one of the members of the said conference committee of the House (HB 80) is Rep. Hiram L. Fong, a law partner of Katsuro Miho, Esq., who has been and is retained to represent interests opposed to the passage of said bill....

Whereas Representative Fong is therefore disqualified to act in the matter, appointment of a new committee was recommended.<sup>161</sup>

It would have been uncharacteristic of Fong to leave such an attack without responding in kind, which of course is what he did. Denials that they had been paid in any manner by the Big Island bus drivers were made by Fong and Sakakihara on the floor of the House. Fong spoke first, saying that he did not know that Miho represented the Hilo bus drivers, and denied that he had any pecuniary interest in the bill. He exclaimed, "Whenever Doc Hill fights for a thing, you can see Doc Hill's hand back

there grabbing in the cash." He called the Senator a "cry baby" and a "man who is so low the belly of a snake couldn't be any lower." Fong continued, "I have seen that man, Doc Hill, introduce a bill by which, if passed, he would have committed legal larceny. He would have stolen from the people all the land on which the Naniloa Hotel is built."<sup>162</sup> Fong indicated that Senator Hill would foreclose a mortgage and seize control of the Hilo transportation system if the Senate version of the transportation bill passed. Senator Hill later denied holding any mortgages against the transportation company.<sup>163</sup>

Sakakihara claimed that Hill was back of his (Sakakihara's) internment as a suspect in World War II, beginning in February 1942, and his 20-month detention in the internment camp. In a long statement dealing with the circumstances of his internment, he said that he was never called on to face specific charges, never knew the exact reasons for his internment, and was finally freed without explanation as to the accusations which were the basis for his being placed behind barbed wire.<sup>164</sup>

He called Hill "the scourge of this house...a man who will stoop to gain any ends where the money is for Doc Hill." It was pointed out that Sakakihara did not make any direct denial of Hill's accusation that he was in the pay of the Hilo bus drivers, but when questioned later on this point, Sakakihara denied it completely. "Absolutely not!" he said vehemently.<sup>165</sup>

These verbal barrages were "later included with a senate communication ordered by the house stricken from its records," so that officially this interchange was never recorded in the House Journal.<sup>166</sup> The Senate Journal, however, includes Hill's resolution, reasons for his actions,

and the communication from the House Clerk, which advised the upper chamber that, "In accordance with the unanimous action of the House of Representatives...I return herewith Senate Resolution No. 81, all reference thereto having been expunged from the records of the House."<sup>167</sup>

It can be speculated that Fong's strong opposition to the Senate's pari-mutuel bill, and Sakakihara's willingness to put the issue to a plebiscite (with the subsequent defeat of the racing bill in the House) rankled Hill, who was pro-racing. House action on the Hilo bus transportation issue combined to provide a reason for Hill's tirade against Fong and Sakakihara during the final hours of the 1947 legislative session.

The Legislature adjourned on May 3. The forensic battles of 62 days were put aside as the members joined in the solemn closing ceremonies. All the Senators apologized for heated arguments during the session, while in the House the representatives blamed the Senate for trying to run House matters and for blocking a parity raise for all government employees.<sup>168</sup>

#### Evaluation of the 1947 Legislature

The Legislature passed the public improvement bond issue of 21 million dollars, and adopted \$48 salary boosts for teachers and \$25 boosts for other governmental employees. Gwenfread Allen has noted,

Beginning in 1943, each session of the territorial legislature had received bills and miscellaneous benefits to veterans, and in 1947 more than 50 proposals were offered. Those passed granted \$300.00 to each disabled veteran, gave territorial civil service preference to veterans, and provided certain burial expenses, vocational rehabilitation aid, and other minor benefits.<sup>169</sup>

Himself a war veteran dedicated to improving the lot of other veterans, Fong participated in a number of bills introduced to

benefit them. However, he was absent when the \$300 veterans' bonus was voted.<sup>170</sup>

Millard Purdy summed up the 1947 session as follows:

Frustrated by a stalemate in its lower house, the legislature either fought to a draw on major controversial issues, or tacitly sidestepped them.

The over-all result has been maintenance of the status quo with little change in the territory's intertwined economic and political problems.

Oddly, both sides consider it a victory, however negative and uncertain.

Many Republican leaders already are pointing out that they saved the territory from legislation that would have upset the economy, even though they did it at the cost of a major share of the party program.

On the other side, where the Democrats and the Political Action Committee often camped together, there also is a claim of victory in that much restrictive legislation was blocked. A dozen bills on wages and housing never reached the floor of either house.<sup>171</sup>

The evenly divided political membership in the House meant that legislation favored by one party or the other had difficult sledding through the various committees. Furthermore, many of the Democrats were new to the legislative process, and were not as productive as they might have been. The result of all this was that by the session's end on May 3, the number of bills passed was only half of those passed in 1945.<sup>172</sup>

Historian Dr. Donald D. Johnson noted that the 1947 legislature was rather short-sighted. He said it

raised the salaries of public employees, including those of the City-County, to take into account changes in the cost of living. Since members of the legislature, and of the community in general, continued to think of the wartime and post-war inflationary trend as temporary, a flat bonus...per month was voted, instead of a general upward revision of the salary schedule.<sup>173</sup>



Commenting on the lack of productivity of the 1947 session, Johnson said that it "saw a massive amount of tinkering with the structure of local government with remarkably little in the way of solid achievement."<sup>174</sup>

Reviewing the twenty-fourth session of the House of Representatives in which he served with Fong, a major Democratic political leader of Oriental ancestry characterized Fong as "competent, tough, but fair."<sup>175</sup> In this legislator's eyes and those of most of his colleagues (especially those of non-caucasian ancestry), Fong had stood up to the volatile haole Senator Hill and had traded him, a member of his own Republican Party, blow for blow. In the rough and tumble days of the territorial legislature, Fong had clearly survived another term and had assumed a greater leadership position among his fellow solons. The public was of course advised of his power plays, the latest of which was the ice-boxing of the Public Utilities Commission bill in the House. Fong was becoming more and more knowledgeable about the use of legislative tactics to gain his ends, and thereby increase his own position of power.

#### Fong, Miho and Choy, Attorneys at Law

In the early part of 1947, Fong and Miho announced the addition of Herbert Y. C. Choy as a partner in their law firm, henceforth known as Fong, Miho and Choy. Choy was believed to be the first and only attorney of Korean ancestry in Hawaii at the time. A graduate of the University of Hawaii in 1938, he received his law degree from Harvard in 1941. He was briefly associated with the City and County of Honolulu Attorney's office until the attack on Pearl Harbor. He stayed in the U. S. Army from December 8, 1941 until December 7, 1946. In the latter part of his military career, he served as a captain in the military government in Japan and Korea.

When Fong, Miho and Choy was formed, it was believed to be the only inter-racial law firm in the United States, being composed of attorneys of Chinese, Japanese and Korean ancestry. The addition of Choy to the firm happened just as casually as when Katsuro Miho joined Fong. After Choy was discharged from his army duties, he telephoned Fong to learn what was happening in the legal community. Fong asked what his plans were and Choy said that he had not decided. Fong, once again making the kind of instant decisions that were becoming almost a trademark, said, "Well, why don't you join us?" After Fong was elected a Senator from Hawaii, he successfully nominated Choy as United States Circuit Judge.<sup>176</sup>

#### The Alakea Building

In between the biennial sessions of the Legislature, Fong was too preoccupied with business and legal work to give more than a cursory thought to politics. A few months after the closing of the Twenty-Fourth Legislature, Fong announced the grand opening of the Alakea Building at 197 South King Street (corner of King and Alakea Streets). The building was advertised as "completely renovated and is now open for your inspection. It's clean as a new penny and just as bright and well appointed....It's like a new building."<sup>177</sup>

Fong moved his law firm of Fong, Miho and Choy into Suite 202 from their old location at 77 Merchant Street. He also opened, with his brother-in-law Philip Lam, the Alakea Drug Store, described as

Honolulu's most up to date store...to supply all your drug store needs.

Our modern fountain offers the best in ice cream, sodas, banana splits, malted milks and other fountain delicacies. We are equipped to offer you the best in town....Order your favorite drink.

We will be open daily from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. We will offer regular breakfasts and luncheons at reasonable prices. Our endeavor is to provide good home cooked food, tastily prepared, in the cleanest, most sanitary method possible.<sup>178</sup>

Business was undoubtedly affected by the economic recession of the times. The Alakea Drug Store was ultimately phased out, because, as Fong later simply and succinctly put it, "We did not do well."<sup>179</sup>

Other tenants in the building in August 1947 were Raymond Nikaido (real estate); dentists Dr. Thomas Otake and Dr. Sam Otake; Mrs. Fong's half-brother, Dr. Alexander Yee and Dr. Wilbert Yee, Optometrists; the Orchid Beauty Salon; Yukio Kashiwa, Accountant; David K. Bent (real estate); and Ryan's Tavern (general dispenser).<sup>180</sup>

As Fong's other business activities expanded, spaces occupied by these businesses were taken over and converted into offices for the use of the parent company, Finance Factors, about which more is forthcoming. Currently, the Alakea-King Street site is headquarters for the Finance Factors' "family of businesses." The law firm was re-located across the street in the Pacific Trade Center.

### Market City, Ltd. Projects II and III

On Wednesday, May 5, 1948, the second project planned for Market City was opened. It was Foodland Supermarket, which had a retail selling area of 7,200 square feet and a warehouse area of 4,000 square feet. Billed as "A Shopper's Dream Come True," it was "designed and equipped with every modern facility to bring to you the greatest convenience and comfort in shopping." The 255 parking spaces were accessible from three streets: Kapiolani, Harding and Kaimuki Avenues.

Maurice J. Sullivan, president of Foodland, Ltd., commented that low prices would prevail throughout the week, not just on sale days.

It was noted that there were 22 self-service refrigeration boxes, the meat market ran the entire width of the building, and five checkout counters were provided. Foodland was also the first market to have uninterrupted music wired into the store by Muzak, Hawaii, for the pleasure of the shoppers. With Project No. 1, the drive-in which opened in June of 1947, having been successfully completed as well, Fong then turned his attention to Project No. 3. It was to be a building 120 feet long and 40 feet wide, having an area of 4,800 square feet on the Kapiolani Boulevard level and an equal number of square feet on the Kaimuki floor level. This building was to be occupied by a large fresh fish market; Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiian general merchandise stores; a florist, barber shop, hair dresser, and shoe stores. It was reported again that Royal Amusement Co., Ltd. had leased the planned 900 seat theatre, but this project was never carried out as previously noted. Other stores, however, did go into the new complex.<sup>181</sup>

#### Republican Party Conventions

The Republican Party of Hawaii had traditionally been represented at the national conventions and participated in the nomination of the presidential candidates although Hawaii's citizens had no vote in the national government. Historically, no Territory's vote had been decisive at either party's national convention. Hawaii's delegates to the Republican national convention were selected by territorial conventions according to the guidelines established by the rules committee of each convention. The national party recognized all the delegates on an at-large basis, although delegates were apportioned according to each county. One of Honolulu's positions, however, was traditionally reserved for the Delegate to Congress.

Representation in territorial conventions was by precincts, with each precinct entitled to one delegate for each 50 votes or major fraction thereof cast at the preceding general election for the Republican candidates for delegate to Congress. Nominations for delegates to the territorial convention were made on the first Thursday in May preceding the convention and by precinct meeting ballot on the second Saturday following the first Thursday in May. In national convention years, the territorial conventions had to be held at least 45 days prior to the date of the national convention.<sup>182</sup>

#### The Republican Convention in Hawaii, 1948

The Republicans in Hawaii were optimistic that there would be a Republican president elected in 1948, and were anticipating a resumption of their old political domination of the Islands. They elected Samuel King chairman of their April convention, with James P. Winne their National Committeeman and Mrs. Bina Mossman their National Committeewoman. The Party denounced communism and socialized medicine, supported statehood, and the closed primary system. Regardless of what the U.S. Congress would do regarding the pending 1948 statehood bill for Hawaii, the Republicans advocated a constitutional convention.<sup>183</sup>

Hawaii was permitted five delegates and five alternates to the national conclave held in Philadelphia on June 21, 1948. Fong was an alternate for Dr. Sau Yee Chang of Kauai. On April 15, Fong attempted to broaden the power base by suggesting the doubling of the G.O.P. convention list because so many persons were interested in attending. Fong suggested that the number of delegates be extended to ten, with each having one-half a vote. He indicated that a number of states followed that plan. James P. Winne ruled that suggestion out, saying

that while fractional votes were permitted at Democratic Party conventions, there was a very specific national Republican rule against it. The undaunted Fong said characteristically that "he may raise the question anyway at the territorial convention." However, no change was made in the number of Hawaii's delegates that year.<sup>184</sup> The Republican presidential nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, lost the election to the incumbent Harry S. Truman in an astounding upset.

#### The Republican Club in 1948-1950

By the end of 1948, the Republican Club was faced with mounting debts, running "four figures in the red each month" to maintain its large clubroom facilities, research staff, and the weekly radio program. While local businessmen and other backers had been willing to foot the bills when it seemed that a Republican governor would be appointed by a sympathetic administration in Washington, it was another matter when they were faced with a Democrat in power for four more years.<sup>185</sup> Accordingly, their donations fell off while the expenses continued. However, the Club was kept operational as such for another year and a half.

An entrepreneur by the name of Randolph Crossley came into party power in 1950. As one of his first aims, he vowed to rebuild the G.O.P. in Hawaii, beginning with the position of executive secretary. Mary Noonan resigned, and was replaced with Walter "Buster" McGuire for a short time. Crossley also instituted other changes, such as abolishing the Civic Forum of the Air effective June 30. The Republican Club was also renamed the Republican Party Headquarters.<sup>186</sup> Clearly, the Republican Party was being examined closely from within, with an eye

to keeping expenses down until more support could be engendered. But the old political machine would still be effective for another four years.

#### Labor and the Democratic Party

The C.I.O. Political Action Committee was dissolved following the 1947 Legislature. As for the 1948 election, it was announced by the union that their members would seek enrollment in the major political parties. This brought both "embarrassment and pleasure to the Hawaii Democratic Party." Democratic precinct clubs, many of them dormant for several years, were reorganized by labor leaders. This immediately brought an outcry from long-time Democrats who feared that the I.L.W.U. leadership was attempting to take control of the party. On Oahu, particularly, precinct club elections were disputed up to the time of the Territorial Democratic Convention, which was held on May 3, 1948. Several disputes had to be settled by the convention eligibility committee. While most of the new members of the Democratic Party were union-related, the I.L.W.U. did not take over the party as had been feared.<sup>187</sup>

#### 1948 Decision to Run

The pressures of a successful law practice were the primary reasons why Fong announced on August 24, 1948, that he would not stand for re-election. Rep. James Gilliland had already decided to leave the race. Their decisions left the G.O.P. with only one incumbent, Joseph Itagaki, running in the primary election from the Fifth District.<sup>188</sup>

Republican Party leaders and his brother Leonard urged Fong to run again. He decided to abide by their wishes and filed at the last minute.

In an explanatory statement, he said that his duty as a citizen took priority over the personal sacrifices involved.<sup>189</sup>

### The 1948 Campaign

While it can be speculated that Fong was bargaining for a position of power because of the lack of Republican candidates from his district, there was no doubt that his many business and legal responsibilities had increased greatly. Moreover, fraternal twins (Merie-Ellen, their first and only daughter, and Marvin-Allan, their third son) had been born to the Fongs on April 17, 1948. Mrs. Fong had had a difficult birth and a last-minute Caesarean section.<sup>190</sup> With four children for whom to provide, Fong felt he would not have time for politics. However, having made the decision to run again, he began campaigning in earnest and with characteristic vigor.

Fong's platform in 1949 reflected Hawaii's concerns:

Government assistance to promote new industries to provide NEW JOBS; Revision of Tax system; Modification of 2% and gross income tax; Increase of minimum wage; Wider coverage and increase of benefits under unemployment compensation law; 30-1 pupil teacher ratio; Alleviating housing shortage by releasing government lands for homesites; Re-study of civil service and classification.<sup>191</sup>

He advocated legislature support for Hawaii's tuna fishing industry, and for other "infant" industries to supplement the sugar and pineapple trade. He said,

Commercial fishing on a large scale is potentially the largest industry in Hawaii, but very little has been done about it so far....We must provide for a continued survey of fishing possibilities throughout the Pacific under the direction of the board of agriculture and forestry. We must provide schools for the training of youth for this work....I am for adequate support for our schools and for the appropriation of funds for worthwhile public work projects.<sup>192</sup>

In a clear reference to the statehood fight and to the Republican battle cry that Hawaii must immediately rid itself of any taint of



communist domination, Fong declared, rather prophetically,

At no time in our territorial history will the complexion of the legislature mean so much to the people of the territory and affect their welfare and happiness more than this session. The people of the United States are keenly interested as to whether we are an American community or not.<sup>193</sup>

As the primaries drew near, political statisticians noted that there were many firsts: (1) the largest number of voters--112,000; (2) the largest field of candidates, 118 plus 107 county candidates, totaling 225; (3) the first Republican primary fight for the delegate nomination to Congress in 20 years. Former Rep. Walter H. Dillingham ran against Joseph Farrington, the long-time favorite, at the last minute and in clear defiance of his own party chairman.<sup>194</sup>

The Fong campaign was again centered on the theme of "Experienced, capable, fair," with continual reference to his legislative experience. At a rally before the general election, Fong was the spokesman for G.O.P. candidates from his district. He told the more than 500 persons in attendance that there "never was a time in the history of Hawaii when teamwork has been more important" than it would be in the upcoming legislature of 1949. The unprecedented population growth in the Islands, the problems arising from the effects of the war and the raising of at least \$120,000,000 would require the legislators' best efforts. The 1949 legislature would be "overwhelmingly Republican," he said, and advised that "To bring to the 5th district the maximum appropriations and the maximum beneficial legislation, we must depend upon the party in power." He noted that the Republican "team" had a total of 26 years of legislative experience, compared to eight years for the Democrats. As for himself, Fong said, "The welfare of the people will be my guide-post."<sup>195</sup>

At another rally in Kalihi, Fong said, "the cold hard facts are that the Democrats would be unable to accomplish anything for you in the 1949 session."<sup>196</sup>

Suffering from a poor image resulting from the 1947 session, the Democrats used drastic means to increase their chances of winning. On October 31, 1948, an advertisement appeared in the afternoon newspaper, declaring, "Look what they did to Housing Bill!" It claimed that Reps. Fong, Akina and Porteus voted against Senate Bill 59 in the House, and that "A clique, backed by Big Interests, succeeded in beating it."<sup>197</sup>

Fong reacted in typical style, refuting the charges as made, and clarifying his stand on low-cost housing. He prepared a statement which appears in full below to provide insights to his thinking and mode of expression:

A paid political advertisement appeared in Saturday's edition of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin that I, together with Representatives Henry Akina, and Hebdon Porteus killed Senate Bill No. 59, which was designed to take surplus money from the Department of Public Welfare to build low cost houses.

This advertisement was written cleverly so that any reader seeing it would believe that the matter happened during the last legislative session and that the three of us were opposed to the building of low cost houses. Senate Bill No. 59 referred to in the advertisement was introduced in the session of 1941, seven years ago.

It seems that the opposition is pulling an old skeleton from the closet and it makes me happy to know that my record in the legislature since I was first elected in 1938 is unassailable except in this one respect. I am confident that from my answers the people will agree with me that I did my duty as a legislator.

I would like to say that I have always and will be always for low cost houses. I helped materially in passing House Joint Resolution No. 4 appropriating \$5,000,000 from the general funds to the Hawaii Housing Authority for the construction of low cost houses.

I would never vote for money for low cost houses if it is going to be used by the welfare department which has nothing to do with low cost houses. I always will vote for appropriations for low cost houses if administered by the proper authorities and if the money

comes from the general funds, and not from the welfare fund, as the welfare fund is assessed specifically to be used for welfare purposes only; that is, to take care of the needy, the sick, the blind and the helpless.

Senate Bill No. 59 was opposed by the council of Social Agencies in its letter to the legislature. The reasons which impelled my colleagues and me to vote against Senate Bill No. 59 are as follows. These reasons would be sufficient for me again to vote against such a bill should it come before the legislature at the next session:

1. The Hawaii Housing Authority and not the Department of Public Welfare is the logical commission for the construction and operation of low cost houses. The Hawaii Housing Authority in 1941 had already built Kamehameha Homes, Kalakaua Homes and was working on Fred Wright's Homes.
2. The Welfare Department is not equipped to operate such a housing project.
3. It is not right to take money specifically assessed for welfare purposes for the construction of low cost houses as it would be to build a library with taxes collected from the sale of gasoline, a tax assessed specifically for the maintenance of roads. To vote against such a bill would not brand the voter as against building libraries.
4. Diverting welfare money for capital expenditure would cause the territory to lose an equal amount of federal matched funds, because the federal government grants money only if it is used for welfare purposes.
5. There was only \$195,000 in surplus in the welfare fund as of October 1941. Wholesale discrimination was then practiced by the welfare director in granting relief. Some persons were granted only \$7 a month because, as he stated, their standard of living was low.

Others whom he favored, received \$40 a month when both did not receive any income from any sources and had to depend entirely upon welfare. Those receiving \$7 to \$15 a month far outnumbered those receiving \$15 and upward. These persons were actually receiving welfare sufficient just to keep them alive.

The director was directed by the legislature to use the surplus, through house resolution, to raise the minimum to at least \$15 a month, regardless of race.

6. We had anticipated that food costs would rise and that the surplus money would be used for that purpose. Today we have been proved right. The welfare department today is \$1,250,000 in the deficit. Mothers and children, the sick and the needy, are suffering because there is insufficient money in the welfare department to take care of their needs because the director of welfare had diverted money to other uses than welfare.<sup>198</sup> (emphasis added)

It can be seen that in this instance, as in others, Fong did not institute a confrontation. But having been tossed a challenge, and being situation-centered, he responded in considerable detail. He believed that his constituents trusted him to vote his conscience, and he acted from this source of strength. They saw that Fong had the force of his convictions, and seldom hesitated to proceed on those bases. This facet of his personality alone was appealing to many voters.

#### The Hawaii Education Association

The only union to consistently back him, Fong indicated, was the teachers' union. On September 24, 1948, a letter from James R. McDonough, Executive Secretary of the Hawaii Education Association, went out to members and to the Hawaii Congress of Parents and Teachers. The letter listed lawmakers in the previous session who had given "vigorous support to legislation effecting education in the 1947 session." While the letter did not go so far as to advocate the re-election of the solons named, the effect of such a guide was obvious. In addition to Fong, Representatives Ignacio (candidate for the Senate) and Sakakihara from East Hawaii; Bond, Richardson, and Nielsen of West Hawaii; Paschoal and Hanakahi of Maui; and Hayes, Porteus, Lee, and Kido of Oahu were listed. No person from Kauai was included.<sup>199</sup>

#### The 1948 Elections

In the 1948 primary election, Fong led the ticket from the Fifth district with 11,070 votes. Other winners included Kauhane (9,526); Itagaki (9,263); Mossman (8,824); Kido (8,723); Furtado (7,881); James Trask (7,363), followed by Henry Akina, Steere Noda, and others. In the Fourth District, Porteus led the ticket again, with 18,407 votes.<sup>200</sup>

In the general election of November 2, the Democratic Party showed great strength in the Fifth District, but was able to elect only 10 representatives and 6 senators in all. Fong and Itagaki were the only two Republicans elected from the Fifth District, with Fong receiving 13,177 votes and Itagaki 12,436. Democrat Kido led with 14,289, followed by Kauhane (13,608), Trask (12,425), and Noda (11,956).<sup>201</sup> Fong knew that the Republicans were glad that he had decided to run for re-election after all. The fact that he had to be coaxed publicly by party leaders to run, coupled with his strong showing in both the primary and general elections in a Democratic district, led him to make an important decision resulting in a series of critical and well-timed moves.

By 1948, Fong had learned many crucial, and, perhaps most importantly, practical lessons in the manipulation of power from both Republicans and Democrats. His courses in political science and law had been applied in political caucuses and on the floor of the House for four momentous sessions. Now he felt ready to assume a greater share of power for himself. While he may have felt prepared earlier, the realities of the political situation in 1947, where the House was evenly divided, dictated against any strategem working in his favor. As it was, he continued as his party's second-in-command.

The usual practice for political parties in Hawaii was to caucus no earlier than two weeks or 10 days prior to the opening of each biennial legislature for organizational purposes. It has been stated that the party having a strong majority could control every piece of legislation through selection of the key posts of Speaker, Vice-Speaker, and the various committee chairmen appointed by the Speaker. Following the strong showing of the Republicans in 1948, it was understood that

they would organize the House to their liking. Even the factions within the party were expected to conform to the leaders' wishes. However, they had no way of knowing that the task of organizing the House would be accomplished as quickly and without as much internal wrangling as might have been expected.

### The Speakership "Fight"

Chief contenders for the key post of Speaker were Fong and D. Hebden Porteus, Manuel Paschoal having decided to step aside. Immediately following the general election, both candidates barnstormed through the Islands looking for support. On November 16, it was reported that Porteus had been on Kauai, and that Fong had visited both Kauai and the Big Island. At that time, it was thought that both men were making a hard fight, with the outcome still in doubt. Porteus reportedly had the support of Paschoal of Maui and Marcallino of Kauai, while Fong was said to have gained the support of Sakakihara and a significant bloc of the Big Island delegation.<sup>202</sup>

Fong realized that his power base lay in the strength of the Neighbor Islands and Fifth District Republicans. It was highly unlikely that he could count on Oahu's Fourth District, which included the wealthier conservative Caucasian elements in areas such as Manoa, known to many as "silk stocking valley." Accordingly, Fong maintained excellent ties with his colleagues from the Big Island of Hawaii and Maui. It will be recalled that Thomas Sakakihara was not in the House in 1945. As chairman of the powerful judiciary committee, Fong was able to bring the Big Islander into the thick of legislation by making him clerk of the committee. Kauai went Democratic early in its history, but in 1949 there were three Republicans elected from the Garden Isle.

### The Kauai Inn Agreement

While the contenders ostensibly fought for votes, in actuality Fong had already achieved a major political coup. He and Porteus had agreed that they would abide by the decision of the majority of G.O.P.

Representatives. On November 11, 1948, at the Kauai Inn, ten of his fellow Republicans had assembled and signed the following pledge:

Realizing that an early organization of the House of Representatives for the legislative session of 1949 would help materially in the successful enactment of laws beneficial to the welfare of the people of the Territory of Hawaii, we, the undersigned duly elected Representatives of the Territory of Hawaii, ALFRED A. APAKA, JOE KEMOO ITAGAKI, THOMAS T. SAKAKIHARA, JOSEPH G. ANDREWS, JOE TAKAO YAMAUCHI, JOSEPH R. GARCIA, JR., ROBERT HIND, ESTHER K. RICHARDSON, NOBORU MIYAKE AND NORITO KAWAKAMI do hereby agree among ourselves, each, with the others, that we will vote together as a team for the election of the HONORABLE HIRAM L. FONG as SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES for the legislative session to be convened in February 1949.

IT IS SPECIFICALLY UNDERSTOOD that this Agreement will be binding and shall take effect only upon the signing by all of the representatives herein named.<sup>203</sup>

On November 27, Fong and his supporters claimed victory in the contest for speaker. They requested O. P. Soares, Republican Party Chairman, to call an early caucus so that pre-legislative work could begin quickly. As soon as the election returns were in Fong had favored early organization regardless of who was selected speaker.<sup>204</sup> Soares called an early Republican caucus for December 13 and 14, but intensive pre-caucus deliberations still went on.

Fong attended the caucus, armed with the "Kauai Inn Agreement," as the pledge became known. However, he could not very well ignore the Porteus faction of nine members, partly because they included the highly respected former Speaker, Manuel Paschoal. (It is very interesting to note that Fong did not receive Paschoal's backing at

this time, and it can be speculated that the Maui legislator was unhappy with Fong's part in the 1947 deadlock.) Should the nine refuse to be bound by the G.O.P. caucus and be sufficiently irred to seek the help of willing Democrats, or put Paschoal back in the race for the coveted post, there could have been a long and deadly stalemate reminiscent of the term just past. What would have made it worse was the fact that in 1948 the factions were not among opposing political forces, but confined within the ruling majority party.

While Porteus could muster nine votes, including his own, he decided not to embroil the party in a fight for the top spot. On December 13, Porteus announced that he was withdrawing from the race in the interest of party harmony. Thus Fong was assured of the Speakership without the battle which would have rent the party seriously.<sup>205</sup>

Bolstered by his knowledge that the party needed him to win in the Fifth District, and encouraged by the popular vote he received in both the primary and general elections, Fong displayed a keen sense of practical politics and a superior managerial ability in secretly organizing a group sufficient to grant him the speakership. It is to Hebden Porteus' immense credit, however, and for which the Republican Party was very grateful, that he was able to put his personal ambitions aside in the interests of party harmony.

When Porteus withdrew from a possible fight for the speakership, his backers indicated that if he were given the vice-speakership and made Republican floor leader they would support Fong. Fong expressed his gratitude, saying "I am very thankful and highly appreciative of Hebden Porteus' withdrawal and his offer to support me for the



speakership." However, he let it be known that he was pledged to Thomas Sakakihara for the vice-speakership. It had been customary for the secondary post to go to a representative from an island different from where the speaker resided, so Sakakihara was still very much in the running at that point. Porteus made no attempt to dictate to Fong the selection of committee chairmen. However, he wanted due consideration in the selection of the vice-speaker. He indicated that had the vote gone the other way, he would have offered the vice-speakership to Fong.<sup>206</sup>

The battle for Vice-Speaker was spirited, but some 30 hours later, Sakakihara withdrew from the race. Like Fong, Porteus had accumulated enough commitments to defeat his opponent. The latter thereupon withdrew with the same purpose which had motivated Porteus earlier: party harmony. Although the Democrats nominated Matsuki Arashiro for Vice-Speaker, Porteus won easily. In the end, all votes for Speaker and Vice-Speaker were made unanimous.<sup>207</sup>

#### Hebden Porteus and Party Harmony

A clue to Porteus' political philosophy can be seen from a statement which he had made two years earlier, when Manuel Paschoal had not yet made up his mind to run for the speakership. It had been conjectured at that time that Fong had received assurances of Paschoal's backing should the latter not run. Porteus himself was also a strong candidate for the top position. However, unlike the aggressive Fong, Porteus insisted on Republican Party harmony, particularly when the two political forces were evenly matched. He said, "the main thing is for the GOP members to get together and settle the house organization without a fight."<sup>208</sup>

In 1948 Soares reminded the members of the caucus that it was understood that the ten Democrats should be recognized by membership on the various committees. However, he cautioned, it was very important that the actual control of all committees be retained by the party in power, namely, the Republicans. He stated,

I feel that the people of the Territory have clearly shown that they favor the Republican way of doing things. We all know what happened when the Democrats held 15 of the 30 house votes. It was a mess. There is no doubt but that the people felt that this situation should be changed.<sup>209</sup>

The Republicans added two additional committees in order for each Republican to be in line for appointment as chairman of some committee, except for the speaker and vice-speaker. Eighteen committees were agreed upon, on which it was believed the Democrats would be given equitable representation.<sup>210</sup>

NOTES  
CHAPTER VII

- <sup>1</sup>Honolulu Star Bulletin [HSB], 1 September 1944, p. 5.
- <sup>2</sup>HSB, 31 October 1944, p. 8.
- <sup>3</sup>HSB, 3 October 1944, p. 11.
- <sup>4</sup>HSB, 5 October 1944, p. 3.
- <sup>5</sup>HSB, 6 October 1944, p. 6.
- <sup>6</sup>HSB, 9 October 1944, p. 9.
- <sup>7</sup>HSB, 2 November 1944, p. 8.
- <sup>8</sup>HSB, 3 November 1944, p. 11.
- <sup>9</sup>HSB, 9 November 1944, p. 8. See also Official Tabulation, 1944.
- <sup>10</sup>Labor's Political Action Committee, [Flyer] (Honolulu: 1944).  
Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>11</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 98.
- <sup>12</sup>HSB, 14 October 1944, p. 4.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup>HSB, 19 October 1944, p. 4.
- <sup>16</sup>HSB, 20 October 1944, p. 4.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup>HSB, 27 October 1944, p. 4.
- <sup>20</sup>HSB, 6 November 1944, p. 6.
- <sup>21</sup>Honolulu Advertiser [HA], 10 November 1944, editorial page.
- <sup>22</sup>Hawaii Chinese Journal [HCJ], 9 November 1944, p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid.

- <sup>24</sup>Kam Tai Lee, Telephone interview, 16 January 1980.
- <sup>25</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 15 January 1980.
- <sup>26</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. House of Representatives. Journal, 1945, p. 1036. Hereafter cited as Hse. Jnl.
- <sup>27</sup>HA, 18 April 1945, p. 1.
- <sup>28</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, pp. 1059-1060.
- <sup>29</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 15 January 1980.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup>HCJ, 19 April 1945, p. 1.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup>HCJ, 19 June 1952, p. 1.
- <sup>34</sup>HSB, 5 May 1949, p. 3.
- <sup>35</sup>Jack Hall, Letter to Louis Goldblatt, 23 October 1944. Courtesy of Dr. Edward Beechert.
- <sup>36</sup>United States. General Services Administration, "Statement of Service," issued 2 May 1979.
- <sup>37</sup>HSB, 14 February 1945, p. 5.
- <sup>38</sup>HSB, 18 November 1944, p. 2.
- <sup>39</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949, Vol. I, p. x.
- <sup>40</sup>HSB, 18 November 1944, p. 2.
- <sup>41</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup>HSB, 20 February 1945, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, p. 4.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 5.
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 6.
- <sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- <sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

- <sup>50</sup>HSB, 22 February 1945, pp. 1,4.
- <sup>51</sup>HSB (?), 27 (?) February 1945. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>52</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. Senate. Journal, 1945, pp. 129, 427. Hereafter cited as Sen. Jnl.
- <sup>53</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, p. 1615.
- <sup>54</sup>Sen. Jnl., 1945, p. 958.
- <sup>55</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 10 October 1979.
- <sup>56</sup>Sen. Jnl., 1945, p. 530.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 556.
- <sup>58</sup>Gerry Burtnett, "Labor Against 'Little Wagner Act' Enactment," HA, 24 April 1945, p. 1.
- <sup>59</sup>Sen. Jnl., 1945, p. 956.
- <sup>60</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 356-357.
- <sup>61</sup>HLF, 24 August 1977.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>63</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>64</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, p. 708.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 1762.
- <sup>66</sup>HLF, 20 April 1977.
- <sup>67</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, p. 567.
- <sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 1588.
- <sup>69</sup>HA, 29 April 1945, pp. 1, 7.
- <sup>70</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, pp. 1677-1678.
- <sup>71</sup>Elaine Fogg, "Spirited Debate Sparks Session of House Group," HA, 6 April 1945, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>72</sup>Elaine Fogg, "'Library' Bill Draws Caustic House Retorts," HA, 10 April 1945, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>73</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, pp. 908, 1694, 1714, 1724-1725.
- <sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 1445-1452.

- <sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 1364.
- <sup>76</sup>HA, 1 May 1945, p. 5.
- <sup>77</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup>HSB, 2 May 1945, p. 1.
- <sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>80</sup>HSB, 1 May 1945, p. 4.
- <sup>81</sup>HA, 6 May 1945, p. 8.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>83</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1945, p. 1924.
- <sup>84</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 24 September 1979.
- <sup>85</sup>HSB, 5 May 1945, p. 4.
- <sup>86</sup>Paul Beam, "Politics, Hawaiian Style," Paradise of the Pacific, 58, No. 12 (December 1946), 44.
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 45.
- <sup>88</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>90</sup>HCJ, 13 September 1945, Special insert.
- <sup>91</sup>James Shoemaker, "Business and Commerce in Hawaii," in The Kamehameha Schools 75th Anniversary Lectures (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1965), pp. 74-75.
- <sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 75.
- <sup>93</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 11 May 1977.
- <sup>94</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>95</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup>HSB, 4 March 1946, p. 16.
- <sup>97</sup>HSB, 1 April 1946, p. [20].
- <sup>98</sup>HSB, 10 August 1946, unpagged. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>99</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 15 January 1980.

- <sup>101</sup>Shoemaker, op. cit., pp. 74-75.
- <sup>102</sup>HSB, 27 August 1946, p. 1.
- <sup>103</sup>HSB, 30 August 1946, p. 10.
- <sup>104</sup>HSB, 31 August 1946, p. 4.
- <sup>105</sup>HSB, 2 October 1946, p. 3.
- <sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 2.
- <sup>107</sup>HSB, 5 October 1946, p. 2.
- <sup>108</sup>HSB, 7 October 1946, p. 4.
- <sup>109</sup>HSB, 2 November 1946, p. 10.
- <sup>110</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>111</sup>HSB, 2 November 1946, p. 11.
- <sup>112</sup>HSB, 4 November 1946, p. 12.
- <sup>113</sup>HSB, 5 November 1946, p. 2.
- <sup>114</sup>HSB, 6 November 1946, p. 1.
- <sup>115</sup>All About Hawaii, 1947-1948, pp. 46-47.
- <sup>116</sup>HSB, 22 January 1947, p. 4.
- <sup>117</sup>HA, 19 February 1947, p. 1.
- <sup>118</sup>Ibid. See also Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 3.
- <sup>119</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 1.
- <sup>120</sup>HA, 21 February 1947, p. 1, 6.
- <sup>121</sup>HA, 6 March 1947, p. 6.
- <sup>122</sup>HA, 7 March 1947, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>123</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 21.
- <sup>124</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 5 February 1980.
- <sup>125</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 50.
- <sup>126</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>127</sup>Lawrence Nakatsuka, "Kauhane, Fong in Fist Fight," HSB, 8 March 1947, pp. 1-2.

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- 130 Nakatsuka, "Kauhane, Fong in Fist Fight."
- 131 HSB, 8 March 1947, p. 1.
- 132 D. Hebden Porteus, Recorded interview, 18 April 1980.
- 133 Nakatsuka, "Kauhane, Fong in Fist Fight."
- 134 Lawrence Nakatsuka, "Behind the Deadlock," Pacific Features and Sports, 5, No. 4 (July 1947), p. 5.
- 135 Ibid., p. 17.
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- 137 Nakatsuka, "Behind the Deadlock," p. 17.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 47.
- 141 Nakatsuka, "Behind the Deadlock," p. 17.
- 142 Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 62.
- 143 Nakatsuka, "Behind the Deadlock," p. 17.
- 144 HLF, Telephone interview, 22 January 1980.
- 145 HLF, Telephone interview, 21 January 1980.
- 146 HLF, 22 January 1980.
- 147 HA (?), 9 January 1948. Courtesy of HLF files.
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- 150 Hse Jnl., 1947, p. v.
- 151 Sen. Jnl., 1947, p. 224.
- 152 HA, 23 April 1947, pp. 1, 6.
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- 156 HA, 24 April 1947, p. 1.
- 157 HSB, 29 April 1947, pp. 1, 8.
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- 160 Ibid.
- 161 HA, 4 May 1947, p. 1.
- 162 HSB, 5 May 1947, p. 4.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 Sen. Jnl., 1947, p. 1196.
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- 170 Hse. Jnl., 1947, p. 1409.
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- 172 HA, 5 May 1947, pp. 1, 5.
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- 175 Anonymous statement, July 1978.
- 176 Herbert Y. C. Choy, Recorded interview, 14 February 1979. See also Men and Women of Hawaii, 1972, p. 113.
- 177 HSB, 15 August 1947, full page advertisement.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 HLF, Recorded interview, 6 July 1977.

- <sup>180</sup>HSB, 15 August 1947.
- <sup>181</sup>HSB, 6 May 1948, pp. 24-25.
- <sup>182</sup>Daniel Tuttle, "Hawaii's Delegates to the 1952 National Political Conventions," in Papers on Hawaiian Politics, 1952-1966 (Honolulu: Dept. of Political Science, University of Hawaii, June 1966), p. 8.
- <sup>183</sup>All About Hawaii, 1948-1949, p. 225.
- <sup>184</sup>HSB, 15 April 1948, p. 5.
- <sup>185</sup>HSB, 20 November 1948, p. 2.
- <sup>186</sup>HA, 18 June 1950, pp. 1, 15.
- <sup>187</sup>All About Hawaii, 1948-1949, p. 227.
- <sup>188</sup>HSB, 26 August 1948, p. 3.
- <sup>189</sup>HSB, 3 September 1948, p. 6.
- <sup>190</sup>Ellyn Lo Fong, Recorded interview, 4 May 1977.
- <sup>191</sup>HSB, 1 November 1948, p. 17.
- <sup>192</sup>HA, 28 October 1948, p. 1. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>193</sup>HSB, 3 September 1948, p. 6.
- <sup>194</sup>HSB (?), 1 October 1948. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>195</sup>HSB, 19 October 1948, p. 4.
- <sup>196</sup>HA (?), 20 October 1948, p. 1 (?). Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>197</sup>HA, 31 October 1948, p. 11.
- <sup>198</sup>HSB, 1 November 1948, pp. 1, 8.
- <sup>199</sup>James R. McDonough, Letter from Hawaii Education Association to members and to the Hawaii Congress of Parents and Teachers, 24 September 1948. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>200</sup>HSB, 4 October 1948, p. 1.
- <sup>201</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Office of the Secretary of Hawaii, Official Tabulation, 1948.
- <sup>202</sup>HSB, 16 November 1948, p. 25.
- <sup>203</sup>HA, 28 November 1948, pp. 1, 10.

204 HSB, 27 November 1948, p. 1.

205 Harry Stroup, "Porteus Won't Seek Speakership; Fong Election Sure," HA, 14 December 1948, pp. 1, 6.

206 Ibid.

207 Hse. Jnl., 1949 Regular Session, p. 8.

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209 Harry Stroup, "GOP Sets up House Rule; No Disputes," HA, 16 December 1948, pp. 1, 8.

210 Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII1949-1950The 1949 Regular Session Opens

Following immediately upon opening day ceremonies, replete with music, singing, and the hula, Democratic Kauhane offered a resolution challenging the qualifications of two G.O.P. members. It was believed that his strategy was to question Fong and Rep. Jack King who had been cited for failing to file general election expense accounts on time, but he did not name them specifically.<sup>1</sup> Fong quickly moved for a recess, and when the members tramped back into session, Kauhane withdrew his resolution "on technicalities." Fong did not comment specifically on the alleged attempt of the Democrats to question his eligibility and the work of organization proceeded smoothly.<sup>2</sup>

Fong Elected Speaker

The formalities making Fong Speaker reflected a sense of dramatics. Placed in nomination for Speaker by Rep. Porteus, Fong's name was seconded by five other representatives representing all the voting districts. Rep. Kauhane nominated Rep. Nielsen. The historic proceedings went as follows:

Mr. Porteus moved that those answering "Aye" on Roll Call be counted as voting for Mr. Fong, and that those voting "No" be counted as voting for Mr. Nielsen.

Mr. Paschoal moved that the motion be amended to provide that the vote be taken by roll call and each member's announcing the name of the one for whom he desired to vote. This motion was seconded by Mr. Apaka, and Mr. Porteus accepting the amendment to his motion, the amended motion was put and carried unanimously.

At their request, Mr. Fong and Mr. Nielsen were excused from voting.

The roll was called with the following result: For Mr. Fong: Andrews, Apaka, Garcia, Hayes, Hind, Ichinose, Itagaki, Kawakami, King, Lydgate, Marcallino, McGuire, Miyake, Olds, Paschoal, Porteus, Richardson, Yamauchi and Mr. Temporary Chairman. Total, 19.

For Mr. Nielsen: Arashiro, Ezell, Kauhane, Kido, Noda, Pule, Seong, Tagawa and Trask. Total, 9.

Excused: Fong and Nielsen, Total, 2.

On motion by Mr. Kauhane, seconded by Mr. Ezell, and unanimously carried, the election of Mr. Fong as Speaker was made unanimous.

The Temporary Chairman appointed Mrs. Hayes, of the Fourth Representative District, and Mrs. Richardson, of the Second Representative District, to escort the newly elected Speaker to the Chair.

Escorted by Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Richardson, the Speaker took the Chair amidst loud and continual applause, which having subsided he thereupon addressed the members as follows:

Honorable Members of the House of Representatives:

I wish to thank you for the honor you have bestowed upon me this morning. I fully realize that accompanying this honor, are the manifold duties and grave responsibilities of this office. Hence, it is with the greatest of humility and may I say, with some degree of anxiety and probably a little trembling that I am now assuming this honored position as your Speaker.

I take courage, however, in the fact that I have served with many of you for several sessions and have worked harmoniously with you throughout that period in the interest of good government.

I take courage also, in that I have been assured by all of you, both old and new members, that I will receive from you the greatest of cooperation.

I am confident that with such assurances from you, political differences, if any do exist will be held subservient to the public welfare. I know that every bill, resolution and request will receive from you the greatest of consideration, that each bill and resolution will pass or fail on its own merit or demerit and that you will carry out your duties as legislators with credit.

I would like to commend all of you for your fine work in your quick organization of this House and for the interest and seriousness you have shown in studying the problems of legislation since the General Election. Many of you have at your own expense visited the various government departments and conferred with those in charge relative to the needs of this Territory. This preliminary study will prove invaluable during the session.

We who have been elected to serve this session, do fully realize that never before has any group of legislators of this Territory been faced with as many grave problems as we are now being confronted with--problems of raising a record sum to meet a record budget, mitigating unemployment, destitution and housing, and problems in meeting the multitudinous demands to increase all types of benefits.

Hawaii is on the threshold of Statehood. Although the decision to make Hawaii a state lies with the National Congress, nevertheless, it is the responsibility of this House not to slacken in any degree, our efforts to aid our delegate, Joseph R. Farrington, in his persistent and splendid fight to make this Territory a sovereign state.

How we legislate on the problems which will come before us will materially affect the future of this Territory for many years to come. Because we are faced with these grave and perplexing problems, we have the greatest opportunity for doing good. Towards this end, I pledge to you my sincerest and honest efforts to work with you for all program[s] of progressive and constructive legislation. I shall do my utmost to fulfill every requirement and every duty of the office of Speaker and do hope that at the end of our session, you will be satisfied with the selection you have made today.

I am happy that in our efforts to work out solutions and answers, we will not be alone. We will have cooperating with us, our brothers across the hallway, the Honorable Members of the Senate, to which body we pledge our cooperation. We will have cooperating with us, his Excellency, the Governor, to whom we also pledge our cooperation, and we will have the cooperation of the good people of this Territory who have reposed their faith, their hope and their trust in us as their representatives. With their help, with a sincere and honest desire on our part to do what is right and to do what is good, and God willing, I have every faith that this session will reflect with honor and credit your accomplishments as true Representatives of the people.

Previous to the delivery of Mr. Fong's address, the Temporary Chairman requested Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Richardson to escort Mrs. Hiram L. Fong to a seat on the dais.<sup>3</sup>

### Community Reaction

Fong's selection as Speaker of the House, the first for a person of his ethnic group, was emphasized by the normally a-political Hawaii Chinese Journal. Noting that "In One Generation," Fong became "an example of Democratic America's Story of Success," the newspaper that

represented over 30,000 ethnic Chinese in Hawaii recounted his struggle for an education and increasing success in business, law, and politics.

It was noted that at the time of his elevation, Attorney Fong was also a partner in Alakea Drug Store, president of Market City Ltd., president of Ocean View Cemetery, secretary of Jack Sin Tong Society, and secretary of Marks, Ltd. He was a member of the Y.M.C.A., the Bar Association, McKinley and Harvard Alumni groups, and the Commercial Associates club which was then composed of 20 graduates of McKinley High School.<sup>4</sup>

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin reported that "Fong, War Vet, of Chinese Blood" was the first Speaker of the Hawaii House of Representatives of "pure Chinese ancestry." But it also noted that "Hiram is American by birth, education and experience as a veteran of World War II." Previously, the House had had a part-Chinese speaker, Rep. Herbert N. Ahuna of Hilo, who served in 1933.<sup>5</sup>

#### "Reprisal" for Democratic Challenge

Nearly all ten Democrats had signed the resolution challenging Fong's eligibility. It had been offered by Kauhane but was said to have been authored by another Fifth District Democrat. However, it was quickly withdrawn before anyone else had a chance to see it.<sup>6</sup> The Democrats soon had reason to be sorry for their action. Fong had appeared to pass it off lightly, calling it "horseplay," but the next day, without warning, the new Speaker removed the Democrats from 20 committee assignments. The move was so sudden it dazed many Republicans as well as the Democrats. The Democrats had no seats on five committees, including the important finance committee, and each had seats on only two committees. In contrast, Rep. Sakakihara was on seven committees,

more than any other member. When the new committee assignments were announced, Kauhane objected, but Fong ruled him out of order for the reason that there was nothing before the House and because the "appointment of committees rests solely with the Speaker."<sup>7</sup>

Later, he advised a reporter that the altered committee appointments were "temporary and I can change them or add to them later." Asked if he intended to do this, Fong replied, "That depends," indicating that committee posts would be held out as plums to Democrats who kept in line. The Democrats were obviously upset not only with the Republican speaker, but also with their own leadership, who had not made it clear before the resolution was offered that two Oahu Democrats in turn could have been challenged for having run for office from one district while holding residence in another district.<sup>8</sup>

Fong's troubles with the late Roy Vitousek were recalled following the removal of the insurgents from "the committee he thought the Democrat would most like to be on." It was noted that now that he's in the "driver's seat," he was maintaining legislative discipline by "meting out the same kind of discipline he once got." Fong thought his action was justified. "The people elected the Republicans to power. We've got to take the responsibility for what's done. And if they are going to harass us all the time, we have got to do something about it so we can get the work done."<sup>9</sup>

It was obvious that Fong felt the Legislature's problems with passing laws during the 1945 and 1947 sessions were caused by many Democratic tactics to scuttle the Republican legislative program. As Speaker, it would be his duty to carry out the "must" legislation the party had so carefully prepared in advance of the session. The fact



that this was his first term as Speaker also must have added to his concern about control of the members.

A volunteer Democratic lawyers' committee on legislation protested officially to Fong in a letter signed by 12 attorneys, reminding him that his action denied the people who had voted for Democrats their representation in the lower chamber. Many Republicans also opposed his action.<sup>10</sup>

By the end of February, however, Fong felt that he had received "wonderful cooperation" from the Democrats, and returned the Democrats to their earlier committees. He stated that "I believe the time has come when we must get down to the serious discussion of bills." He also said that the letter from Democratic lawyers had not figured in his decision. The Democrats had reported that the Republicans in a policy meeting had a "big squabble" on the matter, with some insisting that as a matter of "fair play" the minority group should have more committee posts.<sup>11</sup>

#### John A. Burns

It is a little noticed fact that John Anthony Burns, who became head of the Democratic Party in Hawaii, was instrumental in the achievement of statehood as Hawaii's Delegate to Congress, and later Governor of Hawaii from 1962 until 1974, enjoyed a patronage position under Fong's first administration as Speaker of the Republican-dominated House of Representatives in 1949. The Democrats had been promised a paid clerk by the majority party. Burns had been slated to fill it. He was then Chairman of the Oahu Democratic County Committee. However, for a time, it seemed that the post would be lost to the Democrats.

Following Kauhane's abortive attempt to unseat Fong on the opening day of the session, Fong, in addition to removing many Democrats from committee assignments in apparent reprisal, also denied the minority their clerk's position. The only Democrat provided with a clerk was Kauhane, by virtue of his position as Democratic floor leader. Kauhane employed his wife as clerk.

Then came the turnabout. Two weeks into the session, he announced that the Democrats would be given additional seats on committees, and also approved the employment of "Jack Burns" as clerk for the minority party. The Democrats were overjoyed at this development and Rep. James Trask rushed to shake the Speaker's hand.<sup>12</sup>

Burns was employed at \$15.00 per day for 79 days, earning a total of \$1,185 for the session.<sup>13</sup> In later years, Fong said that he did not recall that Burns was the person hired as clerk for the Democratic minority members. He said that once the decision was made to let the Democrats have such a position, he characteristically ignored the details. While the Republicans had to approve the payroll, he did not care whom the Democrats hired. He was aware of Mrs. Kauhane's employment, however.<sup>14</sup>

By giving the Democrats back their original assignments, and then adding an extra gift in the hiring of Burns, Fong reinforced his image of being "tough but fair." By rescinding punishment and surprising the opposition with an unexpected bonus, Fong apparently sought to erase any negative, or autocratic impressions he may have made earlier. To the outside viewer, his attitude appeared paternalistic. This was in keeping with his Chinese training, where in the home the father meted out punishment to erring children. Also, in many Chinese families, when the

punishment period was over, a sweetmeat of some kind from their parents would let the children know that they were forgiven.

#### The Pari-Mutuel Bill is Again Defeated

The Senate attempted to pass horse race gambling legislation again, by introducing S.B. 660. In an executive session of the house judiciary committee, Fong and Porteus, ex-officio members, voted with three others not to report the bill out for house action. The extraordinary move was the first time either man had exercised his prerogative to vote in committees in the 1949 session, underlining their strong opposition to the gambling proposal. While the bill might have gone to the floor of the House, where it was highly unlikely that House members would have passed it, Fong and Porteus' surprise votes ensured the bill's defeat. One might speculate whether this was "overkill," but the fact of the matter was that neither wished for any split among pro and con factions which might erupt in the closing days of the session.

Still the upper house persisted, tacking on to Rep. Sakakihara's transportation bill (H.B. 1037) the pari-mutuel gambling amendment. Rather than letting it go on for further action, Sakakihara moved to kill his own bill rather than to see the gambling rider incorporated. The House effectively stymied the Senate again, which was not surprising in light of the great outpouring of letters and communications from the general public opposing horse racing and gambling.<sup>15</sup>

#### Language Schools

During World War II, the foreign language schools had been closed, partly because it was thought that undemocratic or un-American principles were being taught the youngsters, most of whom had been born in Hawaii and

were therefore American citizens. Following the war, agitation for the various ethnic groups to assimilate more quickly into the mainstream of American life came from all quarters, including the Americans of Chinese ancestry. Responding to this concern, Fong introduced H.B. 1000, a bill signed by 25 other legislators, to impose strict controls upon language schools in Hawaii.

Terms of the measure provided that no child who has not "graduated from the second grade in public school or its equivalent" should be taught a foreign language in any school for more than five hours, including assigned homework, in a calendar week. It was felt that

the excessive study and persistent use of foreign languages by children of average intelligence in their early and formative years definitely detract from their ability properly to understand and assimilate their normal studies in the English language ...[such study] in many cases, cause serious emotional disturbances, conflicts, and maladjustments.

Originally the bill contained a clause that no teacher should teach anything contrary to the principles of democracy, but this was deleted in the Senate, and the House agreed. The Governor signed it into law as Act 72 on April 25, 1949.<sup>16</sup>

### Banking Bills

Existing banking laws in Hawaii kept out "foreign" banks like the Bank of America from conducting any but minor transactions. Some House members were concerned that Hawaii's two largest banks, the Bank of Hawaii and the Bishop National Bank, held "the economic life of the territory in their hands." Rep. Ichinose introduced H.B. No. 413, permitting "foreign" banks to do business in Hawaii. Another bill dealing with "foreign" banks was Rep. Nielsen's H.B. No. 660. Later Rep. Sakakihara introduced H.B. No. 757, liberalizing the banking laws

by making it easier for persons to start banks, but, as a safeguard, raising the amount of capitalization required.<sup>17</sup>

Being concerned about the possible impact of such legislation on the community, Fong asked for a public hearing on the matter. Local banks might be driven out of business by outside banks with their tremendous capital; there was also fear that they might create a monopoly. Fong added, "We want to know how much money they will take out of the territory." On the other hand, he said, if the legislators felt that Hawaii's banks were unnecessarily strict in their credit, thereby thwarting business expansion, "We would like to get an idea as to what steps will be taken by local banks to insure a steady expansion of our business possibilities."<sup>18</sup>

The judiciary committee held a hearing, at which E. W. Carden, president of the Bank of Hawaii; George S. Waterhouse, president of the Bishop National Bank; and Jen Fui Moo, of the American Security Bank, all testified in opposition to the bills. Territorial Treasurer William E. Brown stated that the bills favored the so-called "foreign" banks over the local ones.

Fong asked the three bankers if they were tightening up loans at the time. Each pointed out how loans were increasing while deposits were decreasing. Carden, however, admitted that bankers were becoming "more choosy" but would not be changing his bank's 50-year policy to be "helpful." Moo felt that banks were becoming "more selective" in making loans because of general business economic conditions. He indicated there was "no banking monopoly in Hawaii," but added, "We must protect our economy."<sup>19</sup> Their opposition was successful. All bills regarding foreign banks were placed on file.<sup>20</sup> But Fong's concern

for investment money remained. We shall see that he later began an industrial loan company with seed money from several sources, including funds from the Bank of America.

### More Protectionist Moves

Consistent with his on-going concern about job opportunities for Hawaii's people, Fong assailed the practice of hiring territorial government help on the mainland. The civil service commission director had reported that some 165 persons had been hired in various expert capacities without the required three-year Hawaii residence qualification laid down by statute. Some came directly from the mainland, while others had resided in Hawaii for periods ranging from a few days to two years. The positions included veterinary pathologists, librarians, hospital cooks, domestic attendants in hospitals, stenographers, store clerks, supervisors in the Department of Public Instruction, as well as personnel recruiting executives, investment analysts, physicians, and many others.<sup>21</sup>

Speaking from the speaker's dais, Fong said,

This report goes to the finance committee. I notice quite a few classifications that could have been filled by local people. The finance committee is instructed to look into this matter more thoroughly, call in department heads for questioning and withhold appropriations if necessary. There is a criminal statute against employing officers who hire in violation of the statutes. The finance committee will contact the attorney general if necessary.<sup>22</sup>

He was particularly critical of the welfare department in importing mainland welfare workers, adding,

If the type of welfare expenditures that we are giving the department is the result of the importation of highly trained technical people, which the director claims we do not have, then it is time that we resurvey the qualifications of our social workers.<sup>23</sup>

### "Closed Primary" Bill

Among the most far-reaching pieces of legislation passed during Fong's first term as Speaker was the "closed primary" bill. While both political parties had included it in their election platforms for 1949 and Governor Ingram Stainback had advocated it as well, many legislators actually were not in favor of it. Many more opposed it than voted against it, so it was expected that some adroit parliamentary procedures would keep it from becoming law.

The bill provided that voters mark their ballots only for candidates of the same party or only for nonpartisan candidates. In other words, the voters could no longer vote for the person of their choice, regardless of party affiliation. While favored by leaders of both parties, only the following Republicans introduced it on February 23 as H.B. No. 322: Reps. Itagaki, Apaka, King, Lydgate, Andrews, Ichinose, Marcallino and Olds. Several petitions were received from citizens urging passage of the bill. On April 13, Fong voted with the 17 to 13 majority to pass an amendment offered by Sakakihara to put the matter to a plebiscite. The following day, Fong and 16 others beat down another amendment, and the bill passed third reading and was sent to the Senate.<sup>24</sup>

The House's plebiscite provision seemed to doom the bill. Thus, passage was seen as only a token in the minds of the House majority. The Senate, feeling secure that the House would refuse to accept any change in the bill, voted to eliminate the plebiscite amendment. They thought the bill would die in conference committee. Kauhane moved to disagree with the Senate version, and Fong voted with the minority vote

of 13 to 17 not to accept it as revised by the upper house. Fong also voted against passage, but the vote lost 12 to 18.<sup>25</sup>

Backers of the bill, particularly the party leaders who saw it as being a way to make elected officials more responsive to their respective parties, had managed to get enough votes changed so that the House accepted the Senate version--to the surprise and chagrin of many senators. The bill was rushed to the Governor. The next day, the Senate recovered itself somewhat, and passed a resolution recalling the bill from the Chief Executive. But it did not act on the bill for more than three hours after it was introduced. The delay was fatal. In the interim, Governor Stainback signed the bill into law as Act 51. The senators passed the resolution anyway, but it was only a gesture. The Legislature was stuck with the new law, because any action to repeal it was thought to be useless since the Governor probably would veto it.<sup>26</sup>

The Republican Party was responsible for the acceptance of the Senate version of the bill. Just before the final votes were taken, Party officials circulated a letter among their House members which read:

The executive committee of the Republican party in Hawaii feels very strongly our party's obligation to provide a closed primary for the nomination of candidates for public office.

To the Republican members of the Legislature who have supported the party's plank on the subject we take this opportunity of expressing our satisfaction, and to state that we confidently rely upon you to remain steadfast in your stand.

To all Republicans in the house we urge that you concur in the amendments to House Bill 322 as proposed by the senate.

To be very blunt about it, it has been indicated to us in no uncertain terms that the party is not keeping faith with the people, and in this they are correct, because it is quite apparent that those of you who do not support the measure will have actually broken a pledge to the party and to the people of the territory.<sup>27</sup>



Those in opposition had several reasons for not wanting passage: Some said it would open the way to "machine politics," thereby hurting the Territory; some felt the opposition party would be given an edge, thereby hurting their own party; others, the "independents" like Fong who had drawn their support from both parties, realized they themselves would be hurt. Yet both party platforms had favored it.<sup>28</sup> It was the solons' reluctance to openly flout their own platforms that got the bill passed, and it was the quick signature of the Governor that kept it that way.

The reason for Stainback's speedy action has never been answered to anyone's complete satisfaction. The attorney general worked at record speed to determine if the bill was sound, and finding it so, sent it to the Governor's residence for signature. The attorney general would not comment on the reasons for his haste, and it was reported that Mary Noonan of the Republican Club denied she had any part in it. It was also reported that the Governor took the initiative himself, being disgusted by the great number of legislators (including those who had voted for the bill) who had come to him, seeking his veto of it.<sup>29</sup>

Fong said that he could see the Republicans losing public support because of the closed primary bill. The Democrats were gaining political expertise, as well as increasing with the population growth. Yet the old guard Republicans could not, or would not, see the dangers inherent in forcing the average voter to make a choice between the party favored by the working class and that of the oligarchy. He said that he told Mary Noonan and other party leaders of his concern, but no one would listen.<sup>30</sup>

It is probable that Governor Stainback, a Democrat, recognized fully what the Republican Party in Hawaii had coerced its own forces to do. Before the G.O.P. could change its mind, he immediately signed the bill into law. Of course, Democratic Party leaders also desired a measure of control over elected officials. In the long run the Democrats were the ones to benefit from the closed primary bill, although the Republicans had some gratifying short-term gains as we shall see.

### Military Cutbacks

At this time, the military and defense needs of the country were smaller, with the result that cutbacks in spending affected the general economic pattern in Hawaii. Communism, however, was becoming more and more a threat in Asia. Fong recognized this, and successfully introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 48 on March 26, 1949, memorializing Congress and the Department of National Defense to discontinue the further abandonment of military and naval installations in the Islands, and to resurvey the military situation in the Pacific to the end of restoring installations already abandoned.<sup>31</sup>

### A Defeat and a Win

Wise in the ways of the checks and balances of power in territorial government, Fong was very successful in 1949. However, he did not win every fight. Some seemed lost at first, but later succeeded. As an example, Governor Stainback vetoed a \$264,000 item in H.B. No. 32 for a chemistry building at the University of Hawaii. Fong could not muster sufficient support to override the item veto, although he tried hard. He failed partly because some of the solons felt that the issue was too small over which to lock horns with the Governor. By not

sustaining Fong, the House handed him one of his few defeats of the session. However, the legislators later incorporated the appropriation into Senate Bill 220, passed it speedily and rushed it to the Governor in plenty of time to forestall a "pocket veto."<sup>32</sup> The Governor went along, and the university got its needed chemistry building as part of Act 47.<sup>33</sup>

### Social Politician

Toward the end of Fong's first term as Speaker of the House, he and Mrs. Fong were hosts at a formal Chinese nine-course dinner dance in honor of the members of the House of Representatives. In addition to political leaders of both parties, persons prominent in community affairs as well as members of the press assigned to the House were among the many guests.<sup>34</sup> Fong was fully aware of good public relations, and maintained them with parties and get-togethers as frequently as possible. It was a pattern which he kept up regardless of political differences with his colleagues.

### The House Adjourns Happily

The end of Fong's first term as Speaker of the House came while the Senate was still in session. Governor Stainback arrived following notification that the House was ready to adjourn. He spoke briefly, congratulating the lawmakers, and expressing his appreciation for their cooperation and courtesy.

An indication of how good the House members felt about their accomplishments under Fong in his first term as Speaker can be seen in the presentation of gifts and gag gifts as well as jovial back-slapping on the last night of the session. While some previous legislative

sessions had ended perfunctorially, often in the early hours of the morning (or with shock and amazement as in the 1941 regular session), in 1949 the work of the House had gone so smoothly that by 9:45 a.m. of April 30, Fong was able to rap his gavel sharply and declare the 25th biennial session of the House adjourned "sine die."<sup>35</sup>

House members had presented Fong with a silver tea service, and Vice-Speaker Porteus with a steak knife set. Then the fun began, much of it centered around Fong's political and personal ally, Thomas Sakakihara. Rep. Al Ezell presented a yard-long slingshot addressed to "A Sharpshooter," and a resolution signed by 20 members to Sakakihara in commemoration of the latter's bill banning the use of the slingshot in hunting birds. The bill had passed the House, but died in the Senate. For added jest, the entire House presented Sakakihara a large package addressed to "Tommy Hatchet Man Sakakihara." The box contained a shiny new axe, in acknowledgement of the nickname acquired when he "hatcheted" several bills he opposed.<sup>36</sup> A slightly different version of the "hatchet man" tag was provided by Mrs. Ellen Lai. She recalled that Sakakihara, at a meeting in her Waikiki home, had dashed out from the kitchen brandishing a meat cleaver and calling out that he would "hatchet" any opposition, to the great delight of the others present.<sup>37</sup>

### Evaluation

At the end of his first term as Speaker, Fong and other House leaders won community-wide praise. It was reported that

Political promises and pledges--fragile things in any legislative session--were lived up to for the most part by the house Republican majority...Unlike the senate, the house Republicans were able to keep order and discipline throughout the session, except on a few issues like the closed primary when individuals crossed party lines freely.<sup>38</sup>

It was also noted that important legislation was placed on the house clerk's desk, on the day the session opened, and received priority handling from the outset in committees. The G.O.P. made good the following pledges on the "must" bills: (1) a state constitutional convention; (2) more low cost housing; (3) a big bond issue for public works; (4) more workmen's compensation benefits; (5) an appropriation to complete payment of the disabled veterans' bonus; (6) five-day work week for public workers; (7) continuation of the cost of living bonus for public employees; (8) raising the minimum wage from 40 to 55 cents per hour. The Senate, however, failed to report out the minimum wage bill. The House G.O.P. was unsuccessful on only one count, that of promising to work for a 30 to 1 pupil-teacher ratio. However, in lieu of that, more classrooms were authorized.<sup>39</sup>

Under Fong, the House members felt that they had bested the upper house at almost every turn. The \$90,000,000 tax program and budget program finally adopted were principally derived from House proposals. Among the Senate bills defeated by the House were a new income tax bill, repeal of Pier 2, horse race gambling, and incorporation of \$23 of the teacher bonus into the teacher pay scale.<sup>40</sup>

#### The Young Men's Christian Association

The following week, acknowledgement of Fong's achievements was made by the Y.M.C.A. campaign steering committee. He was cited as a successful Island citizen whose background was based on Y.M.C.A. activities for "undirected" city youths. It was said that Speaker Fong's leadership in the House may have been directly owing to his oratorical and debating successes in the Y.M.C.A. as a youngster and as a young man. Learning to

debate and to orate in "Y" classes and contests helped him when he entered Harvard Law School.<sup>41</sup>

The impact of youth work by the Young Men's Christian Association in Honolulu during Fong's formative years cannot be overemphasized. Having considerable energy and intelligence, Fong had needed guidance outside the home which would capture his interest and challenge his capabilities in positive ways. The "Y" supplied that guidance abundantly. It came, fortunately for him, during the decade between 1920 and 1930, when he was in high school and at the University of Hawaii. Probation officers in Honolulu had approached the "Y" officials around the later 1910's and early 1920's, saying that they had identified 11 gangs of boys. The officers advised the YMCA that these gangs "might be swayed to be either constructive or destructive, and the "Y" workers dropped in on them with boxing gloves or other athletic equipment in an attempt to interest them in club work. Several groups were formed among these boys."<sup>42</sup>

The impromptu boxing match Fong had with "Lefty" Freitas, previously described, was undoubtedly sponsored in one of the "Y" attempts to reach out into the Kalihi community among the gangs of boys. The first annual Young Men's Division conference was held at Waialua on January 9 and 10 in 1926. A photograph of the participants indicates that both Fong and Chinn Ho were with the group.<sup>43</sup>

Fong's interest in the Y.M.C.A. continued throughout his years as an undergraduate on the Manoa campus. He was a member of the University "Y", as noted, and during his last Fall term was selected as president to attend the annual conference at Asilomar, California. However, the

press of his other activities made it impossible for him to attend. He also turned over the presidency to Charles Kenn in the Spring semester.<sup>44</sup>

### The Fort Street Chinese Church

During the years that Fong worked as civil servant at Pearl Harbor, he had found companionship and spiritual guidance at the Fort Street Chinese Church. The activity that led him there was the continuing influence of the Kalihi Union Church Sunday School, and his staunch membership in the Nuuanu Young Men's Christian Association. The Nuuanu Y.M.C.A. was located on Vineyard and Fort Street, a short distance mauka (toward the mountains) of the Fort Street Church, which was near Beretania and Fort Streets. He recalled, "I had to pass the church every time I went to the Nuuanu Y.M.C.A., and my friends who were at the "Y" were members of the Church, so it was very easy for me to become a member of the church."<sup>45</sup>

The minister of the Fort Street was the Reverent Tsui, who spoke the Hakka dialect. Since Fong's parents were from the Chungshan district, they spoke the Shekki dialect, so that it was very difficult for Fong to understand the minister's lessons. Fong was the first member of his family to become a Protestant. His brother Leonard was influenced by his education at St. Louis College, which was run by the Catholics, and was converted to Catholicism. His sisters Alice and Amy became Catholics as well through Leonard's influence and that of some of their own friends.<sup>46</sup> However, Fong said that "How my sisters got to be Catholic, I do not know."<sup>47</sup>

The parents were not involved in their children's decisions to become members of a faith different from that of their ancestors. It was not so much that the parents permitted each a choice, but that they

were not aware that a formal decision had been made by Fong, for example, to join a Christian church. He explained,

The decision to become a Protestant really was not made known to my parents....For the Chinese, in fact, for any nationality, it would be sacrilegious to foresake the religion of your parents, and naturally they didn't like it. But there was no time in which we would say, "Now I am a Catholic," or "I am now a Protestant," or "I am now a Christian."

There was no reason why they should stop us from going to a place of good influence. So from that standpoint, Father and Mother did not raise any objections, although they always did say that we should not try to embrace other religions and never to forsake the religion of your own people.<sup>48</sup>

Fong was baptized in the mid-1920's at the Chinese Church. Once again, he was exercising independence of judgment and action because Leonard, Alice, and Amy wanted him to join the Catholic Church. The phenomenon of the Fong children and those in other Chinese households going into different religions has also been noted by researchers like Francis Hsu. It displayed the Chinese characteristic of being situation-centered, or fitting in with their local environments without any feelings of guilt and intolerance. It was an adjustment peculiar to the Chinese, and especially to those in Hawaii.<sup>49</sup>

### Religious Influence

Many years later, Fong referred to the Nuuanu Y.M.C.A. as "my second home." He said, "Although I enjoyed the gym, the pool, the program and the many friendships I made, I valued most the Christian spirit which is so abundantly found in the Y.M.C.A. I shall always be grateful for it and indebted to the 'Y'."<sup>50</sup>

While Fong appreciated the benefits associated with the Christian religion, the Protestant faith, and the work of the Y.M.C.A., he was not a strict Christian in the narrow sense of the term. Rather, he was deeply influenced by his mother's religious beliefs and practices as well as



by the multi-ethnic cultures and organizations represented in Hawaii. He explained that he had been influenced by religion, but not only by the Christian religion. He explained that "religion, in a sense, played a very big part in my life." For example, when he ran for office, his mother went to the temples to seek the oracles to see whether he would be "successful or not." When his mother passed away, his eldest sister-in-law did it. The late Mrs. Lau Kun (whose family started the grocery stores which later became known as the Foodland chain under her son-in-law Maurice Sullivan) treated Fong "like a son," and also consulted the gods at the temples. He said that Protestants, Catholics, Buddhist, and other friends of various beliefs prayed for him: "So with everybody praying for me--praying to their [own] gods, I just didn't see how I could lose!" (laughter)<sup>51</sup>

He noted,

Every religion sort of tells you to be good. Every religion has a philosophy of goodness. And then you begin to realize that the great teachers of history, the great teachers of religion, are those that have espoused righteousness as the theme in their life--justice, righteousness, and peace. In every religion you find that...The great men of history, who have lived in the context of religion and the context of history, have been men of goodness. So I follow that...I have been guided in my dealings by being fair, fair in my dealings. And I've always tried to live up to fairness. I've tried sometimes to bend backwards to be fair, even to the extent that I lose by [doing] that. But I feel that that is the only way to live.

I have a great respect for other people's religion. I do not disparage their religion. I feel that any man who has some religion, any man who belongs to any organization, for example, [is] bound to come up doing good. It's very difficult to have an organization that is designed to do bad, to do evil, you know...I always try to encourage organizations. I have a great respect for religion, although it may not agree with my thinking of what religion should be. But as long as [people] feel that there is a supreme power, that they do good, and they try to benefit their fellow man, I am for that. I think, after all, that that is the fundamental issue; what do you do to your fellow man?

Religion has kept me straight. It kept me on the straight and narrow path. It told me that you've got to do the right thing. [However] I am not a very "religious" man. I don't attend church services very frequently. I do go to church, [from] time to time. But I am guided by these enduring principles, that if you do what is right, and what is fair...things will come out all right.<sup>52</sup>

In his own household, his children attended Sunday School at the First Chinese Church. At the table, grace was offered only at special times. He said, "When religious people come to my home, I have them say grace, and once in a while, I do, when the occasion calls for it."<sup>53</sup> His comment reveals the Chinese characteristic of being situation-centered with respect to religion, as Hsu has described.

#### The Disastrous Dock Strike and the 1949 Special Session

Hawaii's most important labor and management dispute occurred just at the end of Fong's first term as Speaker of the House. It involved the growing forces of labor, notably the I.L.W.U. longshoremen under Jack Hall, and the seven major shipping firms in the Islands. The issue was one of wages, but later developed into broader considerations of communism and the I.L.W.U., government intervention and legislative action, and arbitration of labor problems. In the space of 177 crippling days, it changed the power structure of Hawaii.

Much has been written about the history of the 1949 dock strike. Paul Brissenden covered its legal aspects in "The Great Hawaiian Dock Strike." Elizabeth Ahn dealt with it from the standpoint of government intervention, and many others have written about its implications for labor relations as well as numerous other aspects and effects. There is general agreement that it was one of the most traumatic episodes in Hawaiian history. The entire Territory was devastated by the 1949 strike.

Labor forces had been growing steadily following the passage of the "Little Wagner Act" in 1945, and several strikes resulted. While strikes were not a new item to Hawaii, none before had involved the entire community.<sup>54</sup> For example, the strike of 20,000 sugar plantation workers in 1946 was "bad enough," but the effect of the approximately 2,000 longshoremen walkout in 1949 was "catastrophic."<sup>55</sup>

While military supplies medicines, food, and other highly critical supplies were still delivered to Hawaii, the impact of the I.L.W.U. strike on the residents was soon felt. Unemployment rose, and many businesses, especially small ones, failed. No shipments of sugar, pineapples and other commodities left Hawaii. One third of Hawaii's sugar crop was stored in warehouses, and plantation operations faced a shutdown for lack of space to store sugar. On the United States mainland, sugar was arriving from Cuba and Puerto Rico for the first time in history. Canned pineapples were shipped in from Mexico and Cuba, and there was danger that the markets would be lost to Hawaii permanently.<sup>56</sup>

As the strike wore on, the plantations began to exhaust their credit, as had many of the smaller businesses. Some smaller businesses had already closed their doors. Wages were cut for those persons still employed, and their numbers decreased as more and more businesses slowed down or failed. The entire Territory suffered. Government intervention seemed the only answer. Early in the strike, the Governor attempted to bring the two parties together and also established fact-finding committees. Appeals to Washington brought federal mediators.<sup>57</sup>

It is beyond the perimeters of this study to question whether the territorial or the federal government could in fact legislate the end of

any strike, nor to ask if mediation between industry and labor should have been attempted by government officials. At the outset, it should be pointed out that the territorial government had power to legislate with respect to longshore activities only at one end of the marine traffic stream: the Hawaiian end. In other words, the jurisdiction of the territorial legislature, its governor, and its courts essentially stopped at the edge of the waters surrounding the Hawaiian Islands. Regardless of what happened at the Hawaiian end, island shipping was still controlled from across the Pacific Ocean by the West Coast dock operations of the I.L.W.U.<sup>58</sup>

The strike was the first general strike of the longshore industry in the eight-year contractual relationship between the I.L.W.U. and the seven stevedoring companies in Hawaii. Contracts between the parties had been severally entered into, effective in March 1948, providing for wage reopenings in March the following year, and expiring in March of 1950. The union invoked the wage reopening clause in January 1949. From then until the end of April, bargaining between the two parties went on, abetted by federal mediators through the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (F.M.C.S.). After several unproductive meetings and a threatened strike deadline of April 15, the union advised the F.M.C.S. that it would strike on April 30. Five days before that deadline, the Governor had signed Act 73, which had been passed by the territorial legislature two days before the first strike date. Act 73 prohibited any person or groups to prevent others from engaging in any lawful work or occupation, from lawfully entering or leaving any private or public place, or prevent them from exercising any other lawful right. It was considered a minor statute designed to make illegal violent or

coercive interference with the "right to work."<sup>59</sup> Fong voted with the majority in this action.<sup>60</sup> While the passage of this act did not appear to be coincidental with the labor deliberations going on, no one in the Legislature nor the Hawaii Employer's Council in authority at the time seemed to feel that a strike was actually going to take place.<sup>61</sup>

The problem of the dock strike was looked upon both in legislative and non-legislative circles as a matter more appropriate for federal than for local action. Although the Legislature had passed Act 73, it also adopted Joint Resolution No. 17, memorializing the federal Congress to amend the Railway Labor Act or in some other appropriate way to exercise its power to protect the stream of commerce "inter-State" between Hawaii and California, in some fashion parallel to the protection extended to inter-State commerce upon the United States mainland.<sup>62</sup>

By the end of the second month of the strike, the controversy was still far from resolution. The two parties had been exposed to mediation and to an emergency fact-finding board by action of the Governor as well as the F.M.C.S., all without success. The only process not tried was that of arbitration, to which the stevedoring companies would not agree.<sup>63</sup>

Congress was bombarded with full size newspaper advertisements, and Delegate Farrington introduced three bills (H.R. No. 4687, H.R. No. 5093, and H.R. No. 5363), while United States Senators William Knowland, Wayne Morse, and Hugh Butler also introduced legislation. The Taft-Hartley law was not invoked, because Congress felt that it should not act until the Hawaii Legislature, which had not been in session since the beginning of the strike, had had an opportunity to work on the matter.<sup>64</sup>

The territorial legislature had adjourned on April 30, the day before the walkout. Governor Stainback, having exhausted all other means at his disposal, scheduled a special session to convene on July 26. However, the I.L.W.U. took one more step toward settlement before the special session, and this step involved Fong in a very direct way.

#### Fong as Intermediary

The union leaders wanted more mediation, not legislative action. Jack Hall appealed for a meeting with Speaker Fong and Senate President Tsukiyama, and the two agreed to confer with union officials on July 25. In addition to Hall, the I.L.W.U.'s Henry Schmidt, Robert McElrath, Yukio Abe, and Fred Low, Jr. attended the meeting in Fong's law office. Afterwards, Fong revealed that one of the union's suggestions was that "a committee of legislators may be able to mediate the strike." He felt the legislature "would give the proposal strong consideration," and added, "Personally, I think we ought to give this a try." Tsukiyama, on the other hand, said he was not prepared to make any statement because mediation would not solve the long range problem of preventing future recurrences of the waterfront walkout.<sup>65</sup>

Hall explained that the union asked to meet with the legislative chiefs to urge that legislation planned for the special session be taken up only after the merits of the dispute had been examined. Both lawmakers requested the I.L.W.U. to present its propositions in writing to the special session.<sup>66</sup>

It is significant to note that Hall sought out Fong for the conference, and that it was held in Fong's law office, not in the offices of Tsukiyama nor the union. Hall knew Fong was willing to listen to

the union's proposals as he had demonstrated on the passage of the "little Wagner Act," and other labor bills. Tsukiyama was more of a question mark. While technically Tsukiyama was correct in realizing that legislation in some form was essential to prevent future dock stoppages, the pragmatic Fong was willing to tackle the immediate problem with the means at hand while legislation was being considered. This willingness was not lost on the union, nor on the shipping firms and the general population. Fong already commanded the respect of others as the legislative head who had bested the Senate in the regular session; in addition to being open-minded about solutions, he was also powerful enough to do something about them. Holding the meeting in Fong's law office only underscored his status in the power play. In this particular power play, however, Fong, despite his willingness and several attempts to help mediate, was ultimately helpless to effect any change in the stalemate.

While strike legislation was being formulated in both houses, Fong invited Hall to meet with him in the House chamber at 1:30 p.m. on July 29. He invited Philip Spalding, president of C. Brewer & Company, owner of one of the seven struck firms, to meet with him at 2:00 p.m. Hall and Spalding had met together earlier in the day; Fong wanted to discuss informally with them a House resolution calling for a six man mediation board. He said that the pressure of impending strike legislation might help bring the warring parties together. He also warned that if the government got into the stevedoring business,

...it might be tough to get us out.

If we start realizing a profit from our stevedoring operations, I for one will recommend that the government remain in the business permanently.

After all, we need new ways of raising money, and since the docks are a public utility, more or less, I can see no reason for not running them permanently--if it is profitable.<sup>67</sup>

While the "top secret" meetings were going on, the House was in recess. Spalding reported to representatives of the stevedoring companies what had transpired at his meeting with Fong. Again at Fong's invitation, other officials of the I.L.W.U. and the struck firms met in the House finance conference room in the basement of Iolani Palace on Saturday, July 30. This was significant because only the week before, both parties had rejected an effort by Governor Stainback for a resumption of negotiations. The meeting was attended by Dwight C. Steele, W. Russell Starr, and Howard C. Babbitt for the companies, and Jack Hall, Yukio Abe, and Mamoru Yamasaki for the union. Senate President Tsukiyama was also invited. Pictures were taken of the historic occasion.<sup>68</sup>

Fong began the meeting by stating, "Gentlemen, I have called for this meeting to see whether you can proceed in collective bargaining. I am very happy that you saw fit to get together. We hope you will come to a solution." Tsukiyama noted that the "public was suffering," and also urged the group to "liberate this Territory at the earliest date." Steele replied, "We are anxious to do anything we can regardless of legislation." Stated Hall, "You may be sure the union will do everything possible to end the strike. We want it settled on its merits." The two lawmakers left, and the talks began. Despite the air of optimism at the beginning, the meeting broke up about an hour later with "no specific progress" to report to Fong. However, the men agreed to meet again on Monday, with Starr indicating, "We want to keep this thing open."<sup>69</sup>



The basic issues between the union and the companies were still unresolved following a later 50-minute meeting in the C. Brewer board room on August 1. Mediation efforts by Fong and the Legislature were abandoned on the 94th day of the strike, when the report came to him of "no progress." However, he and Tsukiyama indicated they would be willing to aid in a settlement if requested.<sup>70</sup> Fong then turned all his energies to legislation.

While Fong was holding "top secret" meetings with Spalding and Hall, the House was in recess, but several of his fellow-solons accused Fong of "leaving us out on a limb, not knowing what is going on." Fong explained that he was "just exploring," adding, "You might say I was acting more or less as a private citizen with the prestige of my office behind me."<sup>71</sup>

### Legislative Action

While Fong was attempting to mediate the waterfront emergency, he was at the same time instrumental in passing legislation dealing with it. Governor Stainback had told the assembled lawmakers at the special session convened on July 26, 1949 that the only way to insure continued shipping was for the government to take over the stevedoring operations. He said that he expected the federal government to assist by preventing violations of its laws (namely, the Taft-Hartley act) and the strangulation of the Territory. As a result of the strike, other areas were taking Hawaii's place in supplying sugar and pineapple products to the mainland, plantation credit was running low, and unemployment stood at 12 per cent. The Islands were beginning to be touted as visitor destination areas, but had lost valuable ground in the tourist trade with a reputation for unreliable transportation and other services. He asserted

that the whole economic life of the Islands was threatened and that both the stevedoring companies and unions would go down should shipping be stopped too long.

He warned the lawmakers:

Apparently only this legislature can bring an end to the present progressive paralysis of our economy. Doubtless you have been and will be under intense political and group pressure. You will not be able to please all. It is very likely that any bills you pass will probably contain certain features distasteful to both parties in this dispute.

I am confident that you will let neither pressure of, nor vindictiveness against, any group influence your action, but that you will be guided solely by the interests of the public as a whole.<sup>72</sup>

The lawmakers had organized swiftly to attempt to end the costly strike, no doubt impressed as well with the nearly 1,000 women gathered in front of Iolani Palace. They were members of the "Broom Brigade" that had been marching in front of I.L.W.U. headquarters to protest the strike tie-up. The Holdover Committee, about which more is forthcoming, had ready for presentation 22 labor strike bills in each house. Fong introduced 10 of them and signed 21. He noted that he signed them all, but said he would object to some of them later, as the committee had just approved them for consideration and not necessarily for passage. The mood of the solons was somber in keeping with the occasion.<sup>73</sup>

Fong used every means possible to him as Speaker to try to get some resolution to the strike. Although the House had agreed on the first day that no bill would be introduced without the approval of a special steering committee, Fong on the second day asked for unanimous consent to introduce a new bill which he explained was at the request of the I.L.W.U. There being no dissent, Fong read H.B. 23,

An Act to create, under certain circumstances, boards of inquiry with power to make binding recommendations with respect to labor disputes in trade between the continental United States and the Territory of Hawaii and for other purposes.

He then asked for approval on first reading, a normal procedure, once a bill was introduced. However, at this point, former speaker Manuel Paschoal objected because the bill had not been approved by the steering committee. "You should follow the rules, Mr. Speaker," Rep. Paschoal said. But Fong, having received the approval of the entire House, ruled him out of order. He said that he saw no reason why the bill, known as the "little Knowland-Farrington" bill (similar to legislation introduced in Congress by California's William Knowland and Delegate Farrington), should not be considered along with the other 20 labor measures before the House. "After all, just because a bill is introduced doesn't mean it will pass," he stipulated, side-stepping the issue raised by Paschoal. Over in the Senate, President Tsukiyama said Fong's action was "breaking faith" with the steering committee agreement.<sup>74</sup> The bill, however, passed third reading in the Senate as well as the House, but, other bills having been enacted in the interim, was ultimately filed on October 15.<sup>75</sup>

The feeling among lawmakers was one of great frustration and anger at what was being perpetrated on the community by the union as well as by the struck firms. In the beginning, this feeling was expressed in a punitive form. House Bill No. 2, introduced by Rep. Sakakihara, Fong, and 18 other House members, in its original form empowered the Governor to seize the dock operations and the territorial government to operate them following seizure. However, the bill also barred strikers from working for the government and did not permit the Governor to use equipment owned by the stevedoring companies. When the lawmakers

insisted on those two provisions, inquiries were made by the Governor to Washington. There, officials could not recall where strikers had not been eligible to work under federal operation. During World War II, federal seizures had been made under the Smith-Connally Act which required strikers to go back to work and provided penalties for refusal. Since they were trained for the work, the emphasis was on getting them back on the job. Washington could not see why Hawaii was to be treated differently.<sup>76</sup>

Questioned on that point, Fong said, "Well, this bill makes us pioneers." He added that the bill entered

a field no other state legislature or the federal government has dared to tread....We realize the bill is drastic. But no community has ever suffered the paralysis we have during this 90 day dock strike--and no community will ever suffer as much. We have a responsibility to the community which is paramount to all other considerations and we feel these facts justify this action. I'm quite confident Congress will have to respect us for our courageous legislation in this field of troublesome labor-management legislation. Some people may condemn us but they can't help but respect us.<sup>77</sup>

The Legislature went into executive session to discuss the various strike-related bills before them. But a stalemate ensued; in the meantime, the press objected to the secrecy. After a long closed session in the morning, the House scheduled a 2:00 p.m. caucus, to which the press was invited. Fong said that things were apparently stalemated in the Senate so he wanted to find out how the representatives felt. The issues facing them were: (1) to seize the struck companies or to set up an independent stevedore operation; and (2) to hire strikers and use gear from the struck firms. He ruled out consideration of arbitration or the "little Knowland-Farrington" bill. The members then voted 24 to 6 for temporary government operation. By the same margin, it was decided not to employ striking longshoremen and to prohibit use of

struck companies' gear or management personnel. This was then amended to permit the government freedom to hire strikers and utilize company gear in the event no other workers or gear were obtainable.<sup>78</sup> Fong explained the position of the great majority of House members and in which the Senate later concurred:

Under the proposed bill, both the employer and the employee will be penalized; the employer does not get his profit and the employee does not get his pay. The idea is to put maximum pressure on both parties so that they will come to an agreement.<sup>79</sup>

The union objected to the proposed law. Hall accused the Legislature of letting employers dictate the terms of the anti-strike legislation, saying that the Big Five dominated the Legislature and that it was "using the territorial government to try to wreck the union." Hall termed federal intervention the only means of ending the deadlock.<sup>80</sup>

The bill was then sent over to the Senate, which accepted it on first reading. Tsukiyama said that while he was personally in favor of letting the strikers work, "the consensus of both houses was against this."<sup>81</sup> The Senate deferred second reading until after a public hearing on July 30. Senate plans to push it through on the day before had hit a snag when Sen. William "Doc" Hill charged that it was "wishy washy and without teeth." He objected to the "loophole" that strikers could work for the government and "stay there" under government supervision, a proviso which Fong also did not like.<sup>82</sup>

The quickness of the House action also roused the ire of Senator Hill. He had voted for the bill, but the next day he unleashed "vocal artillery," "verbally parboiling the House in general and Fong and Vice-speaker Porteus in particular." Hill claimed that the House leaders were playing for votes from the union, and were really attempting to repeal the "closed" primary law. He charged that the

House leaders had broken faith with the Senate because, while the Legislature was in recess from executive session with the press barred, the House openly caucused and presented H.B. 2 as a fait accompli to the Senate.<sup>83</sup>

Other Senators disapproved of Hill's tirade. Thelma Akana said that his condemnation of the House was "most harsh" and "not fair," adding, "we must give the house credit for bringing it to a head." Senator Ben Dillingham, who was often on Hill's side, this time refused to join in the criticism of Fong and Porteus. Dillingham said, "As Senator Hill talked, I got madder and madder. It seems to me extremely unfortunate that we should lose time...in starting to name call." When informed of Hill's action, Fong dismissed it with a terse "Nuts." He declared,

We will not be drawn into a fight with the Senate. The obvious purpose of this attack seems to be to split the House and Senate into two warring bodies. We won't go for it. The House and Senate are in substantial agreement right now. Hill seems to be trying to kill the bill.<sup>84</sup>

Governor Stainback was also disturbed by the "a plague on both your houses" attitude, and cautioned the solons on July 30 at a joint session of the Legislature on "vindictiveness against any group." He continued:

I sympathize fully with the feeling of indignation at the hardships that the Territory has suffered in this labor dispute... Yet, however righteous your indignation may be, you should not let it affect your judgement. Now of all times, we need cool, calm thinking.<sup>85</sup>

However, legislators were reluctant to remove the restrictive sections. The Governor telephoned officials in Washington, after which he called the leadership of both houses to advise them that it would be better for the future welfare of the Territory not to pass House Bill No. 2 as it was then written. Vice-Speaker Porteus explained that the

Governor indicated "retaliatory legislation" might be Washington's answer to the measure if it kept strikers from working the docks.<sup>86</sup>

Following a caucus of the 20 Republican representatives, Fong convened the House, telling the group that "it was found the governor's points were well taken." On a show of hands, they agreed on Porteus' motion that it was their sense to amend the bill as passed to give the Governor a free hand in the hiring of workers and the use of equipment. It was a dramatic, 360-degree turnabout.<sup>87</sup>

In an unprecedented move which underscored his powerful role in the Legislature, Fong then made an appearance before the Senate as a whole, which was still meeting to consider amendments to the bill. The Senate interrupted its proceedings to hear him. Standing beside President Tsukiyama, Fong repeated to a hushed gathering what he had told House members. The Senate then also agreed to amend the bill.<sup>88</sup>

Again, it was Fong who led the way to passing the required amendment. Noting that there was a "six days' loss to the Territory," Fong established a committee to meet with a counterpart from the Senate. Another impasse ensued, but finally, on August 6, the Senate agreed to the final amendments suggested by the House. The Governor signed House Bill No. 2 as Act 2, on August 6, 1949, putting the Territory temporarily into the stevedoring business.<sup>89</sup>

Legislative action alone did not stop the strike. The I.L.W.U. tested the law in the courts, and union leader Harry Bridges openly defied the new legislation. Within two weeks, Act 2 had to be amended to tighten up the picketing ban on government longshore operations.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile, the strike continued.

Fong "Wars" with the I.L.W.U.

On August 11, Fong declared that the Territory was ready to man and sail ships with national guardsmen if necessary. Feeling it was now "total war" with the I.L.W.U., he said it was an emergency step, but he also felt sure the Legislature would back the Governor 100 per cent in efforts to restore sea commerce to Hawaii, using every legal means to do so. He said he thought the federal government would waive normal maritime regulations to let the Territory meet the emergency. While the Territory could not seize ships as it had the dock operations (since the ships were in interstate commerce) there was no doubt it could enter into negotiations to rent or charter ships. Fong predicted that national guardsmen could man the ships if their normal crews refused to sail for the Territory. He noted that there were many former naval personnel in Hawaii qualified to sail the ships who could be recruited into the national guard for this purpose. He reported that one former naval officer told him: "I'd do it just for the trip to California."<sup>91</sup> But nothing came of Fong's threat.

Territorial and federal government intervention failed as a direct means of settling the strike, but did contribute toward the final settlement of the 177 day dispute. Any legislation was doomed to failure unless it included compulsory arbitration or permanent seizure. According to Ahn, the real benefit of the government intervention was the inducement it provided to reach an agreement as quickly as possible.<sup>92</sup>

But it took secret talks between Harry Bridges of the I.L.W.U. and Dwight C. Steele, chief spokesman for the employers to bring about the final negotiated settlement on October 6. The settlement terms provided for the workers to receive a wage raise of 14 cents an hour upon returning



to their jobs and an additional 7 cents an hour after March 1, 1950. The longshoremen returned to work on October 25, 1949, after other strike-related issues were settled. Labor peace was finally achieved, but at an extremely high cost to the Territory. It was estimated that the Islands lost between \$100,000,000 and \$150,000,000 as a result of the maritime strike.<sup>93</sup>

In the light of the short history of industrial relations in the Territory, Ahn felt it is not surprising that the steps taken by the Legislature and the Governor to end the strike were at first reactionary and carried out in a trial and error fashion. Pressure applied to both parties to end the dispute in the public interest were sporadic rather than continuous.<sup>94</sup>

#### Major Labor-Management Laws Enacted

The Special Session of the territorial legislature did not come to a close with the passage of Acts 2 and 3. Other laws were passed, some strengthening existing labor law; others, newly conceived as a result of the water-front strike. The Acts affecting labor-management relations are listed below.

Act 2 (H.B. 2) (approved August 6, 1949)	Declares that strikes, lockouts, stoppage, slowdown or retardation of services in stevedoring industry and related facilities and services, including terminal services, imperil the public health, safety and welfare; declared a public emergency arising from the strike; provided for the Territory of Hawaii to take possession of and take over and operate such stevedoring industry and related facilities and services during the emergency and other emergencies occurring thereafter; provided for injunctions against interference with conduct of such operations by the Territory by strikes, other concerted activities, or other means; provided upon the Governor certain powers and duties; provided penalties....
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- Act 3 (S.B. 3) Amended Act 2, section 5 relating to furthering government operations and preventing interference therewith; and section 11, with respect to preservation of powers conferred by other laws; approved the Governor's designation of the board of harbor commissioners to administer Act 2.  
(approved August 18, 1949)
- Act 4 (H.B. 11) Authorizes suits against labor or employer organizations to be filed in their common name.  
(approved Aug. 20, 1949)
- Act 5 (S.B. 18) Provides that for the purpose of submitting proposals concerning compensation, hours and other conditions of public employment to the Legislature and to all other public officers and bodies, employees of the territorial and country governments may select one organization or association to act as their sole and exclusive representative....  
(approved August 29, 1949)
- Act 6 (H.B. 7) Amends existing statutes relating to replevin. Authorizes actions to obtain delivery of a portion of divisible property of a uniform kind, quality, and value....Extends the scope of such actions to permit a person to sue to receive property not formerly in his possession....  
(approved August 29, 1949)
- Act 7 (H.B. 8) Established a new proceeding for obtaining immediate possession of personal property. Any person claiming personal property may petition the circuit court for an order to deliver it to him....  
(approved Aug. 29, 1949)
- Act 8 (H.B. 10) Declares it unlawful for any person to picket the residence or dwelling place of any other individual....  
(approved Aug. 29, 1949)
- Act 9 (H.B. 13) Makes it the duty of police or other peace officers to direct any person obstructing ingress or egress from any public or private place to move in order to maintain a free passageway....  
(approved Aug. 29, 1949)
- Act 10 (H.B. 15) Redefines the crime of conspiracy explicitly to include concerted action to commit any offense, or to cause others to commit an offense; to bring or maintain any suit or proceeding; knowing the same to be groundless; or, to cause others to be arrested, charged, or indicted for any offense, knowing them to be innocent....  
(approved August 29, 1949)
- Act 42 (S.B. 19) Makes it unlawful for any government employee to strike or to induce, by picketing or otherwise, a strike or work stoppage by government employees....Provides that injunction proceedings may be instigated against any employee....<sup>95</sup>  
(approved October 26, 1949)

Act 2 and 3 continued in effect on the territorial statute books during the remainder of their proscribed life of 180 days. On October 15, the territorial legislature passed S.B. No. 4 (Act 62) which supplanted Acts 2 and 3, but it was noted that it in itself did not repeal them. On October 26, Act 42, prohibiting strikes against the government, was signed into law.<sup>96</sup>

#### Other Emergency Strike Legislation

The Special Session of the 1949 Legislature was recessed on August 19 and did not reconvene until September 12. The three-week hiatus was a welcome respite for the lawmakers. Just prior to the recess, they had argued the merits of legislation designed to solve the problem of long-range industrial peace for essential industries. Fong indicated that seizure for all utilities, gas, electric, telephone and transportation was being considered. Additionally, seizure of hospitals and the sugar and pineapple industry was also being studied. Fong acknowledged that such coverage of sugar and pineapple activities would encounter opposition, but it might be the only way they would not "wither and die" under a prolonged labor dispute, such as the dock strike. He said that if the companies were wise, they would be in favor of it. Asked if this would not play into the hands of labor leader and alleged communist Harry Bridges' supposed desire to see industry nationalized, Fong replied: "It is not a question of whether we are playing into his hands. If we have to safeguard our basic industries by nationalizing them for a temporary period, the responsibility is ours."<sup>97</sup>

While permanent nationalization was never part of Fong's philosophy, and was in fact antithetical to his business and personal view of life,

his attitude in the emergency situation was characteristically pragmatic. When viewed in the light of his avowed commitment to help the working people of Hawaii in seeing that their means of livelihood was protected, his statement does not appear as radical as it sounded.

Senate President Tsukiyama shared Fong's views concerning the essential industries act, but both lawmakers recognized the inherent problems involved. In the end, legislation proposed as H.B. No. 77, H.B. No. 78, H.B. No. 86, and several other related bills were filed on the last day of the session.<sup>98</sup>

In 1949, Hawaii obviously was not prepared for a strike against its life line. Public outcry was great because of the suffering inflicted, and, understandably, the lawmakers responded emotionally. The result was legislation devised too hurriedly to be as satisfactory as it might otherwise have been. The fact that it was found necessary to amend Act 2 in important particulars within two weeks of its enactment sufficiently underlines this point. More importantly, there was room for question as to the wisdom of some of the conditions surrounding seizure and government operation.<sup>99</sup>

By the following regular session, however, the Legislature arrived at better legislation. Act 62 was repealed and replaced with Act 209 designed to deal with disruption of service in the stevedoring industry. Finding that "The people of the Territory have the right of self-preservation," the new law provided for more extensive and formal arrangements for mediation than had been possible under Act 3, in addition to providing for seizure and government operation, prohibition of strikes and lockouts during such operation, resort to suits for injunction where necessary, continuance of prestrike wages and working conditions, and

preclusion of bargaining between the government and any union or stevedoring company. It also provided for appointment of an emergency board where necessary, and permitted a vote by employees on their employers' "final offer of settlement." Like Act 3, however, it did not provide for any form of arbitration.<sup>100</sup>

### Unemployment

Following the initial passage of strike legislation, the legislators then turned their attention to other pressing matters. As the strike wore on into August and September, the unemployment problem increased to the extent that legislators were wondering if anything could be done about the situation during the Special Session.

Fong, at an informal House steering committee meeting, said, "Let's not kid ourselves. The best we can hope to do is alleviate the situation--but to solve it, I doubt very much if we can do it." He agreed with the Governor that "this problem is bigger than the territory." He said that the Legislature had a primary responsibility to provide jobs for the unemployed where possible, adding that perhaps a "large bloc of voters may not like it. But this is the chance we might have to take because we have a responsibility to the whole public."<sup>101</sup>

But he was right, there was little the Legislature could accomplish except through public works projects funded in part by the Federal government.<sup>102</sup>

### Recommended for Judgeship

Fong's leadership was acknowledged during the Special Session in another way. Rep. Charles Kauhane, in Washington in his position of Democratic national committeeman, wrote to Fong advising him that his

name had been submitted for a seat on the territorial circuit court should Judge Albert Matthewman retire. In his letter to the United States attorney general's office, Kauhane said, "the appointment of Mr. Fong will be a credit to the territory and will meet with the approval of the many friends he has made for himself." Pleased with the recommendation from "my good friend," the pragmatic Fong indicated that he was not interested in any judgeship because "I've got too many bills to pay."<sup>103</sup> It can be conjectured that Kauhane was actually angling to get his old political rival out of the way by recommending him for the bench, but in any event, Fong was not the least bit interested. He had too many business activities to "watch," as well as his booming law practice, to think seriously of giving up those endeavors in return for a salaried position, no matter how high the honor.

#### 1949 Special Session Evaluation

The editor of the Honolulu Advertiser reflected the mood of the greater Hawaiian community when he looked back upon the work of the Special Session of the 1949 Legislature and wrote:

Hawaii's Legislators made an excellent record at the special session just closed. They did the work they were called upon to do with a minimum of lost time, bickering and trading....They established a goal for legislative competency that should be an inspiration to future Legislatures.

National laws that recognize Hawaii's geographic isolation are required for complete protection of the Island's commerce, but the local Legislature has made an excellent beginning in that direction.<sup>104</sup>

The lawmakers also took care of a number of other pressing issues, untangled the terms of the appropriation for the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, placed homeowners on leasehold properties on a parity with landowners in the matter of home tax exemptions, raised the basic wages of government

workers and adjusted bonuses for retired public employees, established a Territorial Civilian Conservation Corps, took steps to curb subversive activities, and also passed a compromise plan under which the long-awaited and much-discussed Kalihi tunnel could be built.<sup>105</sup>

Regarding maritime peace, Brissenden said,

with Act 209 of 1951 on the statute books, supplemented by Act 42 of 1949, and Section 4115 of the Revised laws of 1945, providing for mediation and emergency boards, the territorial government is doubtless now in a better position to meet any possible recurrence of trouble on the docks than it was in 1949. In a better position, yet in a position still far from satisfactory.<sup>106</sup>

### Fong's Attitude

Throughout the 1949 Special Session, Fong demonstrated his all-pervading concern for the innocent bystanders, the citizens of Hawaii, in the dock battle. His agreement with the punitive original provisions of H.B. No. 2 was due in large measure to his empathy with the thousands of people thrown out of work or who had lost their livelihood as a result of the shutdown. He later talked about his attitude toward the people of Hawaii:

I understand the problems of the working man, and I sympathize with him. I feel that, at certain times, they deserve certain things that they ask for....I hate to see injustice....Being that I had gone through that facet of my life (a son of a laborer--knowing how hard my father worked, and knowing that jobs were so important to an individual, that earning a living was the biggest thing that he has to do), I understand the problems of the other person--because I had to work to survive. And it was a question of, if you don't work, you don't eat....

I was never pro-labor; I was never pro-business. I was trying to balance things as much as I [could]. And, as an individual, I wanted to see things done right....

I hate to see one party take advantage of the other.<sup>107</sup>

This last statement reflected the Chinese desire for harmony in life. In almost religious terms, he said he felt total responsibility

for the people of Hawaii. Discussing his plan to sail the ships with national guardsmen, he had said at the time: "Certainly we are obliged to protect the lives and livelihood of the 540,000 people who live in these islands. We are fighting for our very existence. In doing our duty we will have righteousness on our side."<sup>108</sup>

Having "righteousness" on his side was a necessary ingredient in any altercation to the man who had grown up with admonitions to do the "right" thing and who had heard Sunday School hymns sung and sermons preached about the righteousness of Christian endeavors in one's life and work. Being righteous in a cause meant that all avenues had to be tried. It gave Fong the strength to translate his convictions into action. It was a strength that Jack Hall, the I.L.W.U., and the shipping firms respected in general, although they may have differed with him on many specific points.

As a legislative leader committed to working for the good of the Territory, Fong acted in a manner guaranteed to keep him in public view and reinforced his image of a strong leader who could induce bargaining, act decisively, change if need be, and go on to deal with other important matters. He was guided more by the need to find solutions than by the close adherence to what was right within the law. He provided the impetus to get things done, although sometimes at the expense of his better judgment. However, if faced with a definite blockage, as in a governor's veto, he was flexible enough and pragmatic enough, to find workable solutions. Like the proverbial tall trees, he caught the wind, but like the bamboo, he could also bend and survive.



### Jack Hall and Hiram Fong

Hall and Fong came to know and respect each other more as a result of the 1949 dock strike. This had a direct bearing on Fong's future political career, because he consistently received I.L.W.U. backing after 1959. Their relationship, according to Hall's biographer Sanford Zalburg, was "a bond which often puzzled union members and liberals." Zalburg also wrote that Hall referred to Fong as "labor's only Republican friend from Oahu's 'Silk Stocking' Fourth District."<sup>109</sup> (emphasis added) While Fong never moved out of the Fifth District where he was born, raised, and later lived in comfort in a cool and spacious home furnished with fine appointments, it would have made no difference to Hall where Fong resided. The I.L.W.U. and the labor movement in those days needed all the friends they could get. And Fong, true to the strong emphasis on loyalty as stressed in his Chinese upbringing, remembered to keep his commitments once they were made. He never developed into a back-sliding acquaintance nor a politician who reneged on his word. Other I.L.W.U. officials noted this quality in him also. Robert McElrath was quoted as saying, "He did us several favors. His word was good. Hard to get, but when you get it, he carried it out."<sup>110</sup>

### The 1949 Legislative Holdover Committee

Although much had been accomplished, there were still many important matters to be dealt with at the end of the 1949 regular session. The Holdover Committee provided for in Senate Bill No. 441 and signed into law by Governor Stainback was assigned many significant areas of work in preparation for the 1951 session. Named to the committee by Senate president Wilfred Tsukiyama were Thelma Akana, Benjamin Dillingham, William Heen, Herbert K. H. Lee, Charles Silva, William Nobriga, Toshio

Ansai, and Manuel Aguiar. Fong appointed the following in addition to himself: Reps. Hebden Porteus, Charles Kauhane, Steere Noda, Joseph Itagaki, Joseph Andrews, Thomas Sakakihara, Esther Richardson, Akoni Pule, Alfred Apaka, Allan Ezell, and Noboru Miyake. Each senator had three votes to two each for the Representatives.<sup>111</sup>

It was noted that in naming the House members, Fong "obviously took reprisal" against those who initially opposed him for Speaker. Omitted were Paschoal and Marcallino. While the Fourth District was the most populated in the Territory, it had been solidly for Porteus in the original G.O.P. maneuvering, and as a result, it got the absolute minimum representation on the committee--one member, while Fong's smaller district got four.<sup>112</sup>

The Holdover Committee was the Territory's sixth major legislative holdover committee in 50 years and promised to be its most powerful one. Armed with broad investigative powers for 18 months, and \$150,000, it could call witnesses, using the power of the courts to compel attendance and require answers. It had been assigned more than 50 bills to study. One issue of major importance was to probe into the dock strike (which has been described). Another issue was a "little Hoover commission" study aimed at reorganizing the territorial government in the interest of efficiency and economy. Also of primary importance were the promotion of statehood, unAmerican activities, territorial wage and classification policies, civil service matters, retirement system items, taxation of utilities, uses for Aiea hospital, and University of Hawaii matters.<sup>113</sup>

Fong took the initiative with respect to planning the work of the Committee. The dock strike was already causing great concern and

distress, when in mid-May he proposed that the Committee meet as soon as possible to consider possible action to end the dispute. Planning to meet with co-chairman Senator Wilfred Tsukiyama, Fong said that he was not certain what could be done by the Committee but that no doubt a plan of action could be worked out.<sup>114</sup> But in order to get moving on the vital issues facing the members, the Committee had to organize itself, not an easy matter in 1949.

At its first meeting on May 21, the members deadlocked on the selection of a chairman, with the Senators backing William Heen and the Representatives preferring Fong. The vote was 24 to 24 even after several ballots. At first glance it seemed like a replay of the 1947 standoff in the House, but in reality it was an extension of the House-Senate feud that had embittered the end of the session just past. Unable to proceed on the choice of a chairman, the group adjourned and decided to meet again on June 25.<sup>115</sup>

The Holdover Committee was soon nicknamed the "hangover committee" because it was still unable to organize at its second meeting, which was not a formal session because Sen. Ben Dillingham was on the mainland. Fong was quoted as saying that the Senate wanted "all or nothing," explaining that the House had offered three propositions, all of which were turned down. He listed House solutions:

We proposed that we flip a coin for the chairmanship, agree to the appointment of co-chairman, or agree to give the senate the chairmanship for half the time on condition that the house have it for the other half. We also offered to give the senate the first choice of the period in which they would have the chairmanship. The only answer we got was that they would not withdraw from their insistence that Senator Heen be made chairman.<sup>116</sup>

On the Senate side, it was suggested that both Heen and Fong withdraw, to which neither agreed. The community, of course was

unhappy with the delay in organizing. One citizen, John Moniz, wrote a letter to the editor, in which he pointed out that it was insincere on the part of the senate to insist on having Sen. Heen as chairman, since for two sessions Heen, the only lawyer in the Senate, was not made chairman of its judiciary committee. Since the parties had insisted on party control, it was illogical for the Senate to insist upon Democrat Heen to head the new committee. Moniz, unwilling to go into the respective qualifications of Fong and Heen, nevertheless, asked,

Why do the senators at this time feel that Heen, a Democrat, should get the chairmanship for the Holdover Committee predominated by the Republicans? On the other hand, the Speaker Hiram L. Fong, through his ability, leadership, fairness and calm under fire, has done such a wonderful job of presiding over the House of Representatives that its record of achievement has put the Senate to shame in the eyes of the majority of the people of the Territory. If it weren't for his good work, many rotten bills that came out of the Senate would have been laws today.<sup>117</sup>

An editorial took the opposite view, indicating that while legislatures were organized by political parties, the Legislative Holdover Committee was not. Bipartisan expertise and longer experience were claimed for Heen,

without any disparagement of Rep. Fong's ability and integrity, which are unquestioned....Mr. Fong, younger in years and in public service, has come along rapidly. In time he will have gained the equipment Mr. Heen already possesses.<sup>118</sup>

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin supported the House Republican stand on the issue of selecting a chairman. It noted that the delay in organization was due "chiefly to the senators, who wanted postponement and the House members reluctantly agreed to it." A Republican chairman was the logical choice because the voters, disturbed with the deadlock in the House and the slim majority of one Republican in the Senate in 1947, had voted in a solid majority of Republicans in both houses the following year. Party responsibility to the voters, it was argued, meant that

the leader of the Holdover Committee should be Republican. By then, Fong had emerged as a capable party leader:

For Republicans of either house to support a Democrat as chairman is a direct breach of sound party procedures. It can only be justified if no Republican of ability, experience and proved capacity as a legislator were available.

That is not the situation now. The Republican party has suitable material for a chairman.

Hiram L. Fong, speaker of the house of representatives in the 1949 session, is available.

His leadership was proved in the hot and frequent inter-house fights of that session....

He has his critics and his enemies. So has any man long in public life. But the best test of his service as speaker was that in all the critical phases of those inter-house battles his house members stood by him.

On such issues as the pier 2 fight, the tax program, the horse-race gambling bill and several others, he always had the backing of a strong, loyal majority of his own chamber--and the friendly assistance of several on the other side of Iolani Palace.<sup>119</sup>

The stalemate was finally resolved on July 12 under the pressure of necessity caused by the longshoremen's strike. Spurred on by Governor Stainback, the group at last organized. Following several hours of parliamentary gymnastics, it named William Heen chairman of the first half of the life of the Committee, and Fong chairman for the remainder. The successful plan was similar to that earlier proposed by Rep. Sakakihara and discussed by Fong in June. By resolution, Fong's term as chairman was fixed by the group to begin on February 28, 1950. Senator Heen was then to become vice-chairman, the post vacated by Fong.<sup>120</sup>

When the Governor called the 1949 Legislature into Special Session on July 26, Fong left his Holdover Committee work to preside over the

House again. When the Special Session ended on October 15, 1949, he resumed his responsibility as vice-chairman of the Committee.

### Problems of Ethics

Due in part to the fact that the territorial legislature met once every two years and normally for only 60 days, the legislators who were also attorneys often represented private individuals and firms in law suits against the Territory. However, the ethics of Fong's law firm in accepting a legal case against the government was questioned during the period when Fong was chairman of the 1949 Legislative Holdover Committee.

The attack came from Hilo, Hawaii, where Judge Martin Pence, a Democrat born in Kansas in 1904 and a judge of the Third Territorial Circuit Court between 1945 and 1950, questioned the "propriety" of the appearance of Fong's law firm as counsel for John C. Medeiros. Ltd., a contracting firm suing the Territory for \$148,426 claimed owing for construction of the Kona Airport. The case was being handled not by Fong, but by Herbert Y. C. Choy, his law partner.

In some respects, Judge Pence's complaint was a variation of the attack upon Fong when his eligibility to serve as an elected representative was challenged in the 1939 territorial legislature. It will be recalled that, while other public employees elected to serve in the Legislature were seated year after year without question, Fong was kept out of his seat for several days while his fellow solons hotly debated the issue.

While it was widely known that many attorney-legislators were also representing clients in cases before a wide variety of territorial and county agencies, including the Public Utilities Commission, the Civil

Service Commission, the Liquor Commission, and the Honolulu City Planning Commission, none of them came up for examination of ethics except Fong. As an example, Senate President Wilfred Tsukiyama was representing a client seeking reinstatement to the territorial civil service reemployment list at the very same time, but Tsukiyama's ethics were not in question.

The events leading up to Pence's charge were as follows: In the 1949 Legislature, the bill to pay Medeiros was introduced and cleared in the Senate. It then passed the House unanimously, without Fong taking any part in it. However, Governor Stainback vetoed the bill, insisting that Mr. Medeiros be required to explain his claim in court and sue for the money. The 1949 Special Session then passed a bill (S.B. No. 43) meeting the Governor's requirements, and authorizing Medeiros to sue the Territory. Fong said he did not "even lift a finger" in regard to the bill, which passed unanimously. Only after that was done, Fong said, did Medeiros seek him out as an attorney, having met him on the last day of the regular session after the original bill was passed.<sup>121</sup>

Fong was concerned not only for his client but also about the larger issue, saying,

The fact that the judge has questioned the matter may jeopardize my client's chances of success and I will ask him if he wants me to withdraw. However, I think we should clear the atmosphere and I will ask the bar association for a ruling on the practice of legislators representing clients in suits against the territory.<sup>122</sup>

The cloud of possible unethical legal practices over the Fong, Miho, and Choy law firm was dispersed by Deputy Attorney General William Blatt. He found that Judge Pence's question was "unfounded." An investigation disclosed that Medeiros did not contact the law firm until after the authorization of the suit. Blatt asserted that there

was no "evidence of the contract of employment being contingent upon the securing of the passage of such an act" and that it also "appeared that Mr. Fong was disinterested and performed no services of a lobbying nature." Blatt also noted that Fong was not a sponsor of the bill authorizing the suit. Blatt's opinion was backed by C. Nils Tavares, president of the Bar Association of Hawaii (later successfully nominated by Fong for a federal judgeship) and the group's grievance committee.<sup>123</sup>

At about the same time that Judge Pence was questioning Fong's ethics, he also came under attack from another quarter. It was learned that Mrs. Ella Lam (Mrs. Ellyn Fong's sister and assistant clerk of the Holdover Committee), Douglas Fukumori, and Joe Shikata (both legislative employees), were mailing out literature for Fong's campaign as delegate for the upcoming Constitutional Convention. When questioned about it, Fong said that the news came as a surprise to him. He remarked that some of his relatives and campaign workers had gone to the palace to mail out campaign material but that he did not know the Committee's employees were helping. He directed that the efforts be stopped, and the matter was dropped.<sup>124</sup>

#### "Pork-Barreling"

The 1949 feud between the House and Senate almost erupted again in July 1950, this time over allegations that some of the Holdover Committee's employees were not working a full day, although their pay schedules were submitted along with the schedules of workers known to keep their assigned hours. Work days were from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. weekdays and 8:00 a.m. to 12 noon on Saturdays. Having no time clock, Fong ordered all employees to sign in and out, exclusive of



the lunch period, with the acting chief clerk. The system was started, he said, "because we have to keep track of who's working. If anybody doesn't like the system, they can resign as far as I'm concerned. People who don't sign won't get fired. They just won't get paid."<sup>125</sup>

Although there was some grumbling, most employees complied. However, Louis C. Silva (clerk of the Senate Ways and Means Committee for many years and in charge of records for the Holdover Committee) and his secretary, Roberta Weeks, refused to go along with Fong's edict as a matter of principle. Fong took a firm stance on the matter: he held back approval of their July paychecks.

Several senators came to Silva's aid, but Fong stood firm, indicating that the two employees would be paid if their supporters could get a motion to that effect passed by the Holdover Committee. "But," he said, "I'm afraid they won't have the votes." A day later, following a private meeting, Senate supporters said maybe Silva would quit. Fong remained adamant. The next day, Silva and Weeks capitulated. Once again, Fong had held out for his stated principles, and won. Moreover, he had correctly assessed the amount of support behind him. Hawaii's citizens were pleased not only at his order but also on his insistence that it be followed. His public image as a fighter when right was on his side was enhanced when the evening newspaper noted, "Fong Wins Battle With Holdover Group Employees."<sup>126</sup> His reputation as a hard worker was also reinforced, when, at the beginning of August, he scheduled meetings six days a week in order to get through some of the backlog of work which had piled up during the first half of the Committee's life.<sup>127</sup>

### Fong's "Brain Trust"

Conscious of the need for outside expertise, Fong named a "brain trust" to assist him as head of the Holdover Committee. Working without pay, members were to advise him on the presentation of various matters to the 1951 legislature. They included W. Mendel Borthwick, on civil service matters; James H. Shoemaker, on economics; Frank G. Serrao, on land problems; Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, on education; Alva E. Steadman, on taxes and business; Dr. Lester Yee, on health and welfare; and Katsuro Miho, on legal matters.<sup>128</sup>

### Employees Retained

The amount of work to be accomplished was so great that in September, the legislators realized that it would be impossible to complete their work by the official expiration date of November 7, and asked the attorney general to rule on whether or not it could retain its employees after that date. He ruled in the affirmative, providing their services were required.<sup>129</sup>

Although the Committee rushed to send out more subcommittee reports in early November, Fong reported that he did not see how they could finish their work before election day, saying, "A lot of reports still aren't ready, and many of them are very lengthy and detailed. Since we're just an advisory group anyway, we may as well carry on after the election." The Committee voted to extend the activities of its paid staff until January 31. It could afford to do this, as it still had \$34,000 in its treasury, due in part to Fong's firm management.<sup>130</sup>

### Industrial Loans Guarantee Fund

One important recommendation of the Holdover Committee to the 1951 Legislature was for an act creating an industrial loan guarantee fund for the stimulation of new business. The bill had passed the House in 1949, but had been referred to the Holdover Committee after the Senate felt it needed further study. In recommending the measure, the subcommittee on substantive matters cited the improvement expected to accrue to the Territory by diversification of its economy and a lessening of the dependency on the sugar and pineapple industries. Under provisions of the bill, an initial amount of \$500,000 would be appropriated as the industrial loan guarantee fund, and all applications for loans would be submitted to the loan guarantee board for approval.<sup>131</sup> Small business loans of \$10,000 or less, on a 10-year basis of not more than 5 per cent interest, would be made by regular lending institutions, but the Territory, through the loan board, would guarantee 50 per cent of the amount loaned, in much the same way the U.S. Veterans Administration was helping veterans with home and business loans. Former Rep. Alfred Apaka, head of the subcommittee writing the report, indicated "The banks at first opposed the bill, but your subcommittee understands that they now favor a measure of this nature."<sup>132</sup> This recommendation had a great impact upon Fong's future success as a businessman, because it led ultimately to the organization of Finance Factors, Ltd. by Fong and a small group of associates, of which more will be reported later.

### Report on the Holdover Committee

A summary report of the 1949 Legislative Holdover Committee was placed on legislators' desks on March 5, 1951. It showed 82 bills and

other measures recommended for adoption in the 1951 session, as a result of 117 different matters referred to the committee for study. Of the recommended measures, 42 related to public lands, 13 to government efficiency, 10 to substantive matters, seven to health and welfare, five to civil service, two to fire prevention, and one to unAmerican activities. The Committee had met in plenary session 20 times, while its 11 subcommittees held 142 meetings. Advisory groups met at least 30 times. During its tenure, the period

was perhaps the most active--in terms of civil functions--in the history of the territory. Over the span of 16 months, there were two special sessions of the Legislature, a constitutional convention of four months' duration, at which nine of the committee's 20 members served as delegates, and a continuing drive for statehood in which Committee members took leading parts.<sup>133</sup>

Far-reaching changes in the organization of the territorial government were included in the recommendations of the committee. However, one matter the committee refused to deal with was the matter of a tunnel servicing the windward side.<sup>134</sup> This topic will be covered in the 1951 legislative session.

The Legislative Holdover Committee was also remarkable in that it stayed within its budget. Incomplete financial reports noted that only \$136,297 of the \$150,000 appropriated was spent. Staff salaries accounted for \$81,057, while travel and subsistence for its members and staff consumed another \$31,360. Fong's insistence upon employees working their allotted hours no doubt led to greater productivity of the Committee as well as to its sound fiscal state at the end of its tenure. The final meeting called by Fong was for February 12, 1951.<sup>135</sup>

### The 1950 Constitutional Convention

The first congressional visits to Hawaii concerning her readiness for statehood began in 1935. Following Hawaii's patriotic record in the fighting of World War II, the drive for full status was supported from many other areas of the United States. An expensive educational campaign was started, and an office of the Hawaii Statehood Commission was maintained in the national capitol.<sup>136</sup>

Work for the hoped-for new state of Hawaii started officially with the Statehood Commission, which in 1947 had appointed a 24-member "state constitution committee" to lay the necessary ground work for the constitutional convention. Fong was a member of that committee. It was he and 14 other Representatives who introduced the first bill in the 1949 Legislature, House Bill No. 1, "An Act to provide for a constitutional convention, the adoption of a state constitution, and the forwarding of the same to the Congress of the United States, and appropriating money therefor...."<sup>137</sup> Amended and combined with related bills, it was signed into law as Act 334.

The 1949 law stipulated a constitutional convention of 63 delegates, selected on a non-partisan ballot at special elections. The primary election was held on February 11, 1950, and the general election on March 21. The convention lasted from April 4 to July 22, 1950.<sup>138</sup>

The plan of a unilateral drafting of a state constitution without prior congressional approval and its subsequent presentation to Washington as a fait accompli was adopted by the territorial legislature as a strategic gamble, an alternative to the more conventional approach of seeking enabling legislation. This approach, however, continued to be used in conjunction with the constitution as written.

What Hawaii proposed to do was not a new ploy toward achieving statehood, for 15 states had held conventions previous to the granting of statehood. The adoption of a constitution was by no means a guarantee of Congressional approval, however. For Hawaii, several factors militated against immediate approval: lack of contiguity to the United States mainland, its relatively miniscule land area, polyglot population, unique political history, and reputedly Communist-led labor unions all contributed to the stand of statehood detractors. These people claimed that the loyalty of Hawaii's peoples and their capacity for self-government had not been proved. Not only were key people on the mainland opposed to statehood, but there was a vocal and strong minority in Hawaii as well. The 1940 plebiscite showed that about one-third of Hawaii's voters opposed Statehood.<sup>139</sup> The opposition included influential persons like entrepreneur Walter F. Dillingham, Lorrin P. Thurston, whose family published the Honolulu Advertiser, and sometime legislator, the part-Hawaiian, wealthy Alice Kamokila Campbell.<sup>140</sup>

#### The Campaign for Delegates

Territorial legislators were able to run for delegate seats because of an amendment passed adjusting the terms of the Organic Act. They therefore did not violate the stricture against dual officeholding.<sup>141</sup> In general, the campaign for convention seats was relatively dull. There were many applicants, so that the time allotted each to speak at the rallies was limited to two minutes for the primary elections and five minutes for the general contest. This permitted little time to develop any issues, and made for dull, uninspired rallies. According to Norman Meller, 1950 was the end of the old-style, unsophisticated, Hawaiian politiking, when personality politics predominated, and a

voter went to a political rally more to be entertained and possibly fed than to learn about important issues.<sup>142</sup> Advertisements by radio and newspapers were beginning to be employed more and more. Thousands of printed cards and flyers were still distributed at rallies, but the importance of the community rally was beginning to give way to the media approach.

Former Senator Harold Rice of Maui opposed the election of legislators who sought positions as delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Attorney Garner Anthony agreed, feeling that the solons, who would be voting on accepting the constitution, would be acting like judges sitting in review of their own decisions. Others, including Fong, saw merit in having elected officials as delegates. He said,

I disagree with Sen. Rice strongly. The men who really know government are the men who have put a large portion of their lives into government. Most of them have served several terms. Many have served more than 10 years.

The experience they have gained and the insight they have into affairs of government will stand them in very good stead in working out details of a constitution. I would urge as many legislators as possible to run, although they should not, by any means, dominate the Convention, which should be a representative body.<sup>143</sup>

When Rice voiced further objections, saying that staff members of the 1949 Holdover Committee would be wasting taxpayers' money when their supervisors, the legislators, would be at the convention, Fong asked,

What is Harold afraid of anyway? Is he afraid that members of the legislature will be in a position to overshadow his presence?

Members of the Holdover Committee never were intended to be clerks, digging out facts for themselves. The Legislative Reference Bureau and a staff is doing that. They are busy at it now and will be busy until at least October. Then the committeemen will sit down and discuss those facts, formulate a policy, and recommend legislation based on those facts. The Convention will not interfere with the task of the Holdover Committee as it is laid out. They will complete their task, and on time.<sup>144</sup>

### Fong Campaigns for the Constitutional Convention

Fong announced his candidacy for the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention from Combination "Y" of the Fifth District on Tuesday, January 17, 1950. At the time he was active in several businesses, including Richards, Ltd. Haberdashery, Market City, and the Alakea Building. He was chairman of the subcommittee on executive powers and functions of the Hawaii Statehood Commission and a member of the Legislative Advisory Committee to the Statehood Commission. He was also chairman of the subcommittee on statehood of the Holdover Committee. His goal was an adequate constitution prepared by a convention that included enough legislators to help frame it.<sup>145</sup>

Campaign literature included advertisements in the local press stating: "Hiram L. Fong Humbly Solicits Your Vote for Delegate, "Y" Combination; Lawyer-Legislator, Veteran." Again the notices emphasized his usual slogan: "Experienced, Capable, Fair." "Y" combination included his home precincts of 18-21 and 27. Following his success in the primaries, in which he led the field with 1,896 votes followed by Trude M. Akau with 1,633, he placed an advertisement reading: "Y" Combination Friends...I wish to thank you most sincerely for your confidence in me. May I solicit your cooperation March 21st?"<sup>146</sup>

A surprise and welcome endorsement came in the form of a statement from C. Q. Yee Hop, who, at the age of 84, was to cast his first ballot. Having let several opportunities to become a citizen pass by, the one-time Chinese coolie (who had risen to be head of a multi-million dollar business enterprise started when he was known as Chun Quon) was 80 years old when Judge Delbert Metzger gave him the oath of United States citizenship in 1949. Thrilled to be exercising his right to vote for



Constitutional Convention delegates, he said he had not decided for whom he would vote, with one exception--"my friend Hiram Fong." While Fong probably did not need the endorsement of the venerable Chinese, it certainly did not hurt to have it publicized.<sup>147</sup>

Out of the total of 6,555 possible votes for combination "Y", 5,321 were actually cast in the general election. Fong was given 2,862 of these, more than 50 per cent. Mrs. Akau won the second seat with 2,135 votes.<sup>148</sup>

With obvious ethnic pride, the Hawaii Chinese Journal noted that of the candidates elected to the Territory's Statehood convention, there were five Chinese: Senator Herbert K. H. Lee, Speaker of the House of Representatives Hiram L. Fong, and Chuck Mau, Frank Kam, and John K. Lai. Two-part Chinese were also elected: Senator William Heen, and Dr. Sam K. Apoliona, Jr. There were also 27 Caucasians, 20 Japanese, and 11 Hawaiians.<sup>149</sup>

#### Horatio Alger Tradition

Much of Fong's appeal to the voters in the Fifth District came from his personal success. His constituents were kept aware of his endeavors and accomplishments either through personal contact, as with his school mates and their families, but also because Fong himself never hesitated to publicize his activities. Moreover he always gave credit for his successes to the American way of life. Such expressions of patriotism were popular in that period of Hawaiian and American history, and the voters responded very well to this approach.

A harbinger of what was to come 20 years later (when Fong was voted the Horatio Alger Award) was noted in a biographical sketch soon after he announced his candidacy for the Constitutional Convention

in 1950. Captioned "Hiram L. Fong Boasts 'Poor Boy Makes Good' Background" the article said,

One convention candidate who boasts a "poor boy makes good" background in the Horatio Alger tradition is Rep. Hiram L. Fong....Speaker Fong ascribes his success in all lines of endeavor to the American system of free public education and free enterprise.<sup>150</sup>

Fong was never shy about the fact that striving for an education coupled with hard work were keystones to his success. Although he was to achieve even greater success in politics, business, and law in future years, by 1950 he already saw himself as an example of the kind of boy or young man described by the American author, Horatio Alger. Alger (1834-1899) was born in Massachusetts and became a Unitarian minister, but resigned to live and write in New York City. There, Alger's first-hand knowledge and association with penniless boys in the city streets gave him background for a highly successful series of stories. He used the same basic theme in more than 100 books. His heroes always rose from poverty and hardship by means of thrift, hard work, and dedication to achieve riches, respectability, and honor. The "rags-to-riches" theme appealed to a great number of American boys,<sup>151</sup> and served to inspire them to act in what Fong saw as the "American way."

Alger's fictional heroes became a symbol of America's opportunities as well as adding to her mythic qualities. To Fong, however, the Alger boys were never part of a myth; they were indeed symbols of his own life. He felt a great empathy with the heroes of Ragged Dick (1867); Luck and Pluck (1869); Sink or Swim (1870); and Tattered Tom (1871). There was an added dimension relating to Fong, however. The great majority of Alger's books were written about Caucasians, not Orientals

nor those of Asian background. As a member of a racial minority group, Fong had an added disadvantage to overcome. This reinforced his world view that he was an example for others to follow, particularly among the Chinese and other ethnic minorities in Hawaii. Because Fong's case was so clear, others found it easy to view him in the same light. In a very real sense, Fong's own life became more symbolic of American opportunity than the boys of the Alger stories.

### The Delegates

In 1950, the total population stood at 499,794, with 70.6 per cent, or 353,020 living on the Island of Oahu. Registered voters totaled 122,849 for the election of convention delegates, and of these 97,361 or 79.3 per cent actually voted, a very high proportion. Successful candidates included 12 incumbent legislators (of which Fong was one), and six others with previous legislative experience. They made up 29 per cent of the delegates,<sup>152</sup> a proportion which must have given Fong great satisfaction because of his stand against Charles Rice's admonition to keep out legislators.

Ages of the delegates ranged from 22 to 73; Fong, at age 44, was below the arithmetical average. Only five, or 7.9 per cent were women. Occupations represented were 19 lawyers (30 per cent); 25 business persons (40 per cent); seven educators (11 per cent); five doctors (8 per cent); three housewives (5 per cent); two union organizers (3 per cent); one full-time public officer (2 per cent); and one retired person (2 per cent). There were no students, civil service employees, nor anyone unemployed among the delegates.<sup>153</sup>

Meller stated that the manner in which Hawaii's citizens conducted themselves with respect to the election of delegates was crucial to the

statehood cause. If radical or left-wing delegates were chosen, it was feared that chances for statehood would be lessened. Fortunately, all went well. Of 14 candidates endorsed by the I.L.W.U. (then under suspicion of being communist-dominated), only two won.<sup>154</sup>

### The Constitutional Convention Opens

Hopes ran high, as the Convention got under way at Iolani Palace in impressive ceremonies on April 4. Delegates then moved across the street to the Armory, which was more spacious and had been decorated with greenery and the flags of many States. If the constitution to be drafted were well-written and conservative enough, it would serve as a demonstration of the capacity of the people of Hawaii to undertake their own governance in a mature fashion. It would also reassure Island residents that the proposed government would provide enough safeguards for them, so that they could support the statehood issue without question.<sup>155</sup>

### The Loyalty Oath and Communism

Expressing patriotism to the United States became almost a compulsion for the great majority of Hawaii's citizens in the wake of Pearl Harbor and World War II. The question of loyalty had been used as one of the bases for denial of statehood for so long that the Constitutional Convention took specific steps to guarantee that there would be no mistaking the intent of the Islanders with respect to the document they hoped would further their statehood chances.

Just at the time the Convention was constituted, the issue of Communist infiltration of the U.S. Department of State had been raised by Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy. His charges at first were

challenged by few of his fellow Senators and not many other Americans for several years, due in part to the frustrations of the Korean War, the Chinese Communist conquest of mainland China, and the arrest and conviction as Russian spies of several Americans during this period. Hawaii's officials, of course, were already super-sensitive to the issue of alleged Communists leading the I.L.W.U. during the devastating maritime strike recently concluded.

Shortly before the beginning of the longshore strike of 1949, the Hawaii Legislature had passed House Bill No. 541, which amended the loyalty oath provision in the Organic Act by requiring that all employees of the Territory receiving compensation from the government attest to the fact that they were not Communists and had not been members of the Communist Party for five years previous to employment. Fong of course voted in favor of the bill.<sup>156</sup>

During the opening day ceremonies, Governor Stainback emphasized the patriotism of Hawaii's various ethnic groups, notably those of Japanese ancestry. Everyone sang the national anthem. The mood of all the delegates and visitors was one of great excitement that here was formal opportunity for a declaration of loyalty to the United States. Fong was assigned a very significant role to play in this regard. It was he who introduced the resolution to seat the 63 duly-elected delegates. The resolution, moreover, contained the same non-Communist oath that was written in H.B. 541. Six notaries public helped process the written oaths while musicians entertained the crowd. It was not until all the oaths were notarized that the official swearing-in was begun.<sup>157</sup>

The loyalty oath proved to be the undoing of two delegates, Richard Kageyama, member of the Honolulu Board of Supervisors, and Frank G. Silva, I.L.W.U. business agent on Kauai. At that time, the U.S. House unAmerican Activities Committee was holding hearings in Hawaii, and both men were called to testify. Kageyama had signed the loyalty oath, but on April 11 confessed that he had been a communist in 1947. However, he testified that he had been almost immediately disillusioned with Communism. The following day, he resigned from the Convention and his resignation was accepted unanimously. Governor Stainback immediately appointed John R. Phillips, a disabled war veteran who had received only 50 votes less than Kageyama, as his replacement. The delegates were divided on whether to commend Kageyama for what some of them considered a courageous act, and could not agree on a resolution concerning his resignation. On a split vote, a modified resolution was adopted recognizing that Kageyama's cooperation with the House unAmerican Committee in "testifying before and otherwise assisting it in the exposure of Communists and Communist activities in Hawaii has been of distinct service to his country."<sup>158</sup>

The Silva case took a more strident turn. He refused to cooperate with the House unAmerican Committee. However, Silva was named by Ichiro Izuka as having been a Communist in 1947. Unlike Kageyama, who had resigned from his post as delegate with as much grace as could be mustered under the circumstances, Silva decided to stick it out. A special committee, which did not include Fong, was constituted to recommend action on the Silva affair. The committee offered a resolution signed by 48 delegates, calling for Silva's ejection from the Convention on the basis of his "contempt" of the House unAmerican Committee.

Silva appeared before the Convention delegates, and spoke in scathing terms on his own behalf. The names he called the delegates ranged from "tools of the Big Five" to "cowards." He claimed that it was the other delegates who should be purged, not himself. His intemperate, fiery speech backfired on him, however, and later became the grounds on which the Convention successfully removed him.

Legal minds among the delegates recognized that Silva was not actually in contempt of Congress. Thomas Sakakihara attempted three times to get a resolution passed, asking the Attorney General to rule on the matter, but was not successful. After some six hours of debate, and a lengthy dinner recess, a modified statement was adopted. The delegates voted 53 to 7 to oust Silva because of his "contumacious conduct" before and toward the Congressional committee. The phrase meant "disgraced of the requirement of rightful authority, intentional disobedience and insolent or stubborn adverseness." Fong was certainly not one of the few voting against the resolution.<sup>159</sup> It was to Kageyama and Silva that Fong referred later when he testified on the Communist issue before Hugh Butler and the Senate Committee on Statehood.

#### Convention Organization

The powerful Republican Party successfully organized the Constitutional Convention to its liking. It was the first convention called in 38 years for the purpose of framing a state constitution. The 63 delegates elected Republican Samuel Wilder King as president by a unanimous vote. King had been Delegate to Congress and would be Governor in three years. A short parliamentary tussle ensued, in which Democratic party leaders charged Republicans with grabbing one-party control of the officially non-partisan Convention. The Democrats had

hoped that a single Democratic vice-president could be selected for balance, but Fong jumped to his feet to move that their motion to provide for it be tabled. Following a heated debate, action was deferred.

The conferees then decided to have four vice-presidents, one from each of the counties. Elected were the Big Island's Thomas Sakakihara, Charles Rice from Kauai (the single Democrat among the six permanent officers), Arthur Woolaway from Maui, and Fong from Oahu. Garner Anthony nominated William Heen for the Oahu vice-presidency, but, following a battle between the Fong and Heen forces, the latter withdrew from the race, and Fong was elected unanimously. Once again, Fong was in a position of power. Hebden Porteus was chosen secretary in a unanimous vote. President King named Fong as a member of the temporary committee on permanent rules.<sup>160</sup>

#### Constitutional Convention Committees

Appointed members of the Rules Committee included Delegates William Heen, Tom Okino, Thomas Sakakihara, Garner Anthony, C. Nils Tavares, Yasutaka Fukushima, Charles Kauhane, Chuck Mau, Randolph Crossley, Fong and several others. President King then drew up a list of committees and assigned delegates to them. This was submitted for approval to the Rules Committee. The Committee endorsed King's list, with the addition of one more committee suggested by Mau. Anthony objected to the "multiplicity of committees," whereupon Fong spoke up, saying,

Do you want just a few bureaucratic committees, so busy that they have no time to hear the public? Just because we have a committee on a subject doesn't mean it will be incorporated in the constitution. We can't gag the people.<sup>161</sup> (emphasis supplied)

Fong's insistence on citizens having a voice in the making of the document by which they would be governed was not lost on the public.



He was not named to head any particular committee, but was assigned by President King to several important ones in addition to the Rules Committee. They were as follows, with their chairmen:

Committee on Legislative Powers and Functions (William Heen)  
 Committee on Executive Powers and Functions (Tom Okino)  
 Committee on Judiciary (Garner Anthony)  
 Committee on Revision, Amendments, Initiative, Referendum and  
 Recall (Yasutaka Fukushima)  
 Committee on Submission and Information (Randolph Crossley)<sup>162</sup>

### Fong's Stand on Some Issues

While Fong took a very active part in deliberations of the Constitutional Convention, no attempt will be made here to cover all of his many activities. However, his stands on the power of the governor vis-à-vis the proposed Legislature, the judicial system, and the inclusion of the Hawaiian Homes Authority in the constitution, and several others were crucial enough to be reviewed.

The original recommendations providing broad gubernatorial powers were so extensive that Fong and a group of other delegates, many of them territorial legislators, attacked them as creating a "superman." At one point, Fong indicated he thought the intention of the delegates was to shear the lawmakers of power by concentrating too much authority in the governor to appoint government officials. Calling upon his personal experience with the legislatures in past sessions, he said,

We are trying at every turn to circumvent the legislature. The Legislature has done a good job. We can depend upon the Legislature to do what is right. They did a good job at the last special session. Have faith in your Legislature.<sup>163</sup>

The subject of legislative apportionment, or how the lines of representative and senatorial districts were to be drawn for the new state, received great attention, as might be expected. It was found impossible to reapportion or redistrict without jeopardizing the ability

of incumbent or prospective legislators to gain public office. An obvious fact was that the increase in size of Oahu's population relative to the Neighbor Islands made it difficult for incumbent outer island legislators to retain their seats. The problem was resolved by expanding the size of the Senate from 15 to 25 members and the House of Representatives from 30 to 51 members. Fong recalled that he fought hard for the larger Legislature.<sup>164</sup> Delegates also adopted the policy of generally running the boundaries of legislative districts from the mountains to the sea, following the concept of the old Hawaiian ahupua'a. When the redistricting was accomplished, it was claimed that this configuration was designed to aid the Republicans on Oahu, but the fact of the matter was that the first election under the 1960 reapportionment saw the Democrats benefitting from the new districts.<sup>165</sup> However, it must be remembered that when apportionment was finally achieved through Delegate Elizabeth Farrington's efforts in Washington, the Republicans had already suffered the defeat of 1954 from which they have never recovered.

There was strong sentiment for annual legislative sessions, resulting in a provision for interspersing a 30-day budget session in alternate years between the 60-day regular session, which Fong approved. He also agreed with the provision that legislators should receive higher compensation, and the 1950 Convention authorized the Legislature to fix its own salary within certain guidelines. Home rule was not supported, with the Legislature retaining control over the county governments. While Fong and his supporters were successful with respect to the makeup of the Legislature, they were not able to secure the election of judges nor of the attorney general.<sup>166</sup>

Section 3 of the judiciary committee's proposal for the supreme court justices and circuit judges provided for their appointment by the chief executive. The committee debated at great length on the merits of appointed versus elected judges. Delegate Yasutaka Fukushima moved to elect all judges, but his motion was soundly defeated by a vote of 50 to 11, with Fong voting with the majority. While he was later to say that he could see benefits with either system,<sup>167</sup> at the convention Fong introduced a compromise amendment to elect the chief justice who would in turn appoint all other justices. Supporting his motion with a 30-minute speech, Fong said, "Don't submit the appointment of judges to the whims and machinations of politicians," and asked how the delegates would return to their constituents and look the electors in the eye if they didn't "trust the people." Despite his pleas, his amendment was defeated by a vote of 37 to 20.<sup>168</sup>

Fong also lost the battle for an elected attorney general. Advocates noted that 45 of the 48 states elected their attorney generals, but supporters of the appointive method like J. Garner Anthony and C. Nils Tavares prevailed after a two-hour debate. The vote was 35 to 25.<sup>169</sup> Fong also voted against statutory initiative, referendum and recall.<sup>170</sup>

The debates on the judicial system brought out into the open the "sometimes voiced supposition" that attorneys of Oriental ancestry feared they would be discriminated against in judgeship appointments and therefore preferred the elective system. Delegate Alex Castro was instrumental in bringing this situation up for open discussion. Castro conceded that past practices, in which judicial appointments were made in Washington, resulted in a preponderance of Caucasian judges, but he also pointed out that up until the last ten or so years, there had

not been an increasing number of well-trained judicial material of Oriental ancestry to call upon. Under statehood and an elected governor for Hawaii, Castro saw no problems of racial bias: an elected chief executive would not dare to discriminate "even if he had it in his heart to do so," he declared. Delegate Jack Mizuha, an American-Japanese who was a United States Army veteran, spoke in favor of the appointive system, suggesting that "It would be well at this time to forget any question of ancestral background."<sup>171</sup>

Treatment of attorneys of Oriental background in the 1930's and 1940's by Caucasian judges was indeed inequitable, according to Fong's first law partner, Katsuro Miho. He had often felt the sting of discrimination in the courtroom. While nothing was done overtly to the extent that an official inquiry on the merits of the judge could be made, Miho recalled that the discrimination often took the form of the judge's openly praising the Caucasian attorneys for their presentations while taking every opportunity, warranted or not, to publicly reprehend the non-Caucasian lawyers for lack of preparation or a minor slip of the tongue. One other very obvious tactic was for the judge to invite only the Caucasian lawyers into the judge's chambers. This deliberate omission left the non-Caucasian attorneys with feelings of inferiority and frustration. At times, the decision of the judges seemed unfair to the non-Caucasian attorneys, and while not every judge was guilty of these practices, enough of them were to cause some concern among the attorneys of Oriental ancestry.<sup>172</sup>

#### The Statehood Delegation Goes to Washington

At a meeting of the Holdover Committee in April, Fong reported that both Delegate Joseph Farrington and Samuel W. King, president of the

Constitutional Convention, believed that the 1950 spring session of the Congress represented "the first real chance" Hawaii had had for statehood. He said they recommended sending a big delegation to the May 1 hearings in Washington. Fong said, "If we do, we may bring home the bacon."<sup>173</sup>

While the Constitutional Convention was meeting, the call to send delegates in support of statehood came from the capitol city. Delegate Farrington's original list of 17 witnesses pointedly ignored Governor Ingram Stainback, who previously had been opposed to statehood. It was feared he might prove to be a negative witness.<sup>174</sup> However, he did testify.

As chairman of the Legislative Holdover Committee, Fong was given the power to appoint a six-man committee to testify for statehood. The committee unanimously had passed a resolution on March 31, 1950 specifying that "one legislator from each representative district" be sent, with the committee funding the trip. When the point was made that the resolution as passed omitted the sending of senators (who represented senatorial districts), Fong said that the matter would have to be brought up again with the Committee.<sup>175</sup> The fact that the resolution specified "representative districts" provided a clue to Fong's intent and power. However, he did favor a large delegation, and in the end the entire Holdover Committee journeyed to Washington.

It was Thomas Sakakihara who introduced a resolution that the entire Holdover Committee and seven advisors make the trip. This was unanimously adopted following considerable debate. The seven advisors included Senate president Wilfred Tsukiyama, Senate vice-president Thelma Akana; Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, University of Hawaii President;

Honolulu Mayor John Wilson; and the three chairmen of the neighbor islands: William Ellis of Kauai, Eddie Tam of Maui, and James Kealoha of the Hawaii island. Fong reported that the statehood commission had approximately \$20,000 for financing the trip, estimated to cost each member \$869 for plane fare, plus \$30.00 a day for expenses. The four counties were to finance the trips of their board members.<sup>176</sup>

At this point, Rep. Hebden Porteus resigned from the holdover group. He said it was because of the pressures of his duties as a delegate to the Convention, for which he was serving as acting president while the other officers went to Washington, and of other business. Fong replaced him with Rep. Walter F. McGuire, who made the trip. The delegation met in San Francisco to caucus, where, according to Fong, the 19 members who planned to testify were assigned topics to discuss.<sup>177</sup>

#### Statehood Hearings, 1950

In the Statehood for Hawaii hearings (H.R. 49, S. 156, S. 1782) held before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs beginning at 10 a.m., Monday, May 1, 1950, in the Caucus Room at 318 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., Fong was scheduled to be the seventeenth speaker in the second and third sessions.

Samuel King was the fourteenth speaker. He recited the history of Hawaii and the warm humanity holding the island peoples together, keeping his audience spellbound throughout his testimony. It was later reported that King and Fong were both so eloquent in their statements that there were tears in some eyes when they finished. Even Senator Hugh Butler, long-time staunch opponent of statehood, appeared moved by their appearance before the committee.<sup>178</sup>

Fong brought the same feeling as did King into the Senate caucus room with his presentation of racial amity and the American-like quality of the aspirations shared by Hawaii's multi-ethnic people. The American-Chinese stated that, although the neighbor islands had prevented reapportionment up to then, fearing loss of control of the House of Representatives, "the desire for statehood is so strong that the outside islanders have been willing to accept it even with reapportionment."<sup>179</sup>

He noted that the composition of the House in the session just past was

truly representative of the political, economic, racial and social life of the islands. By nationality, there are fourteen members of Caucasian or part Caucasian-Hawaiian ancestry, ten of Japanese ancestry, three of Chinese-Hawaiian ancestry, two of Hawaiian ancestry, and only one of Chinese ancestry, myself. Politically, there are twenty Republicans and ten Democrats. Professional men, labor leaders, small businessmen, representatives of big business, employers, employees and even housewives are all represented. Of the 30, 11 are college trained.<sup>180</sup>

Fong recounted how the House and the Senate were instrumental in bringing about an end to the disastrous 1949 waterfront strike. He cited the passage of Act 2 of the Special Session of the Legislature, providing for government seizure and government operations of the struck stevedoring companies, as an example of independent American action because both the I.L.W.U. and the companies opposed "this most drastic legislation." Fong noted that "no pressure group can dictate to our representatives. It is to be noted that this legislation...is as courageous a piece of legislation that even the national Congress had hesitated to consider."<sup>181</sup>

Senator Butler's claim that Hawaii was in the firm grip of communism had been answered, Fong said, by the formation of a territorial unAmerican Activities Committee and the removal of two persons from the

Constitutional Convention. Cooperation between national and local governments to deal with the threat of communism would be enhanced with statehood for Hawaii.

His most appealing testimony must have been with respect to the assimilation of the Orientals in Hawaii:

As an American citizen of Chinese ancestry, I would like to answer that charge as I share with the American citizens of Japanese ancestry in all respects, their thoughts, their feelings, their hopes and their aspirations. I am a product of the American system and the American way of life. Being a product of American institutions, culture and way of life and having received the benefits of the bountiful blessings of a democratic country, I say without reservation to you American citizens of Caucasian ancestry, that the culture of America is my culture, the history of America is my history, your feelings, your hopes and your aspirations are my feelings, my hopes and my aspirations. Mount Vernon, Bunker Hill, the minutemen on Lexington Green, the crude bridge that arched the flood at Concord, and Pearl Harbor, fill me with the same emotions, the same reverence and the same devotion as they do you. They are just as much a part of me as they are a part of you.

No truer words were ever said by President Roosevelt than these: ...."Americanism is a matter of mind and heart. Americanism is not and never has been a matter of race and ancestry."<sup>182</sup>

He concluded by correlating the granting of statehood to Hawaii with the Marshall Plan in Europe, but having a much less expensive outlay. Statehood would "win friends for our democratic way of life....The principal [sic] of self-determination will then be more than a beautiful political philosophy," but it had the additional advantage in that it would not require the expenditure of "billions of dollars in Europe to contain communism."<sup>183</sup>

Four of the 1949 Holdover Committee members who also were delegates to the Constitutional Convention applied for and received permission for an extended leave of absence to permit them to remain on the mainland after the statehood hearings. Charles Kauhane and Chuck Mau



attended the Democratic Party Convention, while Fong and Sakakihara drove across the United States, accompanied by their wives.<sup>184</sup>

Fong made several speeches in Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, and California. He reported on his May 20 return that everywhere the people supported Hawaii's statehood efforts. There was an area of concern, which he addressed, saying,

What we really need in Washington at the present time is a group of lobbyists or a group that will spend some time in the capitol to explain our situation to the senators.

They don't know our situation. As an example, one senator told me he was worried that we could not take care of the finances of a state police....<sup>185</sup>

Calling upon Governor Earl Warren in California, Fong thanked him on behalf of the people of Hawaii for his favorable testimony, and "also assured him that we are and will always be a friend to California and that he could always depend on us."<sup>186</sup> While it is unclear how Hawaii might assist her wealthy, established and much larger neighbor, Fong nevertheless took the opportunity to act the role of statesman and diplomat, a role he obviously enjoyed.

In Sacramento and San Francisco, he met with 150 cousins, all members of the Loui Fong Tong association. They were ardent supporters of statehood from all over the United States, and "their efforts cannot be discounted in the statehood campaign,"<sup>187</sup> he said.

He was optimistic about Hawaii's chances for statehood, citing the fact that Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman thought they were "very bright." President Harry Truman had called in the members of the Senate committee to urge a favorable report while the Statehood Delegation was in Washington. As for his own opinion, Fong said, "I feel sure that they are all convinced that Americanization of our people

here is complete."<sup>188</sup> He noted that the issue of communism was uppermost in Senator Butler's mind. In addition, he said,

Great interest was expressed in Washington in our constitutional convention. The constitution we present to the congress will in no small measure determine the outcome of the statehood campaign. Congressmen are impressed, too, with the action of the Hawaii legislature in handling the long waterfront strike here, and in the action of the constitutional convention in expelling two delegates.<sup>189</sup>

Speaking in pugilistic terms, he encouraged his fellow citizens to keep up the fight for statehood, emphasizing, "We must have a program of education. We have them on the run now. Let's not slow up and start pulling punches."<sup>190</sup>

#### The State Seal

The delegates were responsible for many details, including revising the heraldry of Hawaii, and the resolution concerning the state seal, flag, colors, and song. Fong supported the efforts of Dr. Nils P. Larsen along these lines. Their work was approved by the Convention as a whole.<sup>191</sup>

#### The Hawaiian Homes Commission

Fong's motto was "Experienced, Capable, Fair," as previously stated. One instance when he displayed a sense of fairness was in the controversy surrounding the issue of including a section on the Hawaiian Homes Commission (H.H.C.) in the proposed constitution. Delegate Marguerite K. Ashford introduced a resolution memorializing Congress to remove the section on the Commission from H.R. 49, the congressional statehood bill then awaiting Senate action in Washington. It was her contention that specific consideration for native Hawaiians was racial discrimination, and would "ruin us in ten years." With co-sponsor Harold

Rice of Maui, she also introduced another resolution, memorializing Congress to repeal the original Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 and giving Hawaiians fee simple title to the lands. If the H.H.C. item were to remain in H.R. 49, and it became the statehood law, it could never be repealed or changed without congressional action.<sup>192</sup>

Delegate Flora Hayes was head of the Committee on the Hawaiian Homes Commission. She and her committee were strongly in favor of keeping the H.H.C. provision in H.R. 49 and included in the state constitution as well. They called upon Fong for support. He agreed, as did most of the members of the Legislative Holdover Committee. However, one member, Hawaii Senator William Nobriga, was an outspoken opponent of the H.H.C. Although Nobriga had been soundly defeated running on an anti-H.H.C. platform for the Constitutional Convention, he planned to launch an all-out attack upon its inclusion in H.R. 49 while testifying as a member of the Holdover Committee in Washington.

Concerned that the statehood delegation appear unanimous in support of their elusive goal in Washington, Fong and others tried to dissuade Nobriga from his damaging stance. After a two-and-a-half-hour meeting, Nobriga refused to change his plans. There were several shouts of "Leave him home!" from the other legislators, but Fong resisted any attempt to stop Nobriga, saying the latter could not be "gagged," and that as a member of the Holdover Committee, the Senator had a right to speak and, moreover, to say what he wished at the congressional hearing. Technically, Fong had the authority to keep Nobriga from testifying, but refused to use his power in that manner.<sup>193</sup> In this respect, Fong kept his word that the entire Legislative Holdover Committee would go to Washington, and maintained his reputation for being "fair."

The matter was decided in June, when by a vote of 54 to 1, the Convention voted to include the Hawaiian Homes Commission section in the Constitution. Fong voted with the majority that the law could be amended only by the state legislature acting with the consent of the Congress. Delegate Ashford cast the only negative vote.<sup>194</sup> Fong recalled that he worked very hard with Delegate Hayes on preserving Hawaiian rights. At this writing, the H.H.C. is still extant in accordance with the original constitution.

#### The Closed Primary Bill

The "closed" primary bill, which Fong and others had opposed, came up for discussion in the Constitutional Convention, but they were not successful in dealing with it. Delegate Thomas Sakakihara tried to add a section to the Constitution providing that "no voter shall be denied the right to vote for candidates of more than one party ticket." He reported that 85 per cent of the voters in Hawaii were nonpartisan; only 15 per cent were either declared Democrats or Republicans. However, proponents of the "closed" primary bill as passed in the last legislature defeated his move by a vote of 34 to 23.<sup>195</sup>

#### The Final Document

The most complete summary of the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1950 was supplied by Norman Meller. He noted that the delegates had almost a free hand in expressing their philosophy of government.<sup>196</sup> Certainly, Fong contributed to the degree of openness by defending the various rights of the delegates to be heard, as in the Hawaiian Homes Commission issue. He also insisted on enough committees

to allow for public contribution of ideas and responses. Not the least of his contributions were his adversary positions taken as he saw fit.

According to Meller, the document was commendably short, some 14,000 words, and represented the victory of those who held for sketching the structure of government, positing its powers in general language, and leaving out specific non-essentials by way of overcoming negative legal interpretations or protecting the rights of the people.<sup>197</sup>

Elements in the 1950 Constitution were: A bicameral legislature with an enlarged membership (51 House of Representatives members, and 25 members of the Senate); a short ballot calling for the election of only two statewide officers, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor; a centralized administration consisting of no more than 20 principal departments whose executives are appointed by the governor with confirmation by the Senate; supreme court and circuit court justices also to be appointed by the governor with Senate advice and approval; and local governments under the control of the state legislature. The statewide system of public education, and, as noted, the provisions of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act were retained.<sup>198</sup>

According to Meller, the 1950 Constitution "showed and was meant to demonstrate how thoroughly the people of the Islands were imbued with American political and cultural traditions."<sup>199</sup> The framers wisely incorporated many of the provisions of the Organic Act directly or by inference adopted them, and thus reassured the doubters of the continuity of philosophy under which Hawaii had been governed since annexation.<sup>200</sup>

Hawaii's sensitivity to the issue of Communism resulted in the inclusion of a controversial provision, found in no other constituent document, that "no person who advocates, or who aids or belongs to any party, organization or association which advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of this state or of the United States shall be qualified to hold any public office or employment." The new Hawaiian constitution thus served its two functions well: as Exhibit A to demonstrate Hawaii's maturity and security for the cause of statehood in Washington, and as a device to aggregate and articulate the citizens' desires to the same end. Moreover, the framers of the document succeeded in putting together a constitution, which in the opinion of the National Municipal League, "set a new high standard in the writing of a modern state constitution by a convention."<sup>201</sup>

Only the I.L.W.U., openly and actively, opposed the constitution, but it was a lonely voice. On November 7, 1950, 118,767 voters went to the polls. The separate ballot carrying the state constitutional question was voted on by 109,897. Three times as many as those opposing the constitution approved it, or 82,788 to 27,109.<sup>202</sup>

### The 1950 Special Session

Statehood Commission Chairman Samuel W. King went to the Holdover Committee seeking a special session for the purpose of approving the state constitution. Lukewarm at first to the idea, Fong later agreed and was instrumental in backing King's suggestion by circulating a petition among the legislators. Proponents reasoned that a special session to consider the Constitution would take only 10 to 15 days if the solons would allow colleagues who were Constitutional Convention delegates to explain the instrument to them. Otherwise, it would take

the Legislature about a month to study the constitution and pass it on to the voters. Under the law, the constitution had to be submitted to the Legislature for approval, then to the people for ratification. Supporters of the special session said statehood would be speeded and a costly special election could be eliminated by submitting the document for ratification in the upcoming November election. The money saved from the election would be used to pay for the special session, leaving the Territory even financially, and half a year ahead of its planned statehood schedule.<sup>203</sup>

Governor Stainback had opposed the special session because of the expense, but after being elusive for several days, he received the legislative petition and agreed to it. He set the date for the session to commence on Friday, September 29, 1950.<sup>204</sup> In his address to the lawmakers, the Governor indicated his concern about the large size of the proposed Legislature, and the great expense of annual sessions. He also hoped that the people would have an opportunity to vote upon his concerns. He also said that he felt the proposed Constitution was on the whole an "excellent document."<sup>205</sup>

Under Fong's leadership the work of the House moved smoothly. The lower chamber unanimously approved the Constitution with no changes on the third day, October 2, 1950.<sup>206</sup> Fong and other delegates had argued successfully that any amendments would only confuse the voters. The Senate was not as tightly organized, but finally approved the document, after having defeated Senator Nobriga's attempts to amend it. It was not until the tenth day, October 11, that the upper house passed it.<sup>207</sup>

While the Special Session was convened just for the purpose of approving items relative to the Constitution, other bills were waiting to be considered. But Fong was opposed to another long session. He said the House members were finished the first week in October: "Our work is done. We have completed our job and are ready to go home."<sup>208</sup> On October 13, the Special Session was over and the lawmakers could indeed go home. Fong and other solons had gone against the wishes of the Governor, but they more accurately reflected the will of the people, as we have seen.

#### Fong's Birthday

On September 30, Rep. Sakakihara introduced a resolution, which passed, commemorating Fong's 43rd birthday. Actually, he was one year older, as has been stated. Fong used the occasion for some light-hearted banter. Sakakihara said that it would be in order if Fong took representatives out to lunch "inasmuch as we haven't yet passed the bill appropriating money to pay our salaries." Fong responded by saying that he would be glad to invite the House and staff members and the press to lunch, but that such action on his part would probably cause curtailment of the milk supply for the Fong twins for "the next two months."<sup>209</sup>

#### Market City Opens Another Store

Following his election to the Constitutional Convention, Fong announced the opening of Market City's new fish market and international food building, bringing together to the people of Honolulu the most complete marketing services under one roof. Fresh fish and shell fish produce from Hawaiian waters, together with other foods, Chinese



groceries, and Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese and Caucasian prepared ready-to-eat foods were offered.

Food facilities occupied 2,880 square feet of the total sales area space of 5,280 square feet. A warehouse area was available, while 2,400 square feet had been set aside for the expansion of Foodland Super Market. Fong stated that cost of the building, equipment, and fixtures was \$75,000. He indicated that within a month, five additional store spaces would be ready for occupancy, including a self-service laundry. About one-half of the shopping center complex was completed. Beside Fong, officers of Market City were K. K. Chang, vice-president; Mun On Chun, treasurer; Ellyn Lo Fong, secretary; Herman S. Fong, auditor; and Charles Chang, director.<sup>210</sup>

#### The 1950 Election

On Thursday, August 24, 1950, Fong indicated it was "most likely" that he would run for re-election. It was once thought that both he and Rep. Sakakihara would try for the Senate, but had not made up their minds. "If we go, we'll go together," Fong stated, but later said they would both try for the House again.<sup>211</sup>

In his campaign for his sixth term, Fong emphasized the many improvements he had accomplished for the Fifth District. He cited school construction and emergency housing, the Lanakila Health Center, Leilehua High School, and several other schools in the country area, Waimano Home construction, the fishing wharf at Kaneohe Bay, the Kawaihoa Training School for Girls and the Waimanalo Training School for Boys, purchase of Kamehameha boys' football field, various improvements to parks and funds for the Kalihi Public Library, as well as support

for various hospitals in his district, as visible evidence of his ability and justification for re-election.<sup>212</sup>

In the primary election, both Fong and Porteus topped the G.O.P. ballots in their districts, with 8,027 and 16,118 votes respectively. But it was noted that the voters in both districts were "restless," as, for example, in Fong's district, Democratic hopeful Vincent Esposito garnered 5,332 votes, leading Mitsuyuki Kido who was seeking his third term (4,978), and another newcomer, Frank F. Fasi (4,191). New entrants in the Fourth District like Russell Starr performed very well in their initial campaigns.<sup>213</sup>

In the general election, Fong polled 15,015 votes, leading fellow Republicans Clarence Shimamura (14,240) and Yasutaka Fukushima (13,212). Democrats elected were Mitsuyuki Kido (16,677), Steere Noda (14,089), and Vincent Esposito (13,314) from the Fifth District.<sup>214</sup>

#### First Use of the "Closed" Primary Law

The effects of the "closed" primary law were seen immediately in the elections of 1950. Just as the Republicans had hoped, 68 per cent of the voters chose G.O.P. candidates in what appeared to be an unmistakable trend. Buoyed up by Delegate Joseph Farrington's immense drawing power, many Republicans were successful candidates, while long-time political favorites like Democrat William Heen (who normally drew the electorate from both parties) came in fourth in the primary election. In the past, he would have led the ticket.<sup>215</sup>

Some politicians disliked the new law, for obvious reasons. However Honolulu Mayor Wilson was reported to favor the new system. Voter resistance, however, did surface, and often took the form of ruined ballots either through unfamiliarity with the instructions, or

deliberate spoilage of ballots.<sup>216</sup> The law as passed was actually "inbetween" an open primary law and a "closed" primary one. One defect was that it required two or three different ballots to be used. The voter might ballot for a slate of Republican territorial candidates and also for a Democratic county list of candidates. Governor Oren E. Long requested a ruling from the attorney general's office on the problem.

It was thought that an entirely closed primary law, restricting the voters to just one party, was the original intent of the Legislature.<sup>217</sup> There was also some speculation that if the closed primary procedures were made troublesome enough, the voters would demand the law's repeal. The Legislature would then have to abide with the electorate's wishes. If this was the strategy for the law's repeal, it did not work.

NOTESCHAPTER VIII

- <sup>1</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin [HSB], 16 February 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. House of Representatives. Journal, 1949 Regular Session, pp. 7-8. Hereafter cited as Hse. Jnl.
- <sup>4</sup>Hawaii Chinese Journal [HCJ], 17 February 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>5</sup>HSB, 17 December 1948, p. 2.
- <sup>6</sup>HSB, 22 February 1949, p. 5.
- <sup>7</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., p. 55.
- <sup>8</sup>Laurence Nakatsuka, "Repercussions May be Many, Unpleasant," HSB, 18 February 1949, p. 10.
- <sup>9</sup>HSB, 28 February 1949, p. 5.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 10.
- <sup>11</sup>HSB, 1 March 1949, p. 4.
- <sup>12</sup>Laurence Nakatsuka, "Demos Rejoice; Get Additional Seats," HSB, 1 March 1949, p. 4.
- <sup>13</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949, p. 3015.
- <sup>14</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 7 February 1980.
- <sup>15</sup>Laurence Nakatsuka, "Some Facts Behind Pari-Mutuel Defeat," HSB, 3 May 1949, p. 2.
- <sup>16</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., pp. 1362, 1977.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 207, 413, 521. See also HSB, 8 March 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>18</sup>HSB, 8 March 1949.
- <sup>19</sup>HSB, 16 March 1949, p. 5.
- <sup>20</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., pp. 2527-2528.
- <sup>21</sup>Honolulu Advertiser [HA], 2 April 1949, p. 2.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid.

- <sup>23</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup>Hse. Jnl., pp. 150, 1439, 1460.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 1664.
- <sup>26</sup>HSB, 22 April 1949, p. 4.
- <sup>27</sup>HA, 20 April 1949, pp. 1, 6.
- <sup>28</sup>HSB, 22 April 1949, p. 4.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup>HLF, 17 August 1977.
- <sup>31</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., pp. 733, 1339.
- <sup>32</sup>HSB, 20 April 1949, p. 10.
- <sup>33</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess, pp. 1100, 1150.
- <sup>34</sup>HA, 24 April 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>35</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., p. 2599.
- <sup>36</sup>HSB, 5 May 1949 (?). Courtesy of HLF files. See also HLF, Telephone interview, 24 February 1980.
- <sup>37</sup>Ellen Jay Lai, Personal interview, 12 February 1979.
- <sup>38</sup>HSB, 5 May 1949, p. 3.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup>HA, 7 May 1949, p. 2.
- <sup>42</sup>Gwenfread Allen, The Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii, 1869-1969 (Honolulu: The Young Men's Christian Association, 1969), p. 93.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 95.
- <sup>44</sup>Ka Leo o Hawaii, 22 November 1929, p. 1.
- <sup>45</sup>HLF, 13 April 1977.
- <sup>46</sup>Alice Fong, Recorded interview, 30 April 1977.
- <sup>47</sup>HLF, 13 April 1977.
- <sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Francis K. L. Hsu, "The Chinese in Hawaii: Their Role in American Culture," New York Academy of Science Transactions, 13, No. 6 (1951), 244.

<sup>50</sup>Ailen, Y.M.C.A., p. 67.

<sup>51</sup>HLF, 27 April 1977.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 359-360.

<sup>55</sup>Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 370.

<sup>56</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., pp. 5-7.

<sup>57</sup>Fuchs, loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup>Paul F. Brissenden, "The Great Hawaiian Dock Strike," Labor Law Journal, 4, No. 4 (April 1953), 278.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>60</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., p. 1103.

<sup>61</sup>Brissenden, p. 233.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 247-250, and passim.

<sup>65</sup>HSB, 25 July 1949, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>HSB, 29 July 1949, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup>HSB, 30 July 1949, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup>HA, 31 July 1949, p. 1.

<sup>70</sup>HSB (?), 2 August 1949 (?), p. 1. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>71</sup>HSB, 30 July 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>72</sup>HSB, 26 July 1949, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>HA, 28 July 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.

- <sup>75</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., pp. 27, 489.
- <sup>76</sup>HSB, 3 August 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>77</sup>HSB, 29 July 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>78</sup>HSB, 29 July 1949, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>79</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., p. 26.
- <sup>80</sup>HSB, 30 July 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>81</sup>HSB, 29 July 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>82</sup>HA, 30 July 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>83</sup>HSB, 30 July 1949, p. 2.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., p. 46.
- <sup>86</sup>HSB, 3 August 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., pp. 89, 93-94.
- <sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 107, 109, 110, 127.
- <sup>91</sup>HSB, 11 August 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>92</sup>Elizabeth Sook Wha Ahn, "Government Intervention in the 1949 Hawaiian Longshore Strike," M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1950, p. 166.
- <sup>93</sup>All About Hawaii, 1950, p. 152.
- <sup>94</sup>Ahn, p. 169.
- <sup>95</sup>Based on Ahn, pp. 156-157.
- <sup>96</sup>Brissenden, p. 274.
- <sup>97</sup>HSB, 11 August 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>98</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Spec. Sess., p. 478.
- <sup>99</sup>Brissenden, p. 277.
- <sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

- 101 HSB, 27 September 1949, p. 4.
- 102 All About Hawaii, 1950, p. 161.
- 103 HSB (?), 7 September 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.
- 104 HA, 18 October 1949, ed. page.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Brissenden, p. 277.
- 107 HLF, 24 August 1977.
- 108 HSB, 11 August 1949, p. 1.
- 109 Sanford Zalburg, A Spark is Struck! (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1979), p. 453.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 HSB, 12 May 1949, p. 3.
- 112 HSB, 24 May 1949, p. 4.
- 113 HSB, 21 May 1949, p. 1.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 HA, 26 June 1949, pp. 1, 6.
- 117 HA, 9 July 1949, ed. page.
- 118 HA, 8 July 1949, ed. page.
- 119 HSB, 6 July 1949, p. 6.
- 120 HA, 13 July 1949, pp. 1, 3.
- 121 HSB, 16 March 1950, pp 1, 3, 11.
- 122 HSB, 17 March 1950, p. 12.
- 123 HSB, 14 April 1950, p. 1.
- 124 HA, 17 March 1950, p. 8.
- 125 HSB, 15 July 1950, p. 2.
- 126 HSB, 31 July 1950, p. 2.
- 127 HSB, 8 August 1950, p. 2.



- <sup>128</sup>HSB, 9 September 1950, p. 4.
- <sup>129</sup>HA, 16 September 1950, p. 14.
- <sup>130</sup>HA, 4 November 1950, p. 7.
- <sup>131</sup>HA, 1 December 1950, p. 8.
- <sup>132</sup>HSB, 18 January 1951, p. 2.
- <sup>133</sup>HSB, 5 March 1951, p. 3.
- <sup>134</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>135</sup>HSB, 26 January 1951, p. 3. See also HSB, 5 March 1951, p. 3.
- <sup>136</sup>Norman Meller, With an Understanding Heart (New York: National Municipal League, 1971), p. 4.
- <sup>137</sup>Hse. Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., pp. 2, 2802.
- <sup>138</sup>All About Hawaii, 1951, p. 55.
- <sup>139</sup>Meller, op. cit.
- <sup>140</sup>Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 383.
- <sup>141</sup>Meller, op. cit., p. 34.
- <sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.
- <sup>143</sup>HA, 13 December 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>144</sup>HA, 21 December 1949. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>145</sup>HSB, 17 January 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>146</sup>HSB, 2 March 1950. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>147</sup>HSB (?), March 1950 (?). Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>148</sup>HSB, 22 March 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>149</sup>HCJ, 23 March 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>150</sup>HSB, 20 March 1950, p. 11.
- <sup>151</sup>Ernest Sutherland Bates, "Alger, Horatio," Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964).
- <sup>152</sup>HA, 21 December 1949, p. 1.
- <sup>153</sup>Richard Kosaki, "Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions of Hawaii," The Hawaiian Journal of History, Vol. XII (1978), 128-132.

- <sup>154</sup>Meller, op. cit., p. 5.
- <sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>156</sup>Hse., Jnl., 1949 Reg. Sess., pp. 1610, 2107.
- <sup>157</sup>HSB, 5 April 1950, p. 2A.
- <sup>158</sup>HSB, 12 April 1950, p. 3A.
- <sup>159</sup>HA, 21 April 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>160</sup>HSB, 5 April 1950, p. 3A. See also HSB, 6 April 1950, p. 10; HA, 5 April 1950, p. 9.
- <sup>161</sup>HSB, 6 April 1950, p. 10.
- <sup>162</sup>HA, 12 April 1950, p. 11.
- <sup>163</sup>HA, 20 June 1950, p. 9.
- <sup>164</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 4 March 1980.
- <sup>165</sup>Meller, op. cit., p. 92.
- <sup>166</sup>HSB, 27 May 1950, p. 3.
- <sup>167</sup>HLF, 4 March 1980.
- <sup>168</sup>HA, 10 June 1950, p. 10.
- <sup>169</sup>Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, 1950, Vol. II (Honolulu: 1960-1961), pp. 320-330.
- <sup>170</sup>HSB, 25 May 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>171</sup>HA, 10 June 1950, p. 10.
- <sup>172</sup>Katsuro Miho, Recorded interview, 31 January 1978.
- <sup>173</sup>HA, 20 April 1950, p. 10.
- <sup>174</sup>HSB, 25 March 1950, p. 1. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>175</sup>HSB, 20 April 1950, p. 2.
- <sup>176</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>177</sup>HA, 28 April 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>178</sup>HSB, 3 May 1950, p. 14.

179,"Statement of Hiram L. Fong, Before Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in support of H.R. 49 to enable Hawaii to become a State." Copy of typescript. Courtesy of HLF files.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid.

184 HSB, 10 May 1950, p. 3.

185 HSB, 20 May 1950, p. 12.

186 Ibid.

187 HA, 21 May 1950. Courtesy of HLF files.

188 HSB, 20 May 1950, p. 12.

189 HA, 21 May 1950. Courtesy of HLF files.

190 HSB, 20 May 1950, p. 12.

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193 HSB, 28 April 1950, p. 17.

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196 Meller, op. cit., p. 86.

197 Ibid., p. 85.

198 Kosaki, op. cit., p. 124.

199 Meller, op. cit., p. 84.

200 Ibid., pp. 8-9.

201 Ibid., p. 5.

202 All About Hawaii, 1951, p. 55.

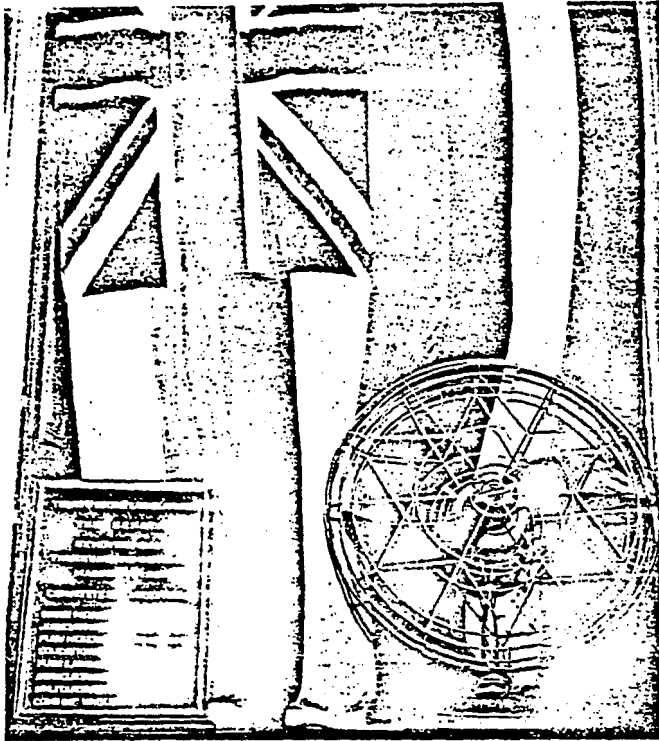
203 HSB, 26 August 1950, p. 3.

204 HA, 26 September 1950, p. 1.

- <sup>205</sup>Hse. Jnl., 2d Spec. Sess. 1950, pp. 7-8.
- <sup>206</sup>Ibid., p. 52.
- <sup>207</sup>Sen. Jnl., 2d Spec. Sess. 1950, pp. 55-56.
- <sup>208</sup>HSB, 5 October 1950, pp. 1, 10.
- <sup>209</sup>HSB, 1 October 1950, p. 12.
- <sup>210</sup>HSB (?), 24 March 1950. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>211</sup>HSB, 24 August 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>212</sup>HSB (?), 27 September 1950. Courtesy of HLF files.
- <sup>213</sup>HA, 9 October 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>214</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Office of the Secretary of Hawaii. Official Tabulation, 1950.
- <sup>215</sup>HSB, 10 October 1950, p. 11.
- <sup>216</sup>HSB, 8 October 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>217</sup>HSB, 3 May 1950, p. 5.

FIGURES 5-8. THE TWENTY-SIXTH LEGISLATURE, 1951

Source: Paradise of the Pacific, 1963, No. 4  
(April 1951), pp. 16-19.



# The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii



Reluctant Representative Thomas Sakakihara ponders the questions of a news reporter during a house recess.

*Twenty-sixth session meets at historical Iolani Palace to wrestle with problems, chief of which involve stretching taxpayers' dollars to meet budget demands.*



Rep. Walter "Buster" McGuire brushes up on political news in a pre-session glance at the newspaper. It's not the "funnies" that he's reading.



Sgt.-at-Arms Herman F. "Tiny" Kuhlmann puts the bite on Rep. Clarence Shimamura for two bucks for a birthday party for a house member.

Photos by R. Wenkam



Thelma Akana Harrison, the new bride senator, charms her colleagues into voting for one of her favorite projects.



←  
Oops, the Republicans are up to something. Hawaii's Democratic Rep. Earl Nielsen, house minority leader, is alerted.

**ROLL CALL**  
**THE SENATE**  
REGULAR SESSION  
TWENTY-SIXTH LEGISLATURE  
OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Aye	No	Exc.

Fig. 6

House Speaker Hiram Fong listens carefully to a clerk's reading of a new bill before referring it to the proper committee.



Oahu's Rep. Flora Hayes and her flowers are a colorful addition to the house. She is one of the five women legislators in this session.



The Democrats Rep. Mitsuyuki Kido, Rep. Earl Nielsen, and Rep. Dee Duponte, reservedly entertain a proposal by Republican floor leader Rep. Hebdon Porteus.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH LEGISLATURE  
TERRITORY OF HAWAII  
REGULAR SESSION  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## RECORD OF VOTES

On.....

MEMO.	REPRESENTATIVES	AYES		NOES	
	DUPONTE, MRS. HAROLD				
	ESPOSITO, O. VINCENT				
	FONG, HIRAM L.				
	FUKUSHIMA, YASUTAKA				
	GARCIA, JOSEPH R. JR.				
	HAYES, FLORA KAAI				
	HENRIQUES, M.				
	HINT				



A bill which he will present to the higher house is given a last minute check by William "Doc" Hill, Senator from the island of Hawaii.

Fig. 7





Stamping his name on a desk full of weighty tomes, Rep. Kaneo Kishimoto makes sure they won't stray during the session.



Gavel in hand, Senate President Wilfred Tsukiyama calls the Senate to order.

In the august surroundings of the palace, Rep. Manuel Henriques of Kauai opens the morning mail.



Rep. Hebden Porteus enumerates the points to be considered on a current Republican measure.



Fig. 8

CHAPTER IX1951-1954The Speakership Contest

Twenty-one Republicans were elected to the House in 1950, more than a two-thirds majority, which ensured that the G.O.P. could organize the lower chamber to its liking. Predictably, Fong wished to retain his seat as Speaker, and Porteus wished to have it. The contest had to be resolved as amicably as possible once again. But very early in the days following the general election, it was clear who would be the victor. Fong's undoubtedly strong leadership in the 1949 regular and special sessions, his statehood testimony in Washington, activities in the Constitutional Convention, and in the Special Session on the Constitution in late 1950, assured him popular support. Still, the Porteus faction tested its strength. On November 10, an informal caucus of eight Republicans met in Honolulu. In addition to Porteus, the group included Flora Hayes, Walter McGuire, Jack King, Russell Starr, J. Ward Russell, Percy Lydgate, and Richard St. Sure. Julian Yates, Manuel Paschoal, and Robert Hind sent assurances of their cooperation. Ostensibly, Porteus had 11 votes, but one report indicated that he had only the six votes from his own Fourth District plus two from Maui.<sup>1</sup>

Fong did not attend the caucus. He was at the Big Island home of Rep. Thomas Sakakihara, where another informal Republican caucus guaranteed the incumbent a solid bloc of votes for the speakership. Rather than risk a fight for the top position (perhaps he indeed had only eight positive votes), Porteus withdrew from the contest. He

thereupon telephoned Fong in Hilo, pledging his group's support, and ensuring his stated goal of harmony within the Republican Party. Yates, Paschoal, and Hind also sent messages of support to Fong.<sup>2</sup>

The Republicans caucused officially on November 17-18, naming Fong as Speaker, Porteus as Vice-Speaker, and Rep. Sakakihara to the coveted post of finance committee chairman.<sup>3</sup> In a sudden and unexpected move, the Republican majority voted 12 to 8 to replace the veteran party leader Oliver P. Soares as Chief Clerk of the House. They chose instead to employ attorney Walter G. Chuck. At the time, Chuck was working in Fong's law firm, and had just joined the Republican ranks shortly before.<sup>4</sup> The caucus apparently recognized Chuck's inexperience because they retained Soares' long-time assistant clerk, Jimmy Chong, in his old spot. Some Republicans were disgruntled, feeling that Chong should have been promoted since Soares was let go. A writer signing himself "R.W.T." stated in a letter to the Honolulu Advertiser that the public had a right to complain of this "deal. We don't want machine politics in our Legislature."<sup>5</sup>

#### The Organization of the House

While Fong was thus assured of the top position without a battle, the formal work of nomination was still carried out as required on the first day of the 1951 Legislature. It was the custom to accompany the nominations for officers with flowery pronouncements. After the nominations were closed, representatives from each district rose and said glowing things about each nominee's character, qualifications, and legislative ability. All that apparently proved too much for Fong. As he mounted the speaker's platform and took up the gavel for his second term, he said, "I've heard such nice remarks made about me, it makes me

wonder if I'm not attending my own funeral. Now I know how the pancake feels when the syrup is poured over it."<sup>6</sup>

Walter G. Chuck, Fong's "Protégé"

Walter Goonsun Chuck was born on the Island of Maui in 1920. Of Chinese ancestry, he was an articulate, bright, and promising 1941 graduate of the University of Hawaii, where he was student body president in his senior year. In that capacity, he was also elected vice-president of the Pacific States Student Presidents' Association, a singular honor for an Oriental student from Hawaii. Employed as a territorial labor law inspector between 1943 and 1945, Chuck became very well acquainted with Jack Hall and the leadership of the I.L.W.U. in Hawaii. Deciding to enter Harvard Law School, he graduated in 1948, and returned to Hawaii the next year to become an Assistant Public Prosecutor with the City and County of Honolulu. In 1950, he joined Fong's law firm, became Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1951, as noted, and a partner in the company in 1953. The firm's name then became Fong, Miho, Choy and Chuck. In 1958, he left to establish his own law office, to Fong's great disappointment, Chuck recalled. Chuck then became the senior partner in a firm with attorney Wallace Fujiyama from 1965 to 1972, after which he once again practiced law by himself.

As Clerk in the House of Representatives, Chuck instituted several innovative improvements, such as in the House Journal. As an employee and then a partner in Fong's firm, Chuck recalled daily consultations, during which he was impressed with Fong's practical knowledge of human nature and the application of the law. He said that he learned to look at the law not so much in abstract, scholarly terms, but on a very commonsense level. All this was of great help to him, he said. When

Hawaii achieved statehood in 1959, Chuck was appointed Clerk of the Senate, remaining until 1961. This was a special honor in a heavily Democratic administration.

Chuck joined the Republican Party at Fong's suggestion and became a life-long member tending toward the moderate to liberal faction. He was highly successful in law and became well-known in local banking as well as in international business affairs.<sup>7</sup>

#### Fong's Stand on Major Issues

In a pre-session statement, Fong disclosed his deep-seated opposition to gambling, and said he favored abolishing the "closed" primary. Declining to predict how the anticipated fights would go on the controversial issues, he stated that sentiment against the new "closed" primary had increased since its inception a year ago. He said, "A lot of people who favored it before are against it now. But a lot of others aren't talking." While political party leaders were advocating strengthening the new election law, Fong said there was "no chance" that that would occur. The question was whether it would be repealed or remain as it was passed. The gambling vote, he felt, would be close.

On finances, Fong said,

We are going to have to be content with what we have now in the way of government services. This is not the time to try to augment them. I doubt if any new tax bill will meet with any degree of success. It looks to me as though the boys will hold the line--but you can never tell. To get any kind of a change will be most difficult.<sup>8</sup>

#### House Accounts Queried, and the Senate "Investigates" the House

Early in March, Fong was embroiled in two controversies, one quickly following upon the other. The first instance occurred when the Honolulu Advertiser, in a series beginning in February 1951,

published some articles regarding the way the Legislature spent public funds. Apparently no House member could produce the financial records for the 1947 and the 1949 sessions which should have gone to the territorial Archives. Questioned on this, Fong was reported to have said, "I'm as much in the dark as you are." The story went out that there were House irregularities in maintaining its financial accounts; moreover, it was noted that the Senate records were audited, but the House's were not. Deputy bank examiner William Lederer used the term "unauthorized" in describing some of the House expenditures.<sup>9</sup> Then the Senate, led by Democrat William Heen and Republican William "Doc" Hill, began its own probe into the House financial dealings. It was asserted that typewriters and other equipment were disposed of too cheaply at the end of previous sessions, and that the House had not paid its bills because it had no money left. Recently-turned Democrat Rep. Nielsen asked why he had paid \$134.00 for a typewriter, and wondered "how some Republicans got a price of \$19.38." It was then revealed that it was common practice for the Legislature to sell its equipment (which had been rented) for the difference between the purchase price and what had been paid in rentals up to the end of the session.<sup>10</sup> Assistant House Clerk James Achong also clarified later that some typewriters had been "sold" to the police.<sup>11</sup>

House members were understandably upset with the reporting and the resultant publicity brought on by the two investigations. Fong and Sakakihara in particular were active in calling the stories inaccurate. Fong was quoted as saying, "All the stories are tommyrot and slanted in an unfair manner. I feel the paper is unfair to the House." He claimed that the Senate probe was brought on by the first "hot" story of the

morning newspaper, and that rumors of the House having no money to pay its bills were untrue.<sup>12</sup>

At the heart of the problem was Lederer's use of the word "unauthorized." Later he said that his choice of the word was "unfortunate." From an auditor's point of view, it merely meant "unsupported." Lederer clarified that he did not mean the House expenditures were not authorized nor were they illegal. Sakakihara (and later former House Clerk O. P. Soares, who had become an employee of the Senate in 1951) indicated that the appropriate committee chairmen had signed for the vouchers in question, which had been sufficient authorization for payment.<sup>13</sup>

The Advertiser hit back against the complaints of an unfair press with an editorial, noting that one audit report which Fong said was misquoted and not released for publication was actually printed on pages 182-185 of the 1949 House Journal. The paper also pointed out that most points covered in the auditor's report were errors in bookkeeping procedure or in failure to submit supporting evidence to the Auditor. "We do not accuse Rep. Fong or anyone else in the House of using public money for their own purposes, or of mishandling accounts," it said. However, the Advertiser called for the submission of the missing House records, and if rumors were true that they had been burned, it wanted confirmation of the fact. Meanwhile, it demanded to know what happened to the typewriters and furniture that disappeared after recent sessions of the Legislature.<sup>14</sup>

With respect to the Senate probe, Fong reported that the \$600 the upper chamber claimed was unpaid was for the 1950 Session, for which the House books were not yet closed. Noting that the House had turned

about \$21,000 back in savings to the Territory from the 1950 Special Session, he scoffed,

Compare this with the \$14,318 the senate is going to turn back and what do you find, nothing but a lot of hullabaloo...someone's idea of tilting with windmills....Yet they are the ones who are kicking up a ruckus....

There is a lot of noise and fury across the hall. They went hunting with a elephant gun but could only find a blind mice [sic].<sup>15</sup>

Fong then disclosed the possibility of buying and storing equipment rather than renting it every two years. Rep. Porteus noted that at one time the House owned all of its equipment but during the war was forced to give it up to expanding territorial and federal agencies. Since then the equipment had "evaporated." Porteus concluded, "The legislature is not a continuing body and not able to keep a close check on what it owns."<sup>16</sup>

To settle the matter, Fong announced some new procedures. The practice in former legislatures of "everyone buying everything and anything" was done away with. "Only myself, the clerk, and my secretary can now sign requisition orders for purchases," he said. Merchandise delivered to Iolani Palace was to be received only by the sergeant at arms, the house custodian, the house clerk and his secretary.<sup>17</sup>

It should be noted here that Fong never blamed any of his staff or fellow solons in the House for past practices. Realizing that he was their current leader, it was his responsibility to represent them. This he did quite willingly. This attitude provided a clue to his ability to keep a disparate group of House members together. He gained and kept the respect of the majority of his followers in this manner.

Hawaii was entering into the second half of the twentieth century. Old practices of the Territory's officials and agencies were being



examined more carefully, spurred on in part by a better-educated, more critical group of voters who were desirous for change. The Democrats in the Senate sparked the probe into House accounts because of some of the laxity noted in previous administrations under Clerk O. P. Soares. They may have been joined by old-guard Republicans who were unhappy with Fong's selection of Walter Chuck as Clerk and used this attack to embarrass them. It should also be noted that the 1949 Legislature had been the busiest in modern history: it had dealt with the devastating maritime strike, some of its members had served on the Constitutional Convention of 1950 and had testified on behalf of Statehood in Washington, had formulated the Constitution, and furthermore had met in another Special Session to get the document approved before placing it before the electorate in November. It was small wonder that not all the House bills had been paid, because the 1949 Holdover Committee staff was working up to the last moments to present materials for the 1951 session.

The result of the commotion was that the House streamlined its housekeeping details, about which more is forthcoming. The whole incident also points out the fact that Fong never paid much attention to the details of the day-to-day operations of any of the activities in which he engaged. It was therefore not surprising that he was not aware of fiscal reports filed in the Journals, following the sessions, particularly before he became Speaker.

#### House-Senate Feuds

Fired by the Senate probe, the feud between the two chambers continued. When the Senate raised their original operating appropriation of \$225,000 to \$250,000, the House wanted to remove the extra \$25,000.

Fong explained, "I feel it is a difficulty to impose more of a tax burden on the public. We have made Territorial departments hold the line financially and in good conscience we cannot deny funds to others and then take more for ourselves." He added that if department heads were granted what they got two years ago, "they would be lucky." Then, somewhat inconsistently, he decided to amend the House amount upwards to \$300,000, although he claimed that with the anticipated savings in the House, it would be possible "to get along on an appropriation of \$275,000 and still turn back some to the Territory."<sup>18</sup>

To him, it was a matter of principle: "It is not that we need it ...most of it will lapse back anyway...but when the Senate said they needed an extra \$25,000, that was enough for me." However, he later changed his mind and said the amount set forth in the bill would stand as it was. When questioned on the proposed hike to \$300,000 for House expenses and how it might look to the public, regardless of the fact that part of it would be turned back, Fong was reported to have said, "We are running our business and any man who is afraid of what the public might say shouldn't be here."<sup>19</sup>

### Economy Moves

As a direct result of the newspaper and Senate questioning, Fong announced a number of planned economy moves. Largest probable saving, he noted, was in the House Journal, which was cut one-third its size for an estimated saving of \$10,000. Printing of the Journal was paid on a page basis and usually ran about \$6.50 per page. Also figured as a saving was the reduced amount (\$1.00 per page) paid the clerk and assistant clerk for each typewritten page from which the final printed copies were run. Specifically, the following changes were announced:

(1) roll call: only members absent would be recorded; (2) Senate communications would only be referred to, instead of having them printed in full; (3) resolutions would be referred to after initial offering; (4) each day's order of business would only be referred to; (5) letters and communications requesting copies of House bills would only be referred to, instead of being set forth in full; (6) second reading of bills passed would only be referred to, along with the name of the committee to which it was referred; (7) all bills passed on first reading by title would be accepted on one motion rather than a separate motion made after each bill; (8) all pages in the Journal would be ruled down the center to eliminate short lines; (9) instead of having the speaker and clerk certify to each day's minutes following the minutes, a page would be provided in the Journal on which all certifications could be made; (10) all half and three-quarter length pages would be eliminated. In printing, each page was counted as a full page, whether it had one line on it or was fully used.<sup>20</sup>

#### Building "Frills"

The Department of Public Works had employed the services of about a dozen architectural and engineering firms since July 1, 1939. Fong thought this was an expensive arrangement. Payment for architectural services totaled almost \$500,000 during 1947, 1948 and 1949. Certain employees were working a 40-hour week, provided with desks, and enjoyed an employer-employee relationship. Fong, with nine others, introduced a bill authorizing an independent bureau of architecture and structural engineering, providing for the creation of one agency to pass on design of schools, public buildings, park buildings, auditoriums, armories, wharves, and even incinerators.<sup>21</sup>

On a House inspection trip to Hilo in March, Fong ripped into the territorial government for frills in its buildings. He first visited Hilo Hospital and learned of its looming \$350,000 deficit, its overcrowding, and need for updating. Then he visited the 216 bed Puumaile hospital with its tile, glassbrick, "porthole" windows, and spacious lanais. He quickly divided 216 into the \$300,000 cost of Puumaile, and came up with the cost estimate "uncomfortably close to \$1,500 a bed."<sup>22</sup> He told county officials and newsmen later:

After seeing Honolulu's two new territorial buildings and Hilo's library and Puumaile Hospital, I have concluded that a strong territorial department of architecture is badly needed. It seems that what were intended to be functional buildings have blossomed out as monuments to architects' fancy. Puumaile Hospital especially has gone far beyond what the Legislature thought it would ever be.

Aladdin in all his oriental dreams would never have designed a building with all its frills, ornaments and unnecessary outlay of money. We are spending money like drunken sailors because the average legislator has no conception of what the plans should be and because those who are in responsibility have helped to make monuments to the designers.

We cannot go on like this forever.<sup>23</sup>

He instructed Rep. Noboru Miyaki to investigate what states had passed laws to curtail unnecessary spending and to make government architects design their own buildings.<sup>24</sup>

Whatever the blunt-speaking, colorful Fong said was good copy for newspapers. His irritation over what he considered excessive spending of the Territory led to some adverse community reaction, somehow warranting an editorial captioned "Slanders Against Sailors" in the Honolulu Advertiser. The same piece also managed to cast the competing afternoon paper in an unfavorable light for having quoted his remark without comment. A retired navy man had written a letter to the editor complaining that the term "drunken sailors" was discriminatory toward

modern day sailors.<sup>25</sup> The whole matter was settled a day later with front-page publicity in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. Fong was pictured with Rear Admiral Charles McMorris, commandant of the 14th Naval District, making "Peace with the Navy." He was quoted as saying he had apologized to his brother and his nephew, who had served with the United States Navy, and had also apologized to the Admiral. McMorris himself indicated he "had not taken the comparison too seriously."<sup>26</sup> Fong turned the adverse incident into a positive experience by showing that he was not afraid to apologize for an inadvertent remark. In addition, he managed to toss a tribute to members of his family who had served the nation as well as gather attention to himself shaking hands with the top naval officer.

#### The 1951-1953 Budget

There were conflicting reports over the state of the Hawaiian economy in 1950-1951. This led to a feud between Fong, Rep. Porteus, and Senator Ben Dillingham that ripped the Republican Party. Following unprecedented pre-session meetings of the House finance committee headed by Representative Thomas Sakakihara a month before the session officially opened, at which Budget Director Paul J. Thurston testified, Fong said the legislators did not dream the financial picture was as bad as it looked. There was a possible deficit of over 20 million dollars over the next biennium. Fong said, "Never before in Territorial history has the situation been as dismal as it is now. We received a kick in the teeth that was very unexpected when Mr. Thurston presented the budget to us."<sup>27</sup>

As an ex-officio member of all House committees, Fong sat in on all the finance meetings, which were generally praised for attempting to

clear the budgetary picture in time for quick action by the House. The finance committee also planned to meet with all department heads to decide where the necessary cuts were to be made in order to ensure a balanced budget.

At about this time, the Korean War escalated, pumping money into the Hawaiian economy, with the result that unemployment was cut from a high of 33,000 to about 15,000 in March of 1951. The budget had not been prepared with the increased revenues from defense and military spending in mind.<sup>28</sup>

As the session wore on, the House and Senate versions of the budget were very far apart. When the normal time for adjournment was reached, there was a stalemate which necessitated the solons' asking the Governor to extend the session twice. At the heart of the problem was the difference in tax estimates used by the two legislative bodies.

The territorial tax commissioner, Torkel Westly, indicated a deficit of about 11 million dollars by 1953 if appropriations for 1951-1953 came to the anticipated 103 million dollars, including the deficit being piled up at the time. However, the House believed its budget and tax proposal would balance the budget for the following reasons: (1) tax commissioner income reports were traditionally lower than actually realized; the previously reported 17 million dollar deficit which had so alarmed Fong and the finance committee had been reduced to about 5 million dollars; (2) about 3 million dollars could be saved by not filling vacancies in departments except with the approval of the Governor; (3) about 1 million dollars more would be realized from the Governor's delays or anticipated vetoes of some projects. This meant the budget could be balanced, and the Legislature could go home.

House leadership told the Senate they would be willing to take any blame in case of error.<sup>29</sup>

On the Senate side, the solons feared Westly would be more right than wrong, except in his estimate that the sales tax proposed by Hill would bring in \$902,000 less in two years than the taxes it was designed to replace. The Senate was going along with the figures supplied by the tax study commission of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, which estimated that the sales tax would bring in about \$1,600,000 more than the taxes it would replace. Although the difference between the two estimates was actually small, being about \$2,500,000, the real battle concerned the kind of tax which would be used to bring in the needed revenues.<sup>30</sup>

The Senate wanted a much greater sales tax, which would have redistributed the tax burden and made the general population larger and more open contributors to territorial taxes. The House wanted to leave taxes under the existing structure. However, the Representatives were willing to go along with either of two ways suggested by Westly to raise approximately 4 million dollars of the anticipated 11 or 12 million dollar deficit that the Tax Commission had originally projected: (1) steeply increase both personal and corporate net income taxes by eliminating federal income taxes as an allowed deduction; (2) increase the personal net income tax rates as proposed in Senate Bill 402, and also impose a seven per cent rate increase on corporations with profits over \$50,000. The Senate flatly refused to consider these alternatives.<sup>31</sup>

At that point, the House leadership decided it might just as well adjourn. House finance committee chairman Sakakihara indicated "nobody would be hurt" by adjournment without passing a budget. This was

because Section 54 of the Organic Act provided that the Governor could authorize the Treasurer to make payments in the amount appropriated in the last appropriation bill, as well as provide for the calling of a special session of the Legislature.<sup>32</sup> However, the burgeoning school population meant hardships for the Department of Public Instruction if more funds were not allotted. However, if the business trend continued upward as it was then doing, the House would be vindicated in its stand against any new taxes.

Fong recalled that many taxpayers, including the Hawaii Government Employees Association and the Hawaii Education Association, had inundated the House with requests that no new taxes be imposed. Members of the House of Representatives were merely expressing their constituents' desires by upholding the hardline stance against Senate bills which would directly penalize the small income earner.<sup>33</sup>

It was in the waning hours of the session that Senator Dillingham lashed out at the House leadership, calling their tax and budget stall "disgraceful." He denounced their "domineering but negative attitude" which had led to "one of the most disgraceful episodes in recent legislative history." He claimed that the Senate had passed a tax program that was "honest, open" and constructive by any standards. He said in part,

But what has been the attitude of Speaker Fong and Vice Speaker Porteus? They have wise-crackingly been assuring us that no new taxes were really necessary.

These two gentlemen evidently believe there is no limit to the gullibility of voters in Hawaii.

The very least that might have been done would have been to compromise the sales tax issue by providing for a visible pass-on of the taxes at both the wholesale and the retail levels.<sup>34</sup>



Dillingham admitted that the Senate tax program was not perfect: "But certainly no responsible government should gamble on being able to ride the inflation bandwagon." He claimed Fong and Porteus refused to support a six million dollar bond issue with a gasoline tax for the Kalihi Tunnel. School construction was sorely needed, but without a revenue plan supporting a school bond issue of some five million dollars nothing could be done, he said. He felt that Hawaii was also losing money on the mainland because taxes were still imposed on sales to the federal government. Dillingham concluded,

Those of us who are Republicans can take no pride in the sort of leadership with which we have been afflicted in the house.

I am confident that the voters will not much longer permit our economic welfare and our aspirations for statehood to be jeopardized by peanut politics.<sup>35</sup>

His last comment was in reference to the fact that Congress was concerned whether Alaska could have a balanced budget on achieving statehood status, and that Hawaii faced the same sort of scrutiny. Then he said, "Money is not the only value jeopardized, but the value of the political integrity of the majority party leadership." Other Senators joined Dillingham in attacking the Representatives, with Thelma Akana Harrison calling them "Commissars," and Eugene Capellas saying they were "selfish and thick-headed."<sup>36</sup>

In reply to Dillingham's denunciation, both Fong and Porteus issued strongly-worded statements on the floor of the House. Fong not only accused the Senator of using the Legislature to make money but also questioned his personal sincerity in wanting statehood, as the Dillingham interests were known to have consistently opposed it. Starting out as a defense of House members, Fong wound up with a personal attack on the Senator. Fong's mention of Dillingham's possible pecuniary

interest centered around the controversial one cent "special gas tax" on gasoline in Honolulu to cover the projected Kalihi tunnel bond issue.<sup>37</sup>

He made a comparison of the approximately four to five thousand acres of land owned by the Dillinghams on the windward side, noting that he himself owned some 200 hundred acres: "I am a peanut property owner compared to the senator." He claimed that the Hawaiian Dredging Company, a Dillingham firm, would probably

be the only company that would be able to bid on constructing the Kalihi tunnel.

Senator Dillingham in the past four years has been guided by one thought and by one thought alone. That is to wax richer and richer by setting the policies of the legislature and pushing laws that will benefit his pocketbook.

Last session, we know how he traded his vote by voting on the horse race pari-mutuel bill for votes to repeal the bond issues of \$5,500,000 to build our piers.

If he had succeeded in repealing that pier bond issue, he would be able to save millions of dollars. This year, he and his lieutenants hounded almost every member of the house finance committee and myself and the vice speaker to report out a bill already passed by the senate to authorize the territory to negotiate with him for his piers....He said completion of territorial piers would take away thousands of dollars from the Dillingham piers and those piers would have to sell for less.

To show you what that pier bill means to him, in December, Oahu Railway and Land Co. stock sold for \$14.50 a share. When the Senate passed the bill to negotiate for the piers, the stock rose to \$24 a share. The speculation that the house will not pass the bill has forced the shares down to \$21.<sup>38</sup>

Fong then boomeranged the statehood issue back to Dillingham, speculating on the latter's own motivations:

I am just wondering whether this allusion to statehood was so that men like Senator (Hugh) Butler may have some more ammunition. I am just wondering how sincere the senator is for statehood.

Could it be that he is desirous that statehood be killed? I leave that for you to answer and for the senator to search his own conscience.<sup>39</sup>

He concluded by calling Dillingham's speech the speech of one "thwarted in an attempt to secure great self gain and self aggrandizement. It was above all, a speech of a big 'cry-baby' who is unable to secure what he wants." He also noted that "every line" of Dillingham's speech was printed in "his newspaper" that morning, adding bitterly, "Of course, it is too much for me to expect that my reply to him will be accorded the same preferential treatment..."<sup>40</sup>

Fong's allusion to who owned the Honolulu Advertiser drew two statements from the morning newspaper, the first one signed by Lorrin P. Thurston, president and general manager, who clarified that the Dillinghams did not own "a single share of stock." However, Thurston said that the trust estate of B. F. Dillingham Co., Ltd. owned a stock interest of ten and a fraction per cent in the building housing the newspaper, and that Walter F. Dillingham was a director and vice-president of the paper.<sup>41</sup>

Thurston wrote in part:

Hiram Fong...You have come a long way in your life in Hawaii. We trust you will go even further. We hope you have learned something, too, from this session of the House, of which you are the Speaker.

As an attorney, we are sure that you will realize that slander and personal recrimination and false statements or implications are not, and will never become stepping stones to either personal achievement or political success....

The record of the 1951 House, and Senate, with complete Republican control will not be regarded as outstanding in statesmanship or achievement.

We hope for Hawaii's sake, and for your own record, that if you continue to serve the citizens of Hawaii in the future you will profit by the lessons of this session, and will do a better job as Speaker of the House.<sup>42</sup>

Raymond Coll, editor of the Advertiser, also wrote an editorial regarding the paper's ownership and Fong's "verbal assault" on it.<sup>43</sup>

Members of the House did not permit Fong to rebuke Senator Dillingham alone. Reps. Porteus, Sakakihara, Manuel Paschoal, and Jack King also defended House actions in individual statements touching various aspects of Dillingham's speech.<sup>44</sup>

Later, Fong's estimate of the lands owned by Dillingham came under question by a broker in lands. Iris J. Cullen, exclusive real estate agent for the Dillingham lands referred to by Fong, stated that over the past two years the lands had been sold in various parcels so that approximately only 200 acres remained, the same amount of acreage that Fong himself held. She also clarified that the Dillinghams were not buying or holding properties on the particular sections mentioned while waiting for the tunnel to go through.<sup>45</sup>

The difficulty Fong was having, he believed, was due to the fact the Senate wanted to pass the sales tax. The representatives of the Big Five used every means at their disposal to get the law passed, but the House remained adamant about not piling additional taxes on the people. What seemed evident to Fong in the whole tax and budget melée was that "Time after time, the principles of the sales tax were injected into the discussion." Present at all the hearings were representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, its tax study committee, the people formerly associated with the Hawaiian Economic Foundation and "many of the men in high places in business who were determined to pass the sales tax program." It was confirmed by news reports that these men were very much in evidence at Iolani Palace:

There were those who said Dr. Roy Brown, head of the Chamber's tax study committee, wrote the sales tax bill. There were others who said that members of the former HEF wrote--or helped write--Senator Dillingham's speech.<sup>46</sup>

The falling-out of the Republicans in the 1951 Legislature was not only closely observed but viewed with glee by the Democrats, who also complained that they were left out of a fair share in the voice of the government of the people.<sup>47</sup>

The bitter attack on Fong and his scathing reply joined by other representatives had one positive result. It served to clear the air and break the deadlock. It was a very high price for the Republicans to pay however, as will be discussed later. Both houses caucused and decided to offer a joint meeting to settle the budget matter. The legislators met in executive session in the board room of the Board of Water Supply, and in less than one hour worked out the principles for agreement. Small working committees were left to draft the details. Both parties agreed to put together a "new" budget, based on the 1949-1951 biennium, but correcting major deficiencies. The meeting was so amicable that a smiling Fong said, "We're just one big happy family now."<sup>48</sup>

As the legislators were caucusing, Fong's slashing speech was rebroadcast. Several solons stopped to listen as they left. At one point, Fong said, "I wish I hadn't said that." He genuinely regretted his harshness, noting, "I hit him too hard." Describing his personal creed, he said, "I never start a fight, but I never run away from one either."<sup>49</sup>

For the sake of party harmony and to show that there were no bitter reactions, the combatants got together for a group picture captioned "We Were Only Fooling." Rep. Porteus shook hands with Senator Harrison, while Fong grasped Dillingham's hand with his right hand, and his left arm circled Senator Capellas' ample waist. At the same

time Capellas reached out to cover Dillingham's and Fong's handshake with his own left hand. From the broad grins on their faces, it appeared that all was forgiven and forgotten.<sup>50</sup>

The Legislature reconvened, and financial agreement was finally reached by a 22 to 8 vote in the House and a 10 to 5 ballot in the Senate on the "new" budget. The Legislature then adjourned quietly, exhausted, and without the hoopla which often accompanied the last hours of a session.<sup>51</sup>

The operating budget remained at the 1949-1951 level of \$80,334,000, but was sharply revised as it affected individual departments. It also included a "blank check" for \$8,000,000 for the Governor to transfer funds from one department to another as necessary. The compromise on the tax structure provided the following: (1) sales of goods to the armed forces were exempted from the gross income and liquor taxes for one year; (2) the gasoline fuel tax was raised from the six cents a gallon on all islands to eight cents on Hawaii, seven cents on Maui and Kauai, and six-and-one-half cents on Oahu. The first four cents went to the Territory, and the rest to the respective county governments; (3) the bank excise tax was raised from \$125,000 a year to \$175,000; (4) the Maui real property tax ceiling was increased from \$900,000 annually to \$1,000,000.<sup>52</sup>

#### The Kalihi Tunnel Legislation

One of the most significant achievements reached during the 1951 Legislature was the funding of the Kalihi Tunnel by a gasoline tax plan and a six million dollar bond issue. The feasibility of a tunnel connecting Honolulu and the quickly growing Windward side of Oahu had been debated and studied for many years, but one stumbling block after

another kept the project from proceeding. As early as 1929, a report submitted by the Honolulu Sewer and Water Commission had advised that "any vehicular tunnel project designed to connect Honolulu with Windward Oahu is now, and will in the near future be, infeasible..."<sup>53</sup>

By the 1940's the population of Honolulu was growing rapidly; Windward Oahu became somewhat of a bedroom community for the capital city. Both situations indicated the great need for another route over or through the mountain ridges. Most important from a military defense and strategic standpoint, however, was the reason stressed by the armed forces during World War II: such a tunnel was essential for national defense as it would link the expanding naval and air facilities at Kaneohe with their counterparts on the other side of the Koolau Range. Farsighted officials and informed citizenry were convinced that a tunnel was an absolute necessity, because the narrow, winding, though picturesque Nuuanu Pali road simply was not adequate.<sup>54</sup>

The initial problem was to decide where the tunnel should be built, the Nuuanu or the Kalihi valleys. For a long time the territorial Department of Public Works had favored the Nuuanu approach and attempted to gain federal aid to finance it. Honolulu's Mayor John Wilson and several legislatures over the years, however, preferred the Kalihi Valley route.

While construction of a "Puka in Da Pali" (hole in the mountain) captured the imagination and support of the people, sharp and conflicting differences of opinion arose among experts as well as laymen as to where to locate it. Various aspects were studied in an effort to come to a decision: Population growth was projected, vehicular traffic counts were made, the opinions of military officials were sought, and

financial plans analyzed and forwarded to the territorial Legislature for action. The City and County of Honolulu was often in direct opposition to the Territorial Administration. As an example, in December of 1946, the Honolulu Planning Commission reported to the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors that the Kalihi route was preferable to Nuuanu, partly because it would help open up new lands for development and subsequently broaden the tax base. The Territorial Administration, on the other hand, strongly advocated the Nuuanu route because it would ease the traffic congestion between already existing communities, thereby qualifying for federal funds. The Chamber of Commerce, in a third opinion voiced through its municipal affairs committee, argued that both the Kalihi Tunnel and improvements to the Nuuanu route were needed if the projected long-range needs of Oahu were to be satisfactorily met.<sup>55</sup>

Over the years, various territorial legislatures passed enabling legislation, but it was never implemented for one reason or another. The controversy came to a head in Fong's first term as Speaker of the House. He took a position of strong advocacy toward the Kalihi Tunnel project, in support of the City and County administration. The House finance committee had voted three times to kill the Kalihi tunnel bill (S.B. 45) during the Special Session of 1949 when Fong and other supporters jumped into the battle during the waning days of the session. Fong resorted to a seldom used parliamentary maneuver to unlock the bill from the committee. He and 17 other representatives signed a resolution discharging the House finance committee from further consideration of the Senate bill. His group had secured two more votes than were necessary. Opposition came from committee members like Rep. Paschoal,



who objected to the raiding of federal aid matching funds, saying that if legislators diverted one cent they would be going counter to the purpose of the highway tax. Having unfrozen the bill from where it had been "ice-boxed," Fong and the Kalihi valley project supporters were able to bring it to the floor of the House for action. In the end, the Special Session of 1949 passed legislation providing \$3,000,000 in bonds for the tunnel itself and return of one cent of the county's gasoline taxes to the municipal government when approach roads were approved and assured of construction on both the Honolulu and Windward sides of the Koolau mountains.<sup>56</sup>

Governor Stainback and other territorial officials were willing to support both the Kalihi and the Nuuanu tunnel projects if the project were to be financed by a toll. There being no such provision, the Governor thereupon pocket-vetoed the bills. Mayor Wilson took a bold and firm stance for the Kalihi over the Nuuanu project, claiming the former would create a shorter project with easier approach grades and therefore be less expensive. Furthermore, he correctly foresaw that the Nuuanu project would be halted for years by litigation from owners of costly real estate in the area.<sup>57</sup>

In the meantime the Territory received the go-ahead for the approach roads for the Nuuanu project from the federal government. The Honolulu Board of Supervisors strongly opposed the plans at first, and the Legislative Holdover Committee considered a resolution against the plans by the City/County Administration as well as a petition signed by 1,000 citizens also objecting to the plans. Then the Board changed its mind and supported the Nuuanu project. The Territory moved to condemn the necessary land, but many property owners stood firm against

this action. Mrs. Loy McCandless Marks got a restraining order in March 1950 against the Territory for its proposed damage to her property and the Territory's land condemnation was ruled invalid. The month before, the Mayor had been successful in getting a writ prohibiting the Territory from taking immediate possession of the lands. He had earlier filed an injunction suit to prohibit construction, claiming that the proposed Nuuanu highway was an engineering deficiency and a waste of taxpayer's money.<sup>58</sup>

In November, the Territory received permission to straighten the approach roads to the Pali Nuuanu road. But Mayor Wilson objected, charging that Robert M. Belt, Superintendent of Public Works, had not studied the Kalihi project adequately, and filed suit to halt the Nuuanu project. In April 1950, Judge Matthewman denied a motion to dismiss the Mayor's tunnel suit. Because the matter was under litigation, the 1949 Holdover Committee's subcommittee under Senator William Heen took no position on the sensitive issue.<sup>59</sup>

The matter was finally resolved during Fong's second term as Speaker. He had long favored the Kalihi tunnel and Porteus the Nuuanu project. In 1951, he and the Vice Speaker came to an agreement regarding the two projects. House Bill No. 1034, authorizing a \$6,000,000 bond issue by Honolulu to finance a Kalihi tunnel, was adopted unanimously on April 28 after Rep. Porteus commented that the Fourth District membership had no objection to a Kalihi tunnel so long as the Pali road also was improved. Fong said the membership could "rest assured that would be the case." Porteus, grinning widely, said, "Please put that in writing." The bill was approved on June 5, 1951 as Act 265.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, the Legislature memorialized Congress

to approve the bond issue (H.J.R. 59, J.R. 15) and requested federal aid.<sup>61</sup>

Construction on the first phase of the anticipated three-stage project was announced for December of 1952. The tunnel was named for Mayor John Wilson in mid-December 1953, while actual construction on the tunnel itself was started in January of 1954. It was a costly and difficult engineering feat, with cave-ins and other unfortunate mishaps. The Kalihi Tunnel was finally opened in October 1958 and dedicated in August 1961.<sup>62</sup>

By persistently pursuing his goal to have the Kalihi Tunnel constructed through his home district, Fong added to his list of achievements. The project was visible evidence that he had kept his promise to the voters.

### Evaluation

The legislators received mixed reactions on their performance in the Twenty-Sixth Legislature. One editorial expressed relief that the battles were over, while recognizing that absorption over the tax issue had kept other important matters from being decided.<sup>63</sup> Another account noted, with tongue in cheek, that of a total of 1,850 measures, they passed 373, or a "superb batting mark of 20.15 per cent."<sup>64</sup>

Fong called the 1951 session one of the best. He listed 17 main categories in which he noted specific achievements.<sup>65</sup>

Based on Governor Oren E. Long's annual report to the Secretary of the Interior for the year ending June 30, 1952, Fong was correct in his assessment that the economic picture was brighter and that the sales tax would not be needed. Governor Long noted that there was a "high level of economic development in the community due to the continued

expansion of employment and business activities. Employment opportunities had increased, reaching a postwar peak at the close of the fiscal year. Employment in the Territory averaged 184,600 compared with the average monthly employment in 1951 of 177,400.

Despite the exemption of sales taxes to the Federal Government on general excise and liquor taxes, total taxes increased from 71.3 million to 76.7 million. Reassessment of real property increased the total net property tax rolls from 340 million dollars in 1951 to 630 million dollars in 1952.<sup>66</sup>

#### Breaks Fish Auction Monopoly

As soon as the session was over, Fong turned his attention to matters affecting business. In September 1951, a new firm with Fong as one of its directors broke up the monopoly on the auctioning of fish, something the past Legislature failed to accomplish. The new company was the King Fishing Co., Ltd., which opened at 905 Kekaulike Street, a few blocks away from Kyodo Fishing Co., Ltd. The latter was said to be the only place where fishermen could auction their catch. A bill introduced in the 1951 session sought to establish fishermen's cooperatives as a means of doing away with the single-auction method, but died in a Senate committee.

It was said that Fong's involvement placed him in direct and indirect opposition to Democratic Senator William Heen, who headed M. Otani Co., Ltd., the large fish wholesaling and freezing firm to which Kyodo Fishing was said to pay \$1,500 per month and a penny a pound on fish for use of the Otani facilities at Aala Fish Market.<sup>67</sup> For his part, Fong said that he may have drawn up legal papers for the new firm, but never took an active part in its operations.<sup>68</sup>

### The 1952 Republican National Convention

The acrimonious exchange between Dillingham and Fong did not damage the latter's chances to become a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1952. On Sunday, May 18, he was elected a delegate along with Samuel W. King from the Fifth Oahu district, both outpolling Joseph Itagaki. The votes were 293 for Fong, 361 for King, and 100 for the unsuccessful candidate. Eight delegates were selected in all; King was chosen chairman of the delegation, which went uninstructed to Chicago for the July 7 nomination of the party's choice for President of the United States.<sup>69</sup> Daniel Tuttle noted that going uninstructed was fairly normal procedure for the Hawaii Republican group.<sup>70</sup>

Fong's election as delegate made news as far away as Hong Kong, where it was reported that

An American of Chinese ancestry is equal politically to an American of the white race, at least this is so in Hawaii....

There are 1,206 delegates from the entire United States to the convention, and [Fong] believes he is the only delegate of Chinese parentage.<sup>71</sup>

When Fong arrived in San Francisco on his way to the convention, he was interviewed by the Chinese Pacific Weekly. Described as "one of the most prominent political figures of the Hawaiian Islands," his unique position in the G.O.P. convention was specifically pointed out. It was noted as well that he was "young, tireless." He was quoted as saying he was somewhat at a loss regarding his political success: "Sometimes I do not understand why I am elected. I am a Republican but consistently elected to office in a predominantly Democratic district."<sup>72</sup>

It was also reported that in the last election he ran in 33 precincts, 31 of which were Democratic. Of greater significance was the

fact that American Chinese constitute "only six per cent of Hawaii's population," which indicated his support was broadly based. The main reason for his victories at the polls lay in his "liberal Republican views and progressive political philosophy and program,"<sup>73</sup> it was noted.

The Chinatown weekly recounted Fong's many accomplishments, but reported proudly that with all his success, "Legislator Fong yet retains his Chinese cultural heritage." He planned to honor his 81 year old mother at a grand birthday party at the famed restaurant Lau Yee Chai in Honolulu. Over a thousand persons were expected to attend the gala upon his return from visits to New York City, Washington, D. C., and Chicago. On this trip, the Fongs were accompanied by their two oldest sons, Hiram Fong, Jr. and Rodney.<sup>74</sup>

The family also visited with his Harvard Law School classmate, Robert A. Robinson, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, where Fong also saw Robinson's brother, Judge Otto Y. Robinson. His trip to Scranton was reported in its local press.<sup>75</sup>

Fong felt that the Republican Party platform should contain a Hawaii statehood plank. The Hawaii delegation was uncommitted because it was felt that was the only bargaining power it had: at all other times, except when the political parties were holding their conventions, they were "orphans," according to Fong. At the Chicago convention, Fong's obvious physical characteristics made him the center of many inquiries. He was asked if he were from Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, but most of the delegates guessed that he was from Hawaii. The Hawaii delegation met with the two top contenders, Senate Robert A. Taft and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, and found them supportive of the statehood cause.<sup>76</sup>

As a member of the Convention Rules Committee, Fong wielded some power, which he persistently applied in his quest for more convention delegates from Hawaii. He won by unanimous vote two more bonus delegates to the 1956 convention provided that Hawaii continue to elect Republican delegates to Congress, bringing Hawaii's total to ten delegates if the Republicans remained in power. In another unanimous decision, the Rules Committee passed an amendment to have a third member, the territorial chairman, placed on the G.O.P. National Committee. Additionally, Fong's motion to guarantee that should Hawaii become a state, it would have all the same privileges enjoyed by the other 48 states in Convention matters, was accepted. In 1952, only Hawaii and Alaska received additional delegates for the next conventions.<sup>77</sup>

An especially pleasing event was the "immediate statehood plan" for Hawaii, separating the Islands' efforts from that of Alaska and Puerto Rico. Fong felt that Hawaii could go on its own merits instead of being tied to group action.<sup>78</sup>

The 1952 Republican National Convention was the first to be televised. Whatever exposure the Hawaii delegation received in front of the television cameras was calculated to let the rest of the United States become more aware of the tiny islands in the wide Pacific Ocean. Fong himself, meeting on as equal a footing as possible with other delegates, became recognized on a national level. His political horizons had been expanded in Chicago, and he thoroughly enjoyed the experience. He would also capitalize upon it in his political, business, and legal careers.

### Savings in Printing the House Journal

In early 1952, Fong announced that the House had chopped off \$18,549 from the cost of printing the Journal over that of the previous session. The dramatic slash was his answer to the Senate charges in 1951 that the House accounts were in disarray. While the called-for Senate investigation of the House never materialized, and probably constituted another example of harassment by the upper body leadership, Fong was able to turn the criticism into positive action. In effect, Fong proved he was able to show the senators how to save money while at the same time facilitating the use of the Journal.

The savings were made despite the fact that it cost \$7.02 a page to print the Journal as compared to \$6.50 previously. Moreover, a new feature was added in the form of a chart showing the progress of bills from the time of introduction to their final disposition. Chuck said that he knew there would be criticism of the new format, but claimed "we did the best we could and we saved money." Fong for his part gave credit where it was due:

I am very happy to see that the expense of the Journal has been cut substantially. This saving of more than \$18,000 represents careful planning and elimination of a lot of unnecessary material which would be of no help to anyone. I want to congratulate Mr. Chuck for a splendid job well done.<sup>79</sup>

The success of the new format can be seen in the fact that the following year, the Senate Journal was restructured to follow the House reports, and some 30 years later, the greater part of Chuck's innovations were retained or expanded in the Hawaii State legislative journals.



### Phi Beta Kappa

Academic recognition for both Fong and his alma mater came just before Christmas of 1952, when he was named a foundation member of the newly authorized Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Hawaii. When first informed that he was a member of the select scholastic group, he said that he wasn't sure he qualified, especially since he had graduated in three and a half years. "You'd better check it,"<sup>80</sup> he told University officials, but on learning that he did indeed meet the standards, he was very pleased to be named a founding member. Others in that special category were Gwenfread Allen, Dai Ho Chun, Jane Komstock Clark, Mitsuyuki Kido, Hebden Porteus and Shunzo Sakamaki. Forty-one charter members were also installed at the same time as Fong.<sup>81</sup>

### American Citizenship Cases

Eighteen suits seeking judgments on American citizenship for Hawaii-born individuals or sons of Hawaii residents were filed in Honolulu in December 1952. The suits were on behalf of persons overseas who were denied American passports on the grounds that they were no longer citizens or whose passport applications had not been acted upon.

Three suits were in behalf of four persons of Chinese ancestry who were born in China, but claimed American citizenship because their fathers were American citizens. One suit was for a woman living in the Philippines who had voted in elections there. The other 14 suits were on behalf of persons of Japanese ancestry, of which nine were individuals who were in the Japanese armed forces or worked for the government in a job open to a Japanese citizen, and five were for persons who had voted in Japanese elections.

The suits for former members of Japanese armed forces were those affected by the McCarran-Walter Act. After the December 1952 effective date of the law, no American citizen who lived in a foreign country and served in a foreign army could be declared still an American citizen. The eight men who served in the Japanese armed forces had all been born in Hawaii but had gone to Japan and were there when the war broke out. They contended that their service in the Japanese armed forces was not a "free and voluntary act" on their parts. Another, who had held a post open only to a Japanese citizen, contended that his employment was not voluntary, and that he was not aware of the citizenship qualification. The five persons of Japanese ancestry who voted in Japanese elections had been informed by the American consulate that they were no longer citizens by virtue of their having voted, or their passports had not been acted upon. They contended that their voting was not a voluntary act, that Japan was not a foreign state (since it was under U.S. occupation) at the time the elections were held, and that the elections were not political.

Counsel in 16 of the 18 law suits was the law firm of Fong, Miho, Choy and Chuck. Fourteen of these were in conjunction with A. L. Wirin and Fred Okrand of Los Angeles. By 1952, Fong's firm had acquired such expertise in the handling of immigration and ethnic problems that it had become recognized by mainland professional colleagues.<sup>82</sup>

### Finance Factors

It is axiomatic that the ability to make wise and timely choices is crucial to the success of any individual or group effort. While Fong could never totally control the timing of his decisions, being somewhat governed by the exigencies of a situation (including the actions

of other individuals involved), he could direct the movement of his own thoughts and actions as they applied to himself. Here his fine legal training at Harvard Law School and the proficiency he had acquired in utilizing the principles of business and real estate were valuable assets. When combined with his ability to attract persons of competence and integrity, with whom he could work comfortably, these qualities made for formidably intelligent and "fortunate" choices. Fong was also willing to take a gamble when he felt the opportunity was right; moreover, he had the capacity to engage in a venture without worrying too much about the consequences. His own words best describe the process:

I have made my [own] decisions. I usually think of the pros and the cons in making a decision....I try to say, well, if I succeed, what are the fruits of success? If I fail, what are the fruits of failure? For example, if I buy a piece of property, is it a good buy, or isn't it a good buy? If I buy it, how much can I make? If I am unsuccessful, that is, how much can I lose? And the losses as compared to the gains, how [do they] relate? What are the ratios? In buying a piece of property, I say I don't think I can lose any money. If I lose, maybe I lose a thousand dollars. If I make [it], I am going to make \$10,000. If it overcomes the odds, then I usually make an educated decision. But you know, sometimes your educated decision doesn't work! Usually it is based on a lot of thinking about it and then I go. I am never afraid to take a chance.

You've got to plan these things. You've got to look far ahead to see how you come out.<sup>83</sup> (emphasis supplied)

In this respect, he exhibited more American characteristics than Chinese.

While Fong attempted to "plan these things" himself, his reputation as a businessman and politician was instrumental in bringing, without a specific invitation, investors to him with offerings of one business activity or another. A prime example of this was when his old friend and fraternity brother, Mun On Chun, who had advised him to invest in

the Market City, Ltd. site, sought him out with the idea of forming an industrial loan company in 1952.<sup>84</sup>

We have already noted the great concern Fong and his fellow legislators had had in the late 1940's regarding the tight money market in Hawaii. Legislative hearings attended by representatives of the four leading banks in Hawaii had left him with the impression that they exercised too much control over the economic pattern in the Islands through their loan procedures. It was a log jam which Fong was soon able to dislodge, and in the dislodging, acquire enough assets to make himself a millionaire in a few short years. However, he was already comfortable financially when Mun On Chun brought in his proposition.

Fong considered himself "pretty well set" by 1952. Learning from his loss of \$10,000 in the Quality Dairy Company, he had become very circumspect about his business dealings. He had followed his own best advice: "The next time I get into business with anyone, why, I had better be on the lookout." The Market City operations were going well in 1952; he had already invested in "several [other] pieces of property," and, as was his policy, he "hung on to them." He had acquired land and built a new home on the rim of the ridge of Alewa Heights, and had purchased a beach front lot from Chinn Ho on the Windward side of Oahu, as well as 200 acres of "farm" land in Kaha'ulu. He felt that he was doing "pretty well in the business line already--especially in real estate," when Chun came to see him.

At the time, Chun was working at Honolulu Trust Company, as were Lawrence Lau and Daniel Lau. It was their understanding that the regulatory agency rules prohibited trust companies from engaging in industrial loans. They felt that it would be possible to purchase from

Honolulu Trust its industrial loan business. As it turned out, the group they formed with Fong and other investors was able to secure its own permit for the making of industrial and consumer loans.

The formation of their company, called Finance Factors, was simple enough, according to Fong, whose condensed version of what transpired follows. Fong recalled that Chun came to him and asked if he could raise \$75,000. Fong felt he could, and then asked, "Well, what kind of business is this?" Chun showed Fong some figures indicating that they could make \$1,900 to \$2,000 a month. Fong said, "You mean to tell me you could make this kind of money?" Chun added that they could also get deposits from other people. And on that basis, Fong proceeded to approach some of his friends to join in the venture. Several joined Fong, and Chun brought in a few more. All in all, nine men banded together to form Finance Factors. Not all of the persons Fong talked to signed up with him, and it was with a certain amount of humor that Fong later recalled how those people would tell him how deeply they regretted not joining in, especially since it had not been necessary for each investor to put in the full amount of \$25,000 "right away."

Finance Factors commenced operations at 58 North King Street in Honolulu on June 1, 1952. President of the new firm was Fong. Other officers were Mun On Chun, First Vice-President; Lawrence Lau, Second Vice-President; George F. Thornally, Third Vice-President; and Clifford Yee, Secretary-Treasurer. All had had long years of experience in financial circles. Yee had been involved in New York as well as local finances, and Thornally was then president of George Motor Company, distributor for Austin-Hillman-Minx, and Jaguar motor cars. While Fong had the least direct financial experience of the officers, his prestige

and appeal to the public made him a likely choice for the top position; moreover, his law firm was responsible for the legal work of the new company. Other stockholders included Benedict Lau, Dr. Lup Quon Pang, and real estate developer Joseph Pao.<sup>85</sup>

As Speaker of the House and member of the 1950 Statehood delegation testifying in Washington, Fong undoubtedly had come to the attention of major Caucasian as well as Chinese business and financial leaders in San Francisco and elsewhere. It will be recalled that he stopped in several States on his return trip to the Constitutional Convention, speaking as a missionary for statehood. These occasions must have drawn a variety of community and business figures, and included opportunities to discuss Hawaii's economic and financial prospects relating to her status as a Territory as well as prospective State.

On his way coming and going as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1952, he stopped in San Francisco to confer with top Bank of America officials concerning Finance Factors. While no particulars are available at this writing as to exactly what arrangements were concluded with the banking giant, in August, Fong described Finance Factor's lending-borrowing relationship with the Bank of America as "large-scale." It was not likely, he said, that the Bank would locate in Hawaii per se, but mainland money was already entering the Territory for automobile and appliance financing.<sup>86</sup> Eventually more money would be available for home loan mortgage purposes. Initially, automobile and appliance financing was handled by Finance Factors through dealers, but this soon changed.

Remarking that "The Bank of America is always interested in Hawaii," Fong also claimed that bringing mainland monies into Hawaii had no

direct relationship to the tight money mortgage picture then prevalent in the Islands. Finance Factors, he indicated, represented only a new enterprise in a fertile financial field.

One indication of the ready acceptance of Finance Factors was seen in the fact that in less than three months it was anticipated that it would reach the requested \$300,000 capitalization. Its quick growth was also reflected in the announcement Fong made that it had purchased new office space from the Canton Jewelry Company at King and Smith Streets and would move there on September 1, 1952.<sup>87</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of a "permanent home" for Finance Factors were descriptive of Fong's foresight in business matters as well as indicative of his ability to inspire others to invest with him without prior knowledge of the business operations with which he was involved. As soon as Fong realized that the new firm was attracting many depositors, he approached his distant cousin Fong Choy about buying the latter's building at the makai-ewa corner of Smith and King Streets. At the time, some \$80,000 had been deposited in Finance Factors by outsiders. His cousin inquired about the new business, and asked, "How much money you got in there?" [invested] Fong replied, "\$25,000," whereupon Fong Choy said, "I go in with you."

Fong demurred, saying, "But you don't know what we are doing. You don't know this and that." However, Fong Choy insisted, "As long as you are in it, I go in with you."

Finance Factors grew quickly; according to Fong,

...We got quite a lot of deposits. I remember when we made our first million dollars in assets; we had a big ad in the newspapers that we were now a one million dollar company. It was a great thing then.

Larry Lau was the man that really knew the business. He worked very hard. He was a good man and later on he decided that he should leave us and went into American Security Bank and Crown Corporation [1962]. He worked hard and Clifford Yee worked hard. I was just on the fringe of it because I was a practicing attorney.

Noting that land was a precious commodity in Hawaii, and that Mun On Chun had had experience in real estate, the group formed Finance Realty, the first of its family of companies, in July 1953. Finance Realty's first project was the 12-acre Anoa'i subdivision in Manoa Valley. Other, much more ambitious projects followed, such as the Waipio Acres subdivision. It was started with a purchase of 120 acres in 1955. A subdivision in Fern Forest on the Big Island was completely sold out soon after being offered, one of a few Big Island successes.<sup>88</sup>

Fong described how the diversification began:

The business grew; then we decided that we should have a second prop to the business and since Mun On Chun knew something about real estate, we said let's go into the real estate business. We started Finance Realty with \$2,000 a piece, \$18,000 from 9 of us, and then we bought about 100 acres at Waipio. We made some money, threw it into the corporation; then we bought another piece of property, made some money, put it back....[In 1977 Finance Realty had assets of around \$17 million.]

We went into developing. We went into home building...the company has built almost 2,000 homes in Makakilo....By the time we get through we'll have built maybe 7 to 8 thousand homes there. We built a lot of homes in Waipio and we have developed other pieces of property. Then we decided that we should have a third prop to our business so we sat down and discussed the matter. Somebody mentioned life insurance so we said, "yeah, that seems to be a good business--along our line because it is financial...well, let's go see what company we could buy..."[As it turned out, the men formed their own company, Grand Pacific Life Insurance Company, Ltd., in 1957.]

While more companies were formed under the aegis of the parent company, such as Finance Home Builders, Ltd. in October 1957, Finance Investment in March 1958, and Finance Securities in 1962, it is beyond the boundaries of this study to do anything more than list them.



However, the mere enumeration of the companies and their dates of organization reflect the rapid acceptance and growth of Finance Factors.

Four of the original owners took active parts in the company operations. There was an unusually close relationship between all the owners and the management team, due in large measure to the degree of freedom and responsibility that management placed on each of its key executives. Ownership rested in six men in a few years: Fong, Chun, Yee, Pang, Daniel Lau, and Fong Choy, the other three having left for various reasons. None of the six owners took any profits out of the firm. Over the years a major part of Finance Factors' expansion was internally generated out of re-invested profits. The result was that it remained a tightly held company independent of "outside" monies. Major decisions had to be unanimous, but always and only following discussions with the management team.<sup>89</sup>

Personal loans were a new concept in Hawaii when Finance Factors was started. Soon, it was the largest industrial loan company operating in the Islands--despite competition from such agencies as Beneficial, Seaboard, Budget, and Dial Finance. The timing of Fong's venture was opportune. In 15 years, the industrial loan companies in Hawaii had grown spectacularly from \$30 million in resources in 1952 to \$184 million in 1966. In this growth, the strength and success of Finance Factors can be seen in the fact that, while owning only ten per cent of the offices, it held better than a quarter of the dollar resources of the local industry in 1967.<sup>90</sup>

What Fong and his close associates had sensed and were responding to in Hawaii was the great impact technology and communication were making on international, national, and local affairs. Since Hawaii's first

direct on-the-spot radio link with San Francisco at the inauguration of the United Nations following World War II, the Islands had lost much of the isolation that it had endured since Annexation.

The year 1952 was a fateful year in other respects. The world's first jet airliner passenger service opened between England and South Africa. Puerto Rico joined the United States as the first commonwealth. The "first full-scale thermonuclear explosion in history" took place. Locally, television transmissions began; parking meters appeared on the streets; a 13-foot tidal wave hit Mokuiaia, Oahu; and the Surf Rider Hotel was completed. Woolworth's announced plans for a downtown Honolulu store costing \$1 million; President-elect Dwight Eisenhower visited Honolulu; another Statehood bill died in the Senate; at Halemaumau on the Big Island, volcanic action erupted in the largest explosion since 1924; and there was a shortage of home loan funds.

One reason for Finance Factors' success was that the company took a different approach from their competitors. Instead of setting up small offices in many locations, Finance Factors opened regional offices, much like banks. While there were fewer offices, they were generally larger and "more impressive than the competition." The company always encouraged its employees to take part in community activities and become a part of the community. In 1966 net profits after taxes were up a healthy 14 per cent over the previous year, although money was hard to come by. In a time when others suffered due to the tight money situation, Finance Factors had reserves for a rainy day, and its ties with West coast and local banks held up during that period of lean money supply.<sup>91</sup>

Finance Factors' first branch office was in Hilo, Hawaii, opening in August 1954. Their second office was opened at Wailuku, Maui in September that same year. By the end of 1952, Finance Factors' resources stood at \$2,179,000, which increased to \$2,776,000 a year later. By the end of 1954, assets reached \$3,609,000.<sup>92</sup>

The people associated with Finance Factors were the key to success: almost all promotions came from within the company, which was staffed with young, alert workers. In-service training was provided annually for new trainees and older employees. Every male employee was urged to take the Dale Carnegie course; the company paid tuition for anyone wishing to take real estate, insurance or related courses. Employees were also encouraged to take accreditation. At the insurance company, all supervisors were Certified Life Underwriters (CLU's); at Finance Investment, the property manager was certified, and two key executives were graduates of the National Installment Banking School. The senior management team members were also graduates of the Harvard Advanced Management Program.<sup>93</sup>

The growth of the company was also reflected in the increase in office space, number of personnel, payroll, and employee benefits. A seven-story office building housing the companies at King and Alakea Street was completed in January 1958. Office space in their first quarters was less than 1,000 square feet in size, but by the end of 1966, the company's 15 branch offices and the seven-story main office totaled 42,157 square feet.<sup>94</sup>

Initially, there were four employees in addition to the four owner-operators. By 1967, there were 277 persons, of all racial extractions, representing the organization on the four major islands.

In 1952, the company payroll was \$38,000 for the year; 15 years later, it exceeded \$800,000. Benefits originally included only vacations and sick leave, but a decade and a half later, employees enjoyed one of the finest benefit programs in the State. Profit-sharing was provided in 1955. More benefits like health, group life and salary protection insurance and recreational programs had been added so that by 1967, each Finance Factors' employee was receiving \$2,085 per year in benefits in addition to his salary.<sup>95</sup>

The basic philosophy of Finance Factors, and the reason for its success, was that whatever the company was involved in was used to create more profit for the company. As one example, when Finance Factors began making automobile loans, it set up its own agency to provide coverage for the cars it was financing. As another example, Finance Home Builders, Ltd. became established under Finance Realty when the need arose for a building company. While other members of the family of companies were diversifying, the parent company proved itself particularly skilled at increasing its share of the highly competitive market for consumer finance. In the early years of operation, Finance Factors was in the forefront of the industry as it expanded from automobile financing into home appliances, then furniture, and finally into service areas of personal loans for travel and other intangibles; additionally, service to the community was not neglected. Finance Factors Foundation was established in 1958 as the eleemosynary arm. It was supported by annual donations from the main company based on a share of the corporate profits. The earnings from the contributions were used for various charitable causes decided upon by the board of directors each year.<sup>96</sup>

It took visionary men like Mun On Chun, Clifford Yee, and Daniel Lau to see the expanding possibilities in consumer finance for Hawaii. But it took someone at the forefront of their organization who could also lend an air of power, vision, and ability to the new organization. Fong was their choice, and he remained at the helm in a very visible and successful way. According to Walter Chuck, Fong's credibility was so great in the community that he did not have to develop new ideas and business deals: others sought him out.<sup>97</sup>

Fong was basically conservative in his financial outlook, as were his partners in Finance Factors. Fortunately for him, no one else wished to be the "guiding light" of the company. The only one who may have wanted to challenge Fong was Lawrence Lau, who, as noted, left in 1962. The others were quite content to let Fong appear in the lime-light, which he obviously enjoyed. The management team flourished in their near-anonymity. However, it must be recalled that Fong always gave credit where credit had been earned. Accolades came from him publicly to the owner-operators like Clifford Yee, who headed management operations, and to the whole team. Yee was a modest man who disliked giving particulars about his work, and refused to be interviewed, preferring to let his performance be judged via the account ledgers. His success and that of the partners can be measured in the 22 branch offices and the more than \$150 million dollars in resources belonging to the Finance Factors family of companies by 1978.

Fong's philosophy undoubtedly guided operations, particularly in the early years. Comparing his company's philosophy with others, he said,

You know, that's the sad part about these industrial loan companies. Money comes in so easily, that if a person is not disciplined, a person is not honest, a person is not conservative, he can get into a lot of trouble. Now, take for example, many of these industrial loan companies where they advertise for money. They will pay you [a certain amount of interest]. Naturally, people will bring in their money. And all of a sudden you find that thousands of dollars come in, because you are willing to pay them a high rate of interest.

Well, you've got this money stacked up...so naturally, it forces you, because you have this interest rate...that you have to pay...you've got to get the money working. So naturally, you take in all kinds of loans. Some of them may be questionable; some of them very marginal. And then you get into a lot of trouble.

We have run our business in a very conservative way. If you just go down there at the counter and look at the people that come in and put their money in here, you begin to realize the responsibility that you have. Old people, who have their life savings--people who are on Social Security--people who need this money for old age--people who need the money to send their children to school...to buy a home. Now, these are hard-earned monies...which they have deposited with you because they have confidence in you. And if you break that trust, you are doing a lot of damage to that individual.

And that's why I always remind my people here: look at the people at that counter....How can you not guard his money?... see that he will be protected. And that's why we're very conservative. We give the lowest rate of interest, because we know very well that we can't give a high rate of interest and then safeguard that money. We give a lower rate of interest and we lend it out more conservatively, and we are not pushed to try to pick up any marginal loan, and that's why we have run a very good business....

It's a tremendous responsibility, having other people's money, and to safeguard it....So our primary objective is to safeguard the principal. Never mind the profit. Safeguard the principal. And if a profit comes along, okay, but the main thing is to safeguard the principal.

You see, in every business, you've got to watch it. You just can't let the people [employees] run it. And you've got to be on top of it all the time....You just can't pay [high interest rates] and make money, because there are so many people that go bankrupt on you...so many people that just run away, skip town ...so many people that just don't pay their bills, and so many people that just can't pay. And now, with all of that kind of situation, the banks take the best loans. So you have the marginal loans....And that's why you've got to be very careful. And if

you don't watch out, you make one big loan and if you lose that, how many other loans you've got to make, to make up for that one big loan that you've lost?

Fong then made an analogy between business profits and operating the government, a characteristic attitude which he tried to apply in public service, not only in the Territory of Hawaii, but also while he served in Washington as a Senator:

...There are so many risks in business. You know, people don't realize it but business is not an easy thing. There's so many things that you have to do. You've got to meet the payroll, you've got to meet the rent--rent has gone up. And competition is great. And it's not easy to run a business--a successful business. And if you don't have profit, then government won't run. Everything is run on profit.

It's the profit that really pays the taxes. If you have no profit, then how can you pay your salaries? Then the person who earns a salary cannot pay his taxes. So you have to have a successful business--otherwise your country does not function. But many, many young people are adverse to the business people, not knowing that it's business that keeps things going in a capitalistic society.

Fong's conviction that a businessman had to "watch the business" led him to concentrate more and more on the operations of his law firm and on Finance Factors. Politics, while still of great interest to him, certainly did not occupy his time and attention except for the campaign periods every two years and the actual time spent in the territorial Legislature.

During legislative sessions, Fong spent time in the morning before the session convened at his law office, which was only two blocks away from the Palace. He also went there during long recess periods, lunch times, and in the afternoons when the day's legislative work ended. This preoccupation with other affairs while tending to the business in the House as its Speaker may account for the fact that he said he recalled very little about some of the particulars happening around him

in the Legislature during his last few terms. Certainly it lent credence to his statement that he had wanted to stop running for office around 1950, but his brother Leonard and other Republicans urged him to campaign "one more time." However independent Fong was of the Party leadership, he was still loyal to the Party itself, and agreed to run for re-election in 1952.

### The 1952 Election

The Republican Party of Hawaii in 1952 issued "Tentative Rules for Candidates," which were apparently adopted later and applied. The first rule was "No personalities," followed by "No trading with candidates of opposite party." Number three was "No promises or pledges in conflict with party platform." There were seven more rules having to do with speaking time, music, and several other general obligations. Candidates for the House were assessed \$100.00 each, while the Delegate candidates had to pay \$300.00, as did those for Mayor, Sheriff, Treasurer, Auditor, and Clerk. Senate and Supervisor candidates were assessed \$200.00 each.<sup>98</sup> It is interesting to note that House hopefuls had to pay the least amount, an obvious correlation to the number of seats to be sought.

The campaign itself on the part of the Republican Party was very traditional. Party literature emphasized past accomplishments, such as progressive labor laws, education, health, statehood activities, and anti-communism: "There are no Communists in the Republican Party of Hawaii." Republicans were in favor of equality of citizenship, for general welfare and civic improvements. They were against narcotics, unnecessary tax burdens, and wasteful spending.<sup>99</sup>



On November 4, 1952, the voters of the Fifth District returned Fong to his seat in the House of Representatives for what would be his last term of office in the territorial legislature. Elected by a total of 17,907 votes, Fong led two other Republicans, Clarence Shimamura (16,744) and Yasutaka Fukushima (16,613). Democrat Steere Noda led the whole field with 19,410 votes, followed by O. Vincent Esposito (17,623) and Charles Kauhane (17,903). As late as 1952, the Republicans, in the Democratic Fifth District, were still capable of electing half of the district delegation to the House.<sup>100</sup>

The Republicans had done their work well. The "closed primary" provisions had coalesced some of the voter strength toward the strong Republicans in each district. As a result, 19 Republicans and 11 Democrats were placed in the House. But in the Senate the G.O.P. could boast only one more Republican than Democrat, making a bare working majority for the upper chamber.

#### The Speakership Fight, and Support of King for Governor

The decisive win of the G.O.P. at the polls meant that the majority of Republican lawmakers would organize the 1953 Legislature as they saw fit. In the House, the 1949 Kauai Inn Agreement placing Fong in the Speakership still did not sit well with many G.O.P. regulars, and the results of the 1951 Legislature led many to wish a change from his authority.

The battle to dislodge him began very soon after the general election. It was reported that two separate groups, one supporting Fong and the other favoring his old rival Hebden Porteus, were combing Maui and Hawaii for commitments. Somehow the two groups came together at Kona on November 6.

Fong, Thomas Sakakihara, and Richard St. Sure of Maui "simply happened" across a gathering of other Republican nominees at the Rep. Robert L. Hind, Jr. home. They had not been invited. The combined assemblage of 15 Republicans convened at the Kona Inn for a conclave later described as a "harmonious beginning of the organization of the house for the greatest possible accomplishment and efficiency during the coming legislative session." In a surprise move, a majority of 11 of those present endorsed Rep. Percy Lydgate of Maui for Speaker as well as newly-elected Thomas Toguchi of Hawaii's Second District for finance chairman. The action was seen as a compromise resulting from the impasse between Fong and Porteus. It was also construed as an attempt to dislodge Fong as Speaker and Sakakihara as finance chairman. The endorsement still had to be ratified in a formal meeting of the Republicans prior to the opening of the Legislature or shortly thereafter.<sup>101</sup>

There was not a sufficient number of supporters of the Lydgate compromise to put him in as Speaker, because a vote of 16 was required. The Fong group was opposed to the slate, although Fong himself was not available for comment after the Kona meeting. It was reported, however, that Fong was bitter and hoped to gather enough strength to block the move. It was also rumored that both groups might have to turn to the Democratic minority for help in a showdown situation.<sup>102</sup>

Rep. Sakakihara admitted that he himself was the target of disgruntled colleagues who charged he "ran the whole show" during the 1951 session. He was resentful about "backsliding" from Big Islanders like Rep. Joseph Yamauchi, for whom he openly campaigned in the last election and who, it was reported, sought the finance committee chairmanship for himself.<sup>103</sup>

According to Fong, the 11 Republicans were trying to "drive a wedge" between himself and Sakakihara, and they "used" the issue of Sakakihara's work as finance committee head as the reason to vote against him. Whether this was designed to hide a real attempt to oust Fong without seeming to challenge him directly can only be speculated. Fong himself was sore put as to the real reason for the Lydgate endorsement. He suggested at one point that the Sakakihara aspect of it was only periferal to the real issue of displacing him.<sup>104</sup> But on several other occasions, he indicated that it was his insistence on retaining Sakakihara as finance committee chairman which was basic to the Speakership battle.<sup>105</sup> Whatever the reason for the dispute, Fong's actions in standing firmly with Sakakihara was indicative of his deep sense of loyalty and dedication to his friends and political allies, a quality emphasized in his Chinese upbringing. He always backed the members of the House who supported him, and they came to depend on him to keep his word. The fact that Sakakihara was also a personal friend only added to his determination to stand firm, but it would have been grossly uncharacteristic of him to have gone against any of his lieutenants, particularly in an open fight.

In the midst of his efforts to retain the top House position, Fong openly supported the appointment of Samuel W. King as the next Governor of Hawaii. In a petition (of which first signers also included Reps. Sakakihara and St. Sure) circulated among both Democratic and Republican members of the House, Fong urged United States President-elect Dwight Eisenhower to name King over the other contenders. At that time, territorial G.O.P. chairman Randolph Crossley of Kauai was an active

candidate, while Gavien Bush received the endorsement of the Big Island's G.O.P. county committee.<sup>106</sup>

It can be speculated that as a result of the Kona developments among Republican House members, Fong was using his considerable power to oppose Crossley for the governorship. However, at the time Fong would admit only to supporting King as the better-qualified individual.

Farrington, King, and Fong kept their silence on the matter of organizing the House. It is open to speculation whether the King faction encouraged Fong in his attempt to retain his position as Speaker and at the same time use the situation to kill Crossley's chances to be named Governor of Hawaii. Fong had known King much longer than Crossley, the malihini (newcomer) haole entrepreneur from California who was becoming a powerful figure in Island business and politics. Assuming that old ties of party loyalty to King bound Fong almost, or as much as they did to Thomas Sakakihara, it was quite characteristic of Fong to support King over the challenger Crossley. Of all the candidates for Governor, King was part-Hawaiian, a feature which was bound to be in his favor among the multi-ethnic and Hawaiian groups in the Territory, should Statehood be achieved.

Many years later, Fong revealed that one reason he backed King was because the part-Hawaiian "could get elected governor."<sup>107</sup> In light of the fact that the Democrats were gaining voter strength, the Republican Party had to endorse a candidate who had wide popular appeal. Crossley seemed to represent more the haole elite group within the G.O.P. and less of the more liberal elements. There was also the faint suspicion that Crossley, while outwardly neutral, may have in some way encouraged the Lydgate movement; certainly, he had done nothing to help Fong keep

the top position in the House. In any event, it would do Fong no harm if he could help place into office the next Governor of Hawaii. Any Farrington-King combination would have been very difficult to beat, and Fong was probably assessing the political situation accurately when he aligned himself with these more popular vote-getters.

The fight for the Speakership took another turn toward open warfare early in 1953. At the call of G.O.P. leader Crossley, the House Republicans caucused on January 9 at the Alexander Young Hotel. Conspicuously absent were Fong and his supporters, who were having "a few drinks" with two Oahu Democrats, Charles Kauhane and O. Vincent Esposito elsewhere in the same hotel. Fong was whittling away at the Lydgate/Porteus group and succeeded in pulling off Rep. Toguchi. In the meantime, Rep. Yamauchi attended the caucus, where he accepted the position of finance chairman but did not vote for the Speaker.<sup>108</sup>

Called for 2:00 p.m., the caucus was finally convened by Crossley at 7:00 p.m. He had spent the afternoon shuttling between the two factions. The incumbent Speaker and his loyal followers steadfastly refused to attend the meeting. Fong made it a point to state that they were not "boycotting" the caucus but that they were just "not prepared" to meet on that date. The ten remaining Republicans, as expected, chose Lydgate for Speaker, and held out a list of tantalizing committee assignments which included members of the Fong camp.<sup>109</sup>

Fong refused to be bound by the caucus vote and did not concede the top position to Lydgate. It was speculated that about this time, several offers of help were forwarded to Fong by the Democrats or that his group approached the opposition. He did not, however, publicly acknowledge any offers of assistance from the Democrats. Being mindful

of his party's requirements not to consort with the Democrats, he did not openly nor specifically oppose the G.O.P. rules against just such activities.

Rumors that the Democrats were going to support Fong gave rise to a cautious admonition to him from the Oahu Republican county committee on January 27, 1953 not to ally with the minority party. It took the form of a resolution "urging" all Republicans who had been elected to bodies having majorities in those bodies to "abide by the wishes of such majority in organizing the body." It was noted that many Oahu voters had requested that no compromise with Republican principles be made. Although the resolution passed by a substantial margin, one Republican who did not approve was Robert Carson, former committee chairman (and later Fong's administrative assistant in Washington), who remarked that the county committee was "usurping the responsibility of the territorial leadership" to invade the case of Rep. Fong.<sup>110</sup>

The resolution was prompted by reports that Fong had received the written assurance of all 11 Democrats that they were united in his support. However, efforts were still continuing by the Republican party leadership to achieve party harmony in House organization without involving the Democrats. It was thought that at least two, and possibly more, Republicans supported Fong only so long as he did not form a coalition.

With respect to the possible coalition members, Fong was quoted as saying he had made "no commitments" regarding committee appointments. He declared that "They are behind me, knowing that I will be fair." As to how the approach was made, he said that the Democrats "volunteered" their support. In the meantime, the Lydgaters signed pledges not to

deal with Democrats in House organization. Fong had advised Lydgate of Democratic support before the Republican caucus, but Lydgate stood pat while indicating he was open to negotiation with the Fong group. Rep. Sakakihara was reported as saying that there had been no dealing with the Democrats until a member of the Lydgate faction approached a Democratic House member from Kauai, but this was denied by the Lydgaters. In essence then, the Fong group felt justified in talking with their political opposites because of what the Lydgate faction was alleged to have done.<sup>111</sup>

One newspaper editor found it difficult to believe that

Democrats flocked to his support for the speakership without being recruited and without a price being asked or offered....

If Representative Fong is willing to go through with the plan and pay the price that will be wrested from him in the coming session, the Territory could see an interesting approach to a one-party system in Hawaii....

Let us not be naive. How high a price the Democrats can demand--or hope for--in committee assignments, concessions and kokua during the coming session, will determine how much support will be given Representative Fong in his campaign for reelection to the speakership.<sup>112</sup>

Speculation as to Fong's plans continued into February, when it was stated that "technical proof" of any alliance he may have made with the Democrats "would be difficult." The Lydgaters, with a one vote margin over the Fong supporters, sat tight, but outsiders who observed the "wily" Fong were willing to bet the underdog spot he was in would be "presented by him to Mr. Lydgate."<sup>113</sup>

In February, Crossley approached the Lydgate group, asking for a meeting with the G.O.P. executive committee, and was informed that they would be willing, providing they had assurance that the Fong faction would attend.<sup>114</sup>

The all-important cause of statehood was also affected by the feud; it was reported by Rep. Russell Starr, a Lydgater, that two United States Senators (Guy Cordon of Oregon, who was considered a strong advocate for statehood, and Hugh Butler, chairman of the interior affairs committee who at one time was opposed to statehood) were concerned about the effect the local party split had had on efforts to move statehood legislation through Congress. Meanwhile, Fong remained firmly silent, even to the extent of turning down an offer to state his views in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. He had been asked to comment on whether he regarded the caucus decision as legal and whether he accepted the principle of majority rule. Rep. Starr also stated that his group was pressing for the naming of a new Governor before the opening of the Legislature a few days hence.<sup>115</sup>

It was evident to the most casual observer that if the Fong-Lydgate struggle were not settled finally and quickly by the Republican Party leadership, the Statehood cause would be weakened. In 1953, it seemed that Statehood was imminent, and the Republican Party hoped to be able to seat two Senators in Washington. This was especially important to the newly-elected Republican administration in Washington.

Meanwhile, Fong remained technically upright in his position. He had not bolted the caucus, as previously noted. At no point did he say he would work with the Democrats, and while he displayed to the Lydgaters a pledge signed by all 11 Democrats that they would stand united in a vote for the speaker, Fong's name per se did not appear on the pledge itself. Meanwhile, it was reported reliably that a resolution had been prepared for an executive committee meeting censuring Crossley for his role in calling the organizing caucus and in attempting to



get Fong to attend. Crossley seemed caught in the crossfire. Although he had called for the caucus at the request of the majority of the members, he was to be faulted, apparently, because of his timing of it.<sup>116</sup>

That Fong was confident in his ultimate victory was seen in the fact that during this time he was making preparations for the session just a few days away. His sister-in-law, Mrs. Ella Lam, had mailed to selected guests the invitation to opening day ceremonies. But the Lydgate faction was not consulted in Fong's arrangements.<sup>117</sup>

It was learned that Hawaii's new governor would be named before the 1953 legislature convened. The Fong and the Lydgate factions greeted the news enthusiastically, and agreed that the naming of the executive would have a "material effect on bringing the groups together." On Friday, February 13, they harmoniously joined in sending a wire to President Eisenhower, urging the appointment be made before the session started. The next day, Fong disclosed that Senator Hugh Butler had sent a message saying he was in complete agreement and would press for an immediate decision. Of this Fong said, "The new governor naturally would call the boys together and there would be attempts to work out the differences. No question about it." By February 15, the choice was believed to be Samuel King, who was in Washington on statehood business.

The Honolulu Advertiser, which had earlier opposed Statehood, was by then taking a strong stance on its behalf. Calling Fong's threat to form a coalition with the minority party "political sabotage," it pointed out:

This situation is grave. It has no excuse in reason. It comes solely from personal ambition that would sacrifice party responsibility. The proposed coalition would wreck Republicanism in Hawaii as an organized political force....<sup>118</sup>

The morning newspaper noticed the strange quiet that had prevailed in a segment of Republican leadership. Although "the threat of sabotage" was very real,

Yet Joseph R. Farrington, Hawaii's delegate to Congress, and Samuel Wilder King, chosen to serve as the next governor of the Territory, have shown no visible interest in it. They maintain a resounding silence in Washington while the foundations of their party here at home are being undermined by saboteurs....

Here are matters that surely merit the immediate attention of Hawaii's Republican party top leadership. Let's hear from you, Delegate Farrington and Captain King.<sup>119</sup>

Many years later, Fong claimed that it was Crossley's inability to end the Republican controversy over the Speakership in 1953 that led to King's success. In Washington, Fong had the silent backing of King and Delegate Farrington, along with local Honolulu Star-Bulletin support. Farrington was known as a Robert Taft man, as were King and Fong. Taft had lost the presidential nomination to Eisenhower in 1952, but he held a great deal of power among his colleagues in the United States Senate. The word went out that if Crossley were nominated, the Senate would not confirm the nomination. Realizing the situation, and wishing to keep Senator Taft in his good graces, President Eisenhower then appointed Samuel W. King as the next Governor of Hawaii. Questioned about his role in the appointment, Fong would only say, "No doubt about it. I was a strong Speaker."<sup>120</sup>

On February 17, Governor-Designate King sat down with all Republican legislators at a meeting, the first time that they had attended a caucus together since election day. He remained with them for about an hour, giving them a full report on the status of statehood legislation, and left advising them that first they ought to work "this thing out among yourselves."<sup>121</sup>

### Success Over the Republican Majority

Previous to the convening of the House on the opening day, the Republicans made a last-minute desperate effort to organize it among themselves, thereby delaying the opening for 35 minutes. Unable to come to any agreement, the choice of Speaker was thrown open to the floor of the Chamber. Fong's group moved boldly and decisively to elect him Speaker in direct opposition to the wishes of the 12 members of the Republican House majority.

As temporary chairman, Rep. Sakakihara called all the shots as the members got down to the organizational details of adopting rules, and the nomination and election of officers. The strength of the Fong camp was seen immediately. Fong moved for the adoption of the 1951 House rules; Rep. Russell Starr, a Lydgate man, countered with an amendment to the resolution, and the fight began in earnest. Starr attempted to reduce the number of standing committees from 19 to 16, but was defeated by a roll call vote of 18 to 12 in what was the first of a series of decisive tests of strength between the two factions. Rep. Porteus introduced a second amendment, which would have prohibited the Speaker and Vice-Speaker from having a vote on each committee. By a repeat of the first roll call vote, Porteus' amendment was tabled.<sup>122</sup>

Fong's supporters then used the parliamentary device of a resolution to have him named Speaker, in a move designed to prevent another nomination for the post being formally placed before the House. The move resulted in "anguished outcries" from the Lydgaters, who charged that the coalition was attempting to "foreclose the right of the Republican majority from putting up its nominee for election." Exclaimed Porteus, "the attempt to squeeze out another nominee is not the type of

tactic that will result in a harmonious legislature." Rep. Robert Hind claimed that it was a move "to hide the fact that certain Republicans have joined with the Democrats to form a coalition...."<sup>123</sup>

Temporary Chairman Sakakihara finally permitted the amending of the resolution to insert Lydgate's name in place of Fong's. The coalition members immediately moved to table the amendment, won out by the same solid vote, and then elected Fong Speaker.<sup>124</sup>

Utilizing the same parliamentary jockeying, the Fong supporters succeeded in voting in their candidates for all other important positions. Porteus was defeated for the post of Vice-Speaker by Rep. Richard St. Sure, while O. P. Soares was beaten by Walter Chuck for the Clerk's position. The other posts for vice-clerk and sergeant-at-arms were also decided by the Fong coalition.<sup>125</sup>

Following his steam-roller election, Fong was escorted to the Chair and took it "amidst loud and continued applause." Aware of the need for harmony, he reminded the Representatives of past Speakership battles as he addressed them as their third-term Speaker, saying in part,

I wish to say Mahalo Nui Loa and Thank you for the honor you have again bestowed upon me this morning in re-electing me....For this continued expression of your confidence in me, I am indeed sincerely and humbly grateful.

Now that the storm has cleared, I am quite sure that we will be able to pick up the pieces and go on from there. I would like to say that the contest for speakership of the House is not a new thing in the twenty-seven sessions of the Legislature....[here he cited the names of contestants over the years]

This battle between Republicans is not such a big battle as the papers would like to make it out to be.

I wish to assure you that in accepting humbly and gratefully the happy and manifold duties of this honored position, I will do my utmost as I have done before, to fulfill honestly and sincerely every requirement and every duty of the office of Speaker, and do pray that at the end of our session, you will still be happy and satisfied with the selection you have made this morning.<sup>126</sup>

He then stated that the greatest desire of the people of Hawaii was the granting of immediate statehood, and urged the House members to continue in their efforts to aid the Delegate to Congress and the Statehood Commission. Fong also noted the persistent problems for "more money, more services and more benefits," and reminded the lawmakers to "subserve whatever political differences" there may be in order to discharge their responsibilities toward the general good of all the people. He concluded,

With our collective and diligent efforts to serve no private end, to do what is right, to do what is good, faithful, honest and sincere in our actions, truthful in our trust, and aided in these regards by the Honorable members of the Senate and his Excellency, the Governor, to both of whom we pledge our fullest cooperation, and God willing, I have every faith that this session will reflect with honor and credit your accomplishments as true Representatives of the people.<sup>127</sup>

In achieving his victory over the will of the majority Republicans, Fong advanced what was later to become under the Democrats, led by John Burns and his successor George Ariyoshi, a one-party system in Hawaii. By blurring party responsibilities, despite party pledges and platforms, Fong was the forerunner of other leaders to come who would achieve the cooperation of both parties to acquire and maintain power in Hawaii. But for most Republicans in 1953, the achievement was a shock that was hard to mitigate, particularly among the followers of Old Guard policies. They found it extremely difficult to see party responsibilities give way to practical politics as practiced by one powerful, maverick American-Chinese Republican.

While Fong leaned over the political fence to seek and acquire personal clout in 1953, he never left the Republican Party, although he admitted to having been "wooded many times" by the opposition. Although several fellow-Republicans jumped into the Democratic yard in

the next few years, his Chinese-bred sense of loyalty detained him. Despite harsh treatment from his party leadership and no encouragement to enter national politics from them when he decided to run for the U.S. Senate in 1959 (when Democrats were in the majority in Hawaii) he never once considered leaving the Republican ranks.<sup>128</sup>

The Republicans who steadfastly remained with Fong were Reps. Yasutaka Fukushima, Clarence Shimamura (Oahu); Thomas Sakakihara, Esther Richardson, and Thomas Toguchi (Hawaii); and Richard St. Sure (Maui). Democrats who banded with him were Raymond Kobayashi and Akoni Pule (Hawaii); Dee Duponte and Clarence Seong (Maui); O. Vincent Esposito, Charles Kauhane, and Steere Noda (Oahu); and William E. Fernandes, Manuel Henriques, Toshio Serizawa, and Toshiharu Yama (Kauai).<sup>129</sup>

#### Committee Assignments

Fong apparently agonized over the naming of committee heads for the House. At least he paid deliberate attention to the process, at one point secluding himself at his country home to work out the assignments in quiet.<sup>130</sup>

By February 24, he announced the decisions. As was expected, the "Big 3" committee heads were Reps. Sakakihara (Committee on Finance); Fukushima (Committee on County and Municipal Affairs); and Shimamura (Committee on Judiciary). Four Democrats received choice positions. In so doing, Fong made effective use of the instrument of rewarding his supporters and punishing his opponents. His action, believed without precedent in the history of the Territory, initially also deprived three members of his own party of committee chairmanships, but this was adjusted later.

The Democrats Fong named to head committees and their assignments were: Esposito (Committee on Veterans and Housing); Kauhane (Committee on Aeronautics and Marine Shipping); Duponte (Committee on Public Health); and Henriques (Committee on Public Improvements). Democrats were also elated to be named to nine vice-chairmanships, four seats on the powerful ten-member finance committee and proportionate representation on practically all of the other 18 standing committees. It was believed that the minority party had never before fared so well in committee assignments; the Speaker further broke with tradition by naming the Vice-Speaker, normally without a chairmanship, also to head the Committee on Public Expenditures and Accounts.<sup>131</sup>

Rep. Starr asked Fong to reconsider his action in dropping Manuel Paschoal as the head of the public health committee after holding that position for some 30 years. Porteus offered to "yield" his chairmanship of the Recreation and Youth Committee to Jack King, who failed to get a chairmanship. The Speaker said he would take those suggestions "under advisement," and did grant Porteus' request later. Rep. Henriques at first turned down his selection, but later was talked into keeping it following a conference with Fong.<sup>132</sup>

All told, Republicans were given 15 chairmanships. The six G.O.P. supporters of Fong received chairmanships while nine of the Lydgaters were so rewarded. Reps. Robert Hind, Jr. and Barney Tokunaga in addition to King were the only G.O.P. members passed over for chairmanships originally, but in March, Fong announced that St. Sure had voluntarily turned over his chairmanship to Rep. Tokunaga, his Maui colleague. Ultimately, of the 12 Republicans who opposed him, only one, Rep. Hind, Jr. was not assigned a chairmanship.<sup>133</sup>

Lydgaters receiving major committee chairmanships were: Rep. W. Russell Starr (Committee on Civil Service, Classification and Retirement); Rep. J. Ward Russell (Committee on Education); Rep. Jack P. King (Committee on Juvenile Courts, General Welfare and Recreation); Rep. Lydgate (Committee on Labor and Industrial Relations); Rep. Webley Edwards (Committee on Marketing, Reclamation and New Industries); Rep. Walter McGuire (Committee on Police and Military Affairs); Rep. Bernard Tokunaga (Committee on Public Expenditures and Accounts); Rep. Takao Yamauchi (Committee on Public Institutions); and Rep. Joseph Garcia, Jr. (Committee on Public Lands).<sup>134</sup>

The Honolulu Advertiser chastised Fong for his coup, stating in an editorial that the G.O.P. was paying his debt through his committee appointments, and hoped that

all the people of the Territory will not be compelled to pay an additional price in the loss of immediate Statehood and the failure of a disrupted Legislature to enact needed laws. Both of these penalties are perilously possible outcomes of Mr. Fong's desertion of the Republican party....

Blame for the existing situation rests squarely upon Mr. Fong. He placed personal ambition above the people's will....

Hiram Fong flaunted the mandate of the voters for an empty honor.

In doing so, he advertised to his fellow Americans everywhere that Hawaii, after having proudly joined them in declaring for Republican reform in government, has dropped back into the ranks of the mugwumps.

Let no one hold the mistaken idea that the Fong coup will go unnoticed in Washington and throughout Mainland United States. The people of these Islands and particularly those who are in public office are very much in the public's attention today.<sup>135</sup>

#### The G.O.P. Attempts Punishment

Some Republican regulars were so upset by Fong and the maverick Republicans that at a meeting of the 37th precinct of the 4th district



on February 26, 1953, questions such as the following were raised: If and when Republican leaders decided to oust Fong from the G.O.P., could they do it? If that happened, what would Fong's status be? If they ousted him, could they keep his name off the ballot as a Republican in the next election? Randolph Crossley, speaking as one of four panel members discussing Republican problems at various levels, fielded the questions.

Crossley stated that at the moment, party officers were asking all Republicans who supported Fong to give their reasons for doing so-- whether they felt they were in violation of party rules, and, if not, why not? He warned that even if answers came in and a general meeting were held, party rules might not make any action effective. As an example, the party did not have the power to remove any names off the ballots. He noted that problem was nebulous, because in the past, non-Republicans had run on the ticket as Republicans. Also, he pointed out, defections such as Fong's had indeed taken place previously, but the central committee had never taken any disciplinary action against the perpetrators.<sup>136</sup> Once again, the G.O.P.'s consideration to oust Fong appeared to be yet another instance where he was singled out for castigation, while other Republicans behaving in a similar manner had never been chastised.

The written answer Fong supplied to Crossley pointed this fact out. It appears below in its entirety because of its importance:

In reply to your letter of February 26, 1953, I wish to state, in behalf of myself, Vice-Speaker Richard St. Sure and Representative Thomas T. Sakakihara, Clarence Shimamura, Yasutaka Fukushima, Thomas Toguchi and Esther Richardson, that in the organization of the House of Representatives, there has been no violation of Section 5, Article 6 of the 1952 rules of the party and that the Republican Party has not been deprived of its duties and responsibilities to organize the House of Representatives.

It is not unusual for two representatives of the Republican Party to be nominated on the floor of the House for the office of Speaker.

There have been at least six times when two members of the House of Representatives, both belonging to the Republican Party, have vied for the Speakership. In 1945, Manuel G. Paschoal and Hebdon Porteus were nominated for the office of Speaker with Mr. Paschoal being elected to that position. In 1935, Roy A. Vitousek and Herbert N. Ahuna were nominated with Mr. Vitousek being elected.

In 1933, Herbert N. Ahuna and O. P. Soares were nominated with Mr. Ahuna being elected. In 1925, Norman K. Lyman and T. H. Petrie were nominated with Mr. Lyman prevailing.

In 1919, H. R. Holstein and F. Andrade were nominated with Mr. Holstein being elected. In 1905, E. Knudson and Carlos A. Long were nominated and Mr. Knudson was elected Speaker.

In the present organization, no votes were cast by any of the Republican members for a nominee of the Democratic Party. All Republican votes cast in the organization of the House were for the two Republican nominees.

Had the Republican members voted for a member of the opposition party for Speaker or Vice-Speaker, certainly then the party would have reasons to be alarmed but this was not so as the two nominees were Republicans.

Subsequent to my election as Speaker and Mr. Richard St. Sure as Vice-Speaker, we both worked out all the committee assignments after each member was requested to make known his preferences to the Vice-Speaker. In this Legislature, there are 11 Democrats to 19 Republicans. The Democrats constitute 36 2/3 per cent of the total membership.

There are 177 committee assignments in the 19 committees of the House. Of the 177 committee assignments, the Republicans have 124 compared to 53 for the Democrats. The 53 Democrat committee assignments constitute 29 per cent of the total votes in committees.

Eliminating the Speaker, Vice-Speaker and the Republican floor leader, only one Republican was not given a chairmanship. Four committee chairmanships went to the Democrats or 21 per cent of the total chairmanships.

In every one of the 19 committees, Republicans outvote the Democrats by at least six Republicans to three Democrats.

In other words, the Democrats do not control any committee and they are outvoted in every committee by at least a two to one vote though they may have the chairmanship of that committee.

In the 1945 session there were 21 Republicans and nine Democrats and in the 1933 session there were 20 Republicans and 10 Democrats.

In 1945, the Democrats constituted 30 per cent of the representation and received four chairmanships out of 14 committees or 29 per cent of the committee chairmanships and had control of the Judiciary Committee, the Public Health Committee, the Rules Committee and the Miscellaneous Committee.

In 1933, the Democrats constituted 33-1/3 per cent of the representation and were assigned three chairmanships out of the 12 committee chairmanships or 25 per cent of the committee chairmanships and had control of two committees, the County Committee [sic] and the Public Lands Committee.

Of the 124 employees of the House of Representatives in this session, the patronage to the Democratic Representatives was less than 10 per cent.

These figures are given for the purpose of showing that the Republican Party was not deprived of its duties and responsibilities in organizing the House and that the House, in every particular, is being controlled by the Republican Party as the Speaker, Vice-Speaker and the control of every committee is Republican.

In reply to your question as to why the members did not attend the caucus which was officially called on December 24 for January 9, I wish to say that Section 20 of the Hawaiian Organic Act provides that the House of Representatives shall choose its own officers and that Rule 1 of the House of Representatives provides that the House shall organize by electing the Speaker and Vice-Speaker.

Nothing is provided in the Organic Act or in the rules of the party that each Republican member of the House of Representatives must attend a caucus.

No one is authorized to call such a caucus and if one is called by the party chairman or by any member of the House of Representatives, attendance at such a meeting is not compulsory.

There is no need for alarm by the members of the Republican Party that this House of Representatives will not carry out the platform of the Republican Party.

Like the six previous sessions, after a contest over the Speakership by two Republicans, the sessions carried out the platform of the Republican Party. You can be assured that this House will do likewise and will carry out its work with dispatch and with credit to the Republican Party.<sup>137</sup>

All of Fong's points were well taken, and historically accurate.

There was nothing the party could do about an ouster, although some

members, including Crossley, wanted to "discipline" him in some way. This was attempted at a G.O.P. central committee meeting held at Republican headquarters on April 18 expressly for the purpose of dealing with the issue. Fong was present to see the vote. It was 42 to 8 to drop further discussion "for now and for the future" of whether his alliance with the Democrats broke a rule which could lead to his expulsion from the Republican ranks. At the same time, the Republicans agreed to seek amendment of party rules at the June convention to prevent any possible recurrence of consorting with the opposition to win control of an elective body.<sup>138</sup>

The importance of the momentous power play between the Lydgate/Porteus group and the Fong supporters cannot be overemphasized. By 1953, Fong was concerned that if the Republicans were to hold on to power in the Fifth District, some sort of compromise would have to be made with the opposition party. He was aware that, while the entire electorate had sent a strong majority of Republicans to the House of Representatives in 1952, much of the appeal came through popular delegate Farrington. Fong saw that polarization of the voters toward either the Democrats or the Republicans was mandated by the closed primary law. Eventually the shift of power to the Democrats would be inevitable, given the growth in population and the specifics of balloting.<sup>139</sup>

#### Fong vs. Dillingham

Republicans in general were still very much concerned about the nature of the division which resulted in the coalition. As an example, a Fifth District precinct leader interviewed Senator Dillingham, Fong, and other Republican leaders in a tape-recorded session which was later

played back at a precinct meeting in March of 1953. Fong reiterated his point that the fight was not so much over the speakership itself, because he was offered the post again "at the outset." However, there had been a price to pay. He said that he had to agree not to place Rep. Thomas Sakakihara in the vital position as finance committee chairman. Fong revealed,

I refused to go along with that proposition. I felt Tommy Sakakihara was a good man and the reason they wanted to get rid of him is because he killed certain bills in the last session which involved an outlay of millions of dollars--bills of vital interest to the people which will again come up this session.<sup>140</sup>

He claimed that he was opposed for the speakership by "pier bill" Republicans and big interest groups who wanted to see the Territory purchase the Dillingham-owned piers. The House in 1951 saved the people of the Territory some huge expenses:

When you take away 10 or 20 million dollars from certain individuals, you are bound to have those people against you because you've affected their pocketbooks. And the finance committee chairman can either hold or kill those type bills.

In my being elected speaker of the house, the people of the Territory saved \$10,000,000.<sup>141</sup>

He jabbed at the Honolulu Advertiser for, what he termed "its insistent fight against me," and alluded again to the question of its ownership.

The changing nature of the electorate was not lost on Fong. He said he was trying to do what was needed to maintain Republican power. Discussing what he called "political realities," Fong analyzed the precincts in the Fifth District and concluded that the overwhelming majority were now Democratic. He wondered aloud how he and his colleagues, Reps. Shimamura and Fukushima, could get elected if "we went before the people and told them we voted for a sugar-coated or pineapple-coated man for speaker?" In his opinion there were

two distinct groups in the Republican party. One group is identified with pineapple interest, pier bills, sugar interest, and hotel interests. These people will vote for all measures that will benefit the Big-5.

The other group included the small Republicans, the small businessman, people who have no connection with the Big-Five, people who could go democratic at the drop of a hat. They are the people we must appeal to and hold.<sup>142</sup> (emphasis supplied)

Dillingham replied that he sympathized with some of the Speaker's political problems, and endorsed his desire to keep the Republican party free of domination by any special interest group. Then he attacked Fong, declaring,

But I'm amazed at some of his statements and plead with him not to try and build the Republican party by throwing around myths and phoney labels....

Hiram Fong is as sugar-coated as anybody. He couldn't have prospered the way he has without the sugar and pineapple businesses which are vital to our community's prosperity.<sup>143</sup>

Dillingham also denied the pier issue charges and said that "harrassment" over the years had been "unpleasant and costly."<sup>144</sup>

His charge that Fong was as "sugar-coated as anybody" was in direct contradiction to Fong's previously noted statement that the Big Five companies never supplied one iota of business throughout his career. While the prosperity of the Islands obviously affected Fong's legal work and businesses, since in prosperous times his clients were more able to pay their legal and other bills, Fong's success was never directly related to the work of the Big Five. It was never the controlling factor that Dillingham claimed it to be.

#### The Kaneohe Hospital Probe

While Fong undoubtedly realized the authority he held as Speaker was dependent upon his ability to maintain liaison with the Democratic leadership, he did not permit that need to compromise his attitude

toward what he considered proper adherence to House rules. An example of this was seen in the unauthorized hearing by Rep. Charles Kauhane into Kaneohe Hospital employee complaints against management conducted on March 18 in an evening probe. The following account demonstrated not only Fong's conduct as Speaker, but also provided an insight into the strength of the Democratic following he enjoyed in 1953.

Kauhane was in the midst of taking testimony from hospital employees when Fong walked in and asked him to stop. Fong said the probe had been called without knowledge of the proper authorities and might cause "lots of confusion" because it should have been taken up by the appropriate House committee. The hearing was stopped at that point.

The next day, Rep. Starr alluded to the Kauhane incident when Starr said he was going to introduce a motion to amend the rules (House Rule 69), to give the House a stricter measure of control over "embarrassing and unauthorized witch hunts." Kauhane, angry at the proceedings, launched a tirade during which he shouted that individual legislators had unlimited powers of investigation. He claimed that any member of the Legislature could conduct investigation "on his own hook." At the same time, he made it clear that he was not too unhappy with Fong's breaking up of the hearing. He predicted that House votes would "still be 18 to 12, all the way through."<sup>145</sup>

Responding to Starr's notice of intent to amend the rules, Fong stated that he was of the opinion that members, either individually or collectively, had the right to hold fact-finding meetings, but not the right to conduct investigations or public hearings without appropriate action by the House or its duly constituted committees.<sup>146</sup>

### Democrat Legislation and the Coalition

As a matter of fact, the Democrats did not always enjoy smooth sailing. They claimed that Rep. Shimamura, chairman of the judiciary committee, was not reporting out many of their bills to the floor for action. The 11 Democrats as a body planned to meet with Fong on the problem in early April. One Democrat was quoted as saying he would "run wild" if Fong did not assist them, reiterating "I voted for Mr. Fong for Speaker because he was the lesser evil among the Republicans and if he doesn't play ball with us, he can count me out."<sup>147</sup>

More than one Democrat was heard to say that they had not struck a tough enough bargain with the Fong faction, lamenting that they should have amended the House rules to make it easier to get bills out of committee and onto the floor.<sup>148</sup>

The situation apparently did not improve, because at the end of the month, Reps. Kauhane and Esposito both attacked Shimamura's actions in holding back legislation. At one point, Shimamura was caught in an error regarding Kauhane's signature on a resolution. Although the Democrats charged that Shimamura was "discriminating against important legislation," nothing much more than the Speaker's permitting them to air their opinions resulted from the charges.<sup>149</sup>

On May 6, Rep. Shimamura defended his actions and replied to his critics by clarifying some Democratic actions regarding legislation before the judiciary committee. He ended by stating that the complaints were "idle rantings" from frustrated oppositionists who lacked a "constructive legislative program" and were bent on "opposing and embarrassing a Republican majority." Shimamura said that he would not



be embarrassed nor intimidated by their "meaningless and unfounded political attacks."<sup>150</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Democrats did not resort to the parliamentary ploy of passing a resolution absolving the judiciary committee from its responsibility toward handling a bill, something which Fong had used previously. It was very likely that the tactic was not attempted because the Democrats could not get the votes for passage. It is also interesting to note that while the Democrats were believed to hold the balance of power, and may have thought they did, the fact of the matter was that Fong and the Republicans still controlled the votes on every committee. This was guaranteed by Fong's method of committee assignments, a balancing act by which the Republicans (despite their complaints about the Speaker) came out much better than might be expected. When viewed objectively, and in practical political terms, Fong's adroit placement of Democrats on committees kept the Republicans in complete control of the House in 1953.

His procedure was also evidence of his loyalty to the party, although the Old Guard would not or could not admit it. They could only see that he had flaunted party rules, and should be punished. Had any other less loyal Republican held such power, the Democrats might indeed have been the pivot upon which the House turned. But it was foreign to Fong's nature to be disloyal. Although in a particular instance (such as in his fight for the Speakership) he might act against the wishes of the party, having attained his goal, he remained consistent in his allegiance to the party per se.

### Problems With Act 320

By the first week in April, the Legislature had a big work jam. Following the long Easter recess, it convened for the 38th day of the 60-day session. In terms of actual laws passed, there did not appear to be much in the way of accomplishment. However, much preliminary study had been done for bills coming up. The Senate Ways and Means Committee and the House finance committees had gone over the proposed \$101,000,000 budget with department heads, and other legislation was being considered, but few bills passed.

By the end of April, Governor King agreed to an extension for the twenty-seventh Legislature, because as he noted,

this legislature has done a splendid job by going into very complicated matters more thoroughly perhaps than any recent legislature.

I have had comments from other agencies that the various committees have given more time to interested groups and individuals to present their arguments in support of various measures than has been done in previous sessions.<sup>151</sup>

The key log in the legislative log jam was a very troublesome one. The proposed budget did not include the cost of new wages envisioned by the 1951 Legislature in Act 320 providing for reclassification and salary adjustments by a special board. Until a decision on government salaries was made, no other top problem having financial implications could be attacked. An opinion from former Attorney General Michiro Watanabe and his successor Edward N. Sylva that the Territory was liable for back pay under the plan only lent more urgency to the lawmakers to find a solution.

Senate and House leaders looked desperately for "some way to junk the program in order to come up with a less costly substitute. They

looked for some signs of illegality in the work of the salary board so as to be able to throw the program out.<sup>152</sup>

The Senate Ways and Means Committee, under Benjamin Dillingham, met with Speaker Fong on several occasions to work out differences between the two houses on the implementation of Act 320. While the Senate was willing to pay the retroactive salaries, the House was not, and it was reported that House attitudes appeared to be that Act 320 in its final form was the work of the Senate and it would be up to the 1953 Senate to find the way out.<sup>153</sup>

The Senate ultimately had to give in to the power structure of the House. As in the past session, the Senate tried to institute a sales tax, but the House members, feeling they had committed themselves to the electorate for "no new taxes," would not go along. The ability of the House to control the Senate's proposed three per cent sales tax was seen in the manner Rep. Sakakihara "ice-boxed" the measure in the finance committee. With the tax bill out of his reach, Ways and Means Chairman Dillingham had little with which to bargain. Although it was rumored he would attach the tax rider on to another House bill then in the Senate, Sakakihara indicated it would be tabled when it was returned to the lower chamber.<sup>154</sup>

As it was, the final agreement (Act 278) worked out between the two legislative houses was largely along the lines of the proposals of the House of Representatives. On May 20, 1953, following a conference session, they concurred on the following major points: The work of the salary standardization board--reclassification--was thrown "out the window"; no new taxes; no change in the tax structure; frozen pay increments of government workers, to be unfrozen and paid June 30, 1953;

the retroactive pay due employees upgraded under Act 320 was to be paid off at a maximum of \$250 per year stretching over a four-year period; workers not getting a salary increment received a \$10 per month bonus, with a maximum of \$240 over a two-year period; Act 320 was to be repealed; and government workers were to be converted to the general pay schedule from the existing standard; teachers and school principals received a \$50 per month across the board pay raise beginning in September; a pupil-teacher ratio of 33 to 1 and kindergarten fees of \$6 per month; University of Hawaii faculty members received a seven per cent pay increase; and three of the existing 13 paid holidays were eliminated; pensioners receiving up to \$100 a month received a bonus of not more than \$35 per month; the question of those receiving more than \$100 per month was under study; Leahi Hospital workers received a salary increase; Senate proposals for a uniform classification and civil service system were to be junked.<sup>155</sup>

The agreement proved to be more controversial than Fong thought, as will be seen. In a statement following the announcement of the agreement, Fong said of the financial arrangement that it had enhanced greatly the political position of the Republican Party. He predicted that the 1954 election would be an endorsement of the "courageous" action taken by the leadership in meeting an extremely difficult problem. He said in part that the agreement had met with "widespread" approval, and that teachers, principals, and government employees felt that the difficult salary question had been met "fairly." The general taxpayer, he noted, was certainly relieved to learn no more taxes would be added to an "already burdensome tax load."

He admitted to a deficit for the coming biennium, but said that it would not be large, somewhere in the neighborhood of three to four million dollars. Fong closed by saying:

The fine manner in which the finance problem has been met is a great boon to the Republican party from a political standpoint. Even if we had tried to build up a favorable set of circumstances, the results could not have been better. As a matter of fact, there were sharp differences of opinion between the Republican majority in the house and the party leadership in the senate, but both sides kept their heads and worked toward a workable solution of the problem.<sup>156</sup>

He also complimented Senator Dillingham and Rep. Sakakihara and the members of the conference committee for their "wonderful work."<sup>157</sup> While it was certainly good that the Republicans had come to an agreement between the factions, Fong misread the mood of the electorate. It was an error he seldom made, but it did happen in 1954.

The Democrats reserved comments on the majority agreement. As will be seen later, they took Act 278 apart, item by item, and compared it and other legislation with G.O.P. campaign pledges. The result was disaster for the Republican Party in 1954.

#### A Tumultuous End to the 1954 Regular Session

A fight over an insurance bill marked the end of the 27th legislative session in the House, and proved once again the powerful role the Speaker played in the Legislature. The salary and budgetary problems were already agreed upon, and other issues were being decided pleasantly. The last big item remaining was a new code to regulate the insurance industry in Hawaii. It was 379 pages long and would revise, unify, and overhaul all the insurance laws of the Territory. Meanwhile, the House clock had been stopped.

The insurance industry (which in 1951 had fought similar legislation) and the Treasurer's Office were agreed on the bill in 1953, largely because a new Federal law threatened more drastic national regulation where certain state regulation was lacking.

The mammoth bill was the largest ever handled in the Legislature, and had passed the Senate twice. Stopped by the House judiciary chairman, Rep. Shimamura, from even coming up for a vote the first time, the upper chamber passed the bill again as a rider to another House bill. Supporters in the House claimed 18 to 20 votes, more than enough to meet the required 16 votes.<sup>158</sup>

However, Fong and Shimamura were opposed to it. Lacking the votes to defeat it, they determined to kill it by other means, namely by keeping it from coming up for a vote. Senate supporters were ready, with a communication presenting the bill to the full House. The rules required that all such communications must be read and acted upon. Fong delayed nearly 100 hours in reading the Senate's letter. Rep. Starr had the letter called up, but at this juncture, he graciously yielded so that what was termed an "important" finance committee report could be received. The report was not actually important, but the deferral was used to rush through the few remaining bills.<sup>159</sup>

Finally, there was no more legislation to be acted upon except the huge insurance bill. It had to be called up. The bill's backers were sure of winning, because they had the votes. Rep. Shimamura was recognized by Speaker Fong. First, Shimamura invoked a seldom-used rule to demand that the 379-page bill be read completely by the Clerk. Walter Chuck visibly shuddered at the prospect. Then, Shimamura demanded the long-stopped clock be started again.

Fong held both requests in order. He ordered the clock set at 11:30 p.m. and re-started. Realizing what was happening, angry opponents shouted while commotion seized the House. Rep. Duponte of Maui asked if they were being filibustered, and the reply was in the affirmative. Suddenly House members remembered other bills for which time was also running out. A coterie of Representatives steamed over to the Senate to get back House Bill 722, which provided for some \$300,000 for roads in the several counties. It had been sent over by Rep. Lydgate in a "somewhat unorthodox procedure for 'corrective amendments.'" Kauhane demanded to be heard, but Fong proceeded for a roll call vote on the road bill, which was passed by a wide majority. The time was 11:58 p.m.

Rep. St. Sure, chief backer of the insurance bill, demanded the floor, saying Shimamura had gone over the legal time limit of 15 minutes. Others shouted to be heard, but Fong ignored any demand that would stop the clock. When the hands reached 12 o'clock, he brought down his gavel, and declared, "This House is adjourned sine die." There was more commotion and a brief pause. "Aloha Oe" was sung, and Governor King came in to make a few remarks. The Legislature was over, and the insurance bill was dead.<sup>160</sup>

"That," said Speaker Fong afterwards, "was a classical finish." Insurance bill supporters did not think it such a classical finish, but said that there was nothing they could do. Fong had acted legally throughout the whole procedure. Asked if any action were being planned by the Board of Underwriters, official Harry Bright said, "What can you do? The opposition never showed."<sup>161</sup>

The clock routine caught the Senate in a dilemma, because neither house was expected to adjourn without notifying the other. However, after a search of the rule book, Senate President Tsukiyama ruled that that House adjournment was proper because the House clock had run out. Furthermore there was no one to notify of the Senate intention to quit since the House was adjourned. The solution was found by Senator Heen, who advised the Sergeant-at-arms to move the Senate clock hands to midnight from where they had been stopped.<sup>162</sup>

Fong had managed to adjourn the House without advising the Senate first, thereby forestalling any disagreement or change in what had been accomplished in the Twenty-Seventh Legislature. He always seemed to have the upper hand, running circles around the upper chamber's leadership. Although intellect undoubtedly had a part in it, it was Fong's ability to plan ahead and outsmart and outmaneuver his counterparts that gave him the power he employed so skillfully to his own liking.

Many years later, Fong stated he did not recall exactly why he was opposed to the insurance bill, but thought it might be because of a "picayune thing" between the House and Senate. He admitted that it might have been over a small problem brought on by a personality clash between the leadership of the two houses. In any event, he said he had told Shimamura to "kill the bill."<sup>163</sup>

#### The "Fong Loyalty" Case

The realities of politics in Hawaii and Fong's position in it vis-à-vis the Republican power structure was brought home to Republican delegates at the one-day convention held at McKinley High School on June 13, 1953. Fourth District Republicans led a spirited fight to



win consideration for a change in party rules which provided for the expulsion of any member

who shall support any candidate for election in opposition to the person chosen by the Republican Party or who shall support or combine with any other political party or member thereof.

The proposed rule would have been strengthened by adding a section reading,

to deprive the majority of the Republican members within any elective body, or oppose them in, their right, ability, duty or responsibility to organize said body in which the Republican members have won a majority of seats by election.<sup>164</sup>

However, the attempt was a futile one. By a vote of 917 to 281, the delegates adopted the report of the party's rules committee that the matter be referred to the central committee for "further study," and requiring that a report on the proposed change be made to each county committee no later than January 31, 1954. The Fourth District voted 273 to 260 to table the report, but in Fong's own district, the vote was 297 in favor, with only eight votes against it. The adoption of the report was considered a victory for the King faction of the party, to which Fong and his adherents were closely allied.<sup>165</sup>

The rule as adopted provided for a nine-member permanent panel to enforce party loyalty. The panel could expel any Republican who combined with the opposition party to defeat the majority in organizing any elective body. Moreover, all Republicans at the Territorial and county levels were required to attend organizing caucuses when their party was in the majority. The main argument for the rule was that if an individual ran as a Republican and did not remain loyal to his party, he should be denied membership in the party. The argument was predicated on the belief that organization of any body in which the Republicans held a majority was strictly a party matter.<sup>166</sup>

It was reported that those leaders in opposition to the rule never "seriously expressed" their feelings at the convention; however, their reasoning was said to follow the lines that: (1) a party-made rule was not how to guarantee party loyalty. The only genuine answer was in the adoption of a closed, partisan primary. In a closed primary, an obstreperous Republican would be called to account by fellow Republicans, and only to them, in the voting booths. (2) Until a truly closed primary were enacted, the present practice, "certainly not restricted to Rep. Fong," of consorting with the opposition party, would continue as a facet in Hawaiian politics. It was also noted that another reason G.O.P. leadership did not favor the rule had little to do with the technicalities of the situation. They were politically aware enough to realize that much of their leadership strength was dependent upon Fong's fifth district organization.<sup>167</sup>

In any event, it was one thing to have a "Hiram Fong loyalty rule" on the Party's books, but another matter to enforce it. As one Fong adherent put it, anytime a coalition went into effect, more than one Republican was involved. Expulsion from the party was mandatory, and no discriminatory provisions could be applied by the panel, as for example, placing the maverick Republicans on probation. Consequently, any Republican participating in an unholy alliance with the Democrats would have to be evicted from the G.O.P. membership. The effect of the new rule, as seen by the Fong supporter, would be to hand over control of the Republican party to the Democrats. It was said, "They'd have to kick out all the Republicans." The obvious result was that only Democrats would be left. Logically, the rule could not be enforced.<sup>168</sup> Certainly it could not be enforced to the benefit of the Republicans.

### Awards and Honors in 1953

At least 12 honorary doctorate degrees would be awarded to Fong by various American and Asian colleges and universities by 1979, but the first doctorate was presented by his alma mater, the University of Hawaii. President Gregg Sinclair made the presentation in graduation ceremonies at the Manoa campus on May 27, 1953 in recognition of his various achievements which brought honor to the University.<sup>169</sup>

According to Hebden Porteus, who was also a graduate of the University, Fong and he had been among the handful of representatives in the Legislature who consistently pushed for university support. Many times the task of securing appropriations for it was difficult because the outer islands' lawmakers felt no particular affinity for the campus, particularly since Sinclair had not been strong on agricultural extension programs benefitting the other counties.<sup>170</sup>

In the meantime, other honors came to Fong. In September of 1953, he was named to the post of advisor to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Chinese Nationalist government. He was originally asked to serve as a member of the commission itself, but as an American citizen, he could not accept a foreign government post. The commission handled the affairs of an estimated 12 million overseas Chinese in matters relating to problems of immigration, export-import, and aid in the fields of education and industry. Fong, who served without salary or fee, was one of several advisors to the commission residing in various parts of the world.<sup>171</sup>

### The 1954 Special Session

In June of 1953, when Governor King indicated he might call a special session of the Legislature to deal with vital revenue and

finance problems in the face of an estimated 17 million dollar deficit, the Honolulu Advertiser speculated that Fong's position as Speaker might be challenged at the special session by some Republicans, using a rule of the House which provided that the House officers "shall retain their respective positions unless such tenure be terminated by the action of the House, or for reasons beyond the control of the members." Any change in the rules required a two-thirds vote of the Representatives. Fong's faction was aware of the fact that his post might be challenged, but were reasonably sure that the Republican majority could not secure the required two-thirds vote.<sup>172</sup> And as it was, he was never officially challenged.

Governor Samuel W. King had been in agreement with the Fong faction which voted no new taxes in the 1953 Legislature. On November 17, he said that the financial condition of the Islands was "excellent" and that he could see no reason for a special session of the Legislature unless developments in the statehood fight in Washington necessitated the enactment of local legislation. King noted that tax revenues continued at a high level. As an example, revenues collected in October 1953 totaled \$455,400 more than of one year ago. Fong agreed with the Governor: "100 per cent," stating that as in the past, big deficits were predicted, but the Territory "always managed" to get along until the regular session took place. He did admit, however, that economies "in certain quarters" might be required to stay within the estimated income.<sup>173</sup>

By the end of January 1954, progress on statehood legislation in Washington encouraged Governor King to look toward holding a special session. If the U.S. Senate version of the bill were acceptable,

President Eisenhower was to issue a proclamation between June 5 and July 4 calling for the election of a Hawaii state legislature and governor in the fall of 1954. The special session was to complete necessary arrangements for elections and to provide adequate funding for the formal admittance of Hawaii into the sisterhood of states.<sup>174</sup>

The Special Session was convened on April 20, 1954. While both Fong and Senate President Tsukiyama hoped for a short session, including a recess to send a statehood delegation to Washington, influential groups in the community were angling to get other matters before the solons. Labor organizations including the Hawaii Government Employees Association, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the United Public Workers exerted pressure to have their problems considered, with the obvious intent of forcing votes because of the upcoming 1954 election. It was speculated that if a Democratic-led blowup came, it would happen in the Senate, with the House being the holding point. Fong was expected to override any efforts of Rep. Kauhane and others to push through legislation.<sup>175</sup> This was another indication of the belief in the Speaker's ability to work with the entire House on crucial issues.

Another example of Fong's ability and sureness of control over the House members was revealed in his plans for organizing the lower chamber by the first day. Previous to the opening, he said he had already worked out the procedures, but refused to reveal them until he had consulted with other G.O.P. members. Senator Tsukiyama, however, at that time had not yet decided how the upper chamber would organize, but indicated it would probably be in the form of a resolution against unlimited legislation. Fong said House arrangements would be completed the first

day; in contrast, Tsukiyama said it might take another day before the Senate would be organized.<sup>176</sup>

Although the Senate did organize on the first day, it is interesting to note the difference in the statements of the two legislative heads: Fong, positive of his power and authority, and Tsukiyama, not quite so definite. Five years later, in Hawaii's first fight to elect two United States senators, Fong's immediate decisiveness in declaring for Seat "A" and his ability to capture the imagination of the electorate with his leadership capabilities would make a vital difference in the campaigns operated by himself and his rival Wilfred Tsukiyama, who then had to run for Seat "B."

The leadership in both houses, in 1954, decided to confine the Special Session to the important statehood issue, limiting the number of employees and establishing a joint printing committee. The smaller Senate did business as a committee of the whole, while the House under Fong conducted its work by special committees named as required.

The House leadership was strongly in favor of sending a large delegation to Washington during the Congressional Easter recess in support of statehood in 1954. A special 10-person House committee agreed it would be fine to send the entire Legislature if possible, at an estimated cost of \$45,000, or less than 10 cents per citizen. Committee members included Republicans Richard St. Sure, Webley Edwards, Jack King, Esther Richardson, and Takao Yamauchi. The Democrats were represented by Dee Duponte, Charles Kauhane, Akoni Pule, and Toshiharu Yama. Chairman was Republican Hebden Porteus. Their feelings were expressed in terms like "Strength in numbers," "Terrific impact," "Small delegation would get lost in Washington," "Dramatic move," and "Last minute punch."<sup>177</sup>

Porteus said that if "we didn't go back during a recess," Congress might not feel the Islanders were interested in statehood. The committee favored flying in a chartered plane because of the added publicity that move would engender. While most legislators were in agreement with the committee, at least one was not. Veteran Manuel Paschoal exploded, saying that sending the entire Legislature was the "most ridiculous thing" he had heard of.<sup>178</sup>

While the Hawaii legislators were enthusiastic about making the trip, Delegate Farrington stated he was opposed to the action. However, he made no mention of it in his address to both houses on April 21, 1954.<sup>179</sup> He let his feelings be represented in his family's newspaper, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

Both Honolulu dailies were opposed to what they called a "junket." Often the Advertiser and the evening newspaper were not in agreement, but on the issue of a large delegation going to Washington, the two influential papers were in complete accord. Both Fong and Porteus were in favor of a huge delegation, but, as in 1950, Porteus did not make the trip, claiming too many local responsibilities. While most House members also desired a large group, it would be safe to venture that had Fong wanted a smaller delegation, they would have gone along with his wishes.

In the end, the delegation did charter a plane and 53 individuals (eight Senators, 27 Representatives, and 20 additional persons) made the trek. To the transportation cost of about \$28,000 to charter a United Air Lines plane were added delegation expenses, including 10 days per diem of \$30 per person, for a total expenditure of around \$43,000.<sup>180</sup>

Upon their return from Washington, both Fong and Tsukiyama optimistically predicted immediate statehood. Fong was the more outspoken of the two, claiming that his hopes were made brighter because of the fact that Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Joseph Martin had "given his word" to do everything possible to untangle the Hawaii bill. Fong's strong belief in a man's word being his bond was seen in his statement that when the Speaker Martin gave his word,

you can be sure he will do what he says. I have every confidence that the matter is going to be taken up by the house.

I think the bill probably will have to go back to the senate and I think we have the votes there.<sup>181</sup>

Both men felt that the trip to the nation's capital was "highly effective." Fong said the group made a "tremendous impression" among congressmen. Fong said the delegation was "able to speak intelligently," and "carried themselves well."<sup>182</sup> However, both men were too optimistic, as the Congress failed again to pass the needed legislation. However, in making the trip, Fong once more received local and national exposure which undoubtedly aided his candidacy for the United States Senate five years later.

#### Farrington and Statehood

There has been some speculation concerning the sincerity of Joseph Farrington and his widow, Elizabeth, who succeeded him as Delegate to Congress, about achieving statehood. This may have been due in part to a natural reaction to the long struggle for Statehood, which saw Congressional session after session after session fail to complete legislation on the prized status. Questioned on his feeling about whether the Farringtons were dragging their feet behind the scenes in



Washington, Fong said that he had no cause to doubt them, that to the best of his knowledge, they were sincere. He postulated,

I presume much of that came about when Joe felt that the Legislature shouldn't have gone up there to campaign for statehood.

That's when I led the contingent of members of the House, and the papers played it up as a junket. We canvassed the whole Senate and the House of Representatives, saw each one of the members of the Congress, and we asked them to vote for statehood.

And I think...there was a little reluctance for Joe to see us there...I don't know what was the reason...Maybe he felt that they [he and his wife] had done almost all the work...

The question was, what could be accomplished [by the delegation]? As a member of Congress, he knew where the opposition was. And he knew where it could be targeted. But just going around, seeing the people, may not be as effective. Maybe that's the reason why.<sup>183</sup>

According to Stuart Gerry Brown, oral testimonies in the John A. Burns Oral History Project reveal that the 1954 Statehood Delegation members were introduced by Delegate Farrington to the Republican leaders in Congress, but for some inexplicable reason, no such courtesy was extended to the members of the Democratic leadership in Washington. It was one thing for the Hawaii delegation to knock on every Congressman's door and lobby for Statehood, but it was yet another matter to be formally presented as the official Hawaii delegation to the controlling Democrats in the Congress. In this respect, the memorists felt that Farrington appeared to have lost a great opportunity to serve the cause of Statehood. The oversight, surely not deliberate, nevertheless did not go unnoticed in Washington.<sup>184</sup> Meanwhile, Mrs. Elizabeth Farrington felt that both she and her late husband had done everything they possibly could have done to advance Statehood for Hawaii.<sup>185</sup>

### The 1954 Campaign

On September 1, 1954 Fong announced his candidacy for re-election to the Legislature. Running on the basis of the Republican Party platform, Fong again cited his experience, training and education. In the primary election, Fong led the Republican ticket, being nominated with 7,587 votes. The record turnout in the Territory also saw other Republicans nominated from the Fifth District: Clarence Shimamura (7,384); Yasutaka Fukushima (7,252); Iris Cullen (5,276); Stan Sabihon (5,011); John Ayamo (4,456). In place of the many candidates the Republicans had been able to field when Fong first entered politics, in 1954 there were only these six candidates from the G.O.P. ranks. By way of contrast, the Democrats fielded a total of 14 candidates, and nominated six: Charles Kauhane (8,989); O. Vincent Esposito (8,016); Sttere Noda (7,579); George Ariyoshi, in his first legislative election (6,299); Philip Minn (6,171); and Lau Ah Chew (4,563).<sup>186</sup>

After the primary elections, Republicans were now well aware of their danger. The closed primary rule had the effect, as Fong and several other practical politicians had foreseen, of holding down even some of the perennial top vote getters, when their party columns were deserted by voters because of contests on the other side of the ballot's dividing line.

Incumbent Delegate Elizabeth Farrington called for a door to door campaign, noting that voters who had jumped the fence were not likely to jump back, and that the party had to work very hard that year.<sup>187</sup> Fong himself told party workers that an intensive telephone campaign was needed.<sup>188</sup>

The 1954 campaign was characterized by personal bitterness to a degree that was unusual. The word "liar," used almost as often as "aloha," was one indication of the situation that had developed between the Republicans and Democrats. The number of eligible registered voters had increased to 160,947 from the 148,717 two years before. The Democrats were well-organized under the leadership of John A. Burns and his coterie of young, well-educated and hard-working believers, many of whom were American-Japanese who had fought for Hawaii and the United States in the wars just past.<sup>189</sup>

Democrats questioned the half-century old stand of the G.O.P. regarding finances and taxation, unemployment, education, government employees' salaries, and public works projects, among others. From these, two main issues arose which were hammered incessantly upon the public. The first was the Republican record in Legislature, which Democrats persistently and throughout all the Islands discredited at every opportunity. They did and said almost anything to "arouse enmity against anything Republican." They attacked specifically the G.O.P.-built tax system, calling it "regressive," warned of big deficits, charged that the practice of requiring fees for special classes and other school expenses were incompatible with the Republican claim of "free" public education, and asserted that the 1953 Legislature had ill-treated the government employees.<sup>190</sup>

To these charges the Republicans responded heatedly that they had kept Hawaii prosperous, built a vast system of good roads and schools, employed many citizens in public projects, and had carried the Islands through difficult economic adjustments in the post-war period. Moreover they had led the Territory to the front door of Statehood.<sup>191</sup> These

responses were not much different from their traditional campaign platforms. The public was ready for new approaches, but the G.O.P. gave them few.

The second issue which was an explosive one was that of Communism. The Republicans charged the Democrats with being influenced by Communism. Among the Democratic candidates, only Frank Fasi denounced the I.L.W.U. leadership as being communist-influenced. The Democrats charged the G.O.P. with "smear" tactics. However both parties stated that the rank and file of the unions were not communistic. The I.L.W.U. supported most of the Democratic candidates for office, and the Democrats accepted that support, making impressive gains throughout the Islands.<sup>192</sup>

The Democrats under Burns were well organized and focused on the unemployment situation, which then totaled some 12,000 persons. Burns said the Republicans were "factionalized and divided." In addition to the other Republican faults previously noted, Burns claimed Hawaii's peoples were "second class citizens" and were "without our just share of the tax dollar." Republicans, said Burns, had no real suggestions for improvement; they had "no ideas, no program, and no record."<sup>193</sup>

By the evening of the general election, the political pundits were claiming that if the Democratic wins of the primaries continued without alteration, there would be great changes in the governing bodies throughout the Islands.<sup>194</sup>

Speculation as to whether Kauhane or Esposito would take the top job in the House of Representatives was a news item as soon as the primary was over. Although it was seen that the Democrats would control both houses, Fong was expected to win a seat in the next Legislature. It was said of him that "Fong is extremely adept at landing on his feet no matter how he is thrown."<sup>195</sup>

Fong actually ran a lukewarm race, spending only \$204 in the primary. He himself admitted, "If I had really gone out to work, I could have won....But it had no more glamour for me...no more interest. I wasn't enthusiastic about it."<sup>196</sup> In comparison, Kauhane spent \$408, Ariyoshi \$365, and Fukushima \$351. Rep. Porteus spent \$847 in the same race.<sup>197</sup>

His campaign was also notably lacking in paid newspaper advertisements for the general election. Whereas in previous campaigns his picture and name had been featured, in 1954 there was little evidence of his candidacy except for group ads taken out by the Republican Party, and even those were smaller and less frequent than in the past. Campaign methods were changing as the new media advanced in technology. The old-fashioned political rallies gave way to television advertisements, door to door campaigning, and telephone solicitations. The G.O.P. funded the final night's expensive televised rally.

The use of television required different communicative skills, and while Fong's resonant voice and public speaking ability continued to be advantageous, he admitted he had to get used to the new campaign methods; for example, the need to hold a microphone still and not gesture with it while making a point.<sup>198</sup>

#### Civil Service Dissatisfaction

Dissatisfaction was rampant throughout the Territory among county as well as territorial employees with the civil service reclassification and salary adjustments of 1951 (Act 320) and 1953 (Act 278). The situation was so bad, and the dangers of civil service enmity so great, that a new salary plan providing for a minimum annual pay increase of \$93.31 for the first year and \$117.76 for the second year for all government employees was forwarded during the campaign to Governor King

by Territorial Civil Service officials as an alternative to the schedules of Act 278.<sup>199</sup> However, the Hawaii Government Employees Association asked for other major changes in the plan, claiming that salary adjustments alone were not adequate. Under the civil service law then in effect, the director of personnel was the administrator of classification and the civil service commission acted only as an appeals board. Under the proposed law, the authority of the commission to administer the statute was not only returned to it, but also gave it the power to hear appeals from its own decisions. This latter provision was also quite unacceptable to the H.G.E.A.<sup>200</sup>

Given Fong's strong appeal in the Fifth District, he might have survived the general election, but as it was, he became embroiled in the politics of civil service legislation. The government salary bill of 1953 (Act 278, which replaced Act 320 of 1951) went right into the general election day as one of the "hottest" issues in the contest for control of the Legislature. Despite its avowed non-partisanship, the statements of the Hawaii Government Employees Association clearly asked for a defeat of the Republican incumbents. The H.G.E.A. charged that the 1953 lawmakers, primarily the Republicans, broke an implied contract with the employees. On October 31, Fong brought the power and prestige of his position as the incumbent Speaker to a slashing attack on Charles Kendall, executive secretary of the H.G.E.A., saying that Kendall had not told Association members the full story of his involvement with the passage of the controversial Act 320 of 1951:

I want to tell you that Act 320 was born in deceit, fraud and misrepresentation and was nurtured in infamy, dishonor, and political chicanery. This deceit, this fraud and this misrepresentation I lay at the door of Charles Kendall.<sup>201</sup>

Fong believed that the Democratic Senators and Kendall had worked to discredit the G.O.P. by the way they administrated Act 320. He said that Kendall had told an "untruth" when he testified that Act 320 [House Bill 151] would result in increased salary costs of only \$489,000. The program established by the salary standardization board would have cost more than 11 million dollars, stated Fong. Yet it was put into effect by Robert Dodge, a Democrat heading the board, in spite of the fact that it had not completed its necessary study. The purpose was to embarrass the Republican Legislature, Fong charged.

By jumping the gun on the legislature, Robert Dodge, chairman of the classification board and law partner of Sen. William H. Heen, gave to Curtis Heen, son of Sen. Heen, an increase of \$5,639.88 (for the biennium).

I ask again, who is Charles Kendall representing?<sup>202</sup>

He appealed directly to the members not to seek revenge against Republicans over the salary legislation of 1953. He asked,

How long are you going to be led around by a man who has no regard for the truth and who would jeopardize your interests just to cater to a few who have the power to keep him employed?<sup>203</sup>

Fong also agreed with what Sen. Dillingham had said about Act 320: had it been allowed to continue, some 25 per cent of the territorial employees would have been permanently laid off because of insufficient funding. Citing figures for Act 278, he supported his contention that "the Republican legislature had the majority of the employees in mind" when it replaced the 1951 act.

We protected your jobs and [moreover] benefitted 60 per cent of you. Why did Kendall not tell you this? Again, who is he representing? You should be out congratulating us, shaking our hands and thanking us for helping you and saving your jobs.

The least that we can expect of you is to stand up for us and to tell your fellow employees that we have done the right thing by you.<sup>204</sup>

To those unhappy because they lost benefits under the new law, Fong appealed to their sense of justice toward their fellow employees: "I ask you, in good conscience, and with honor, were you willing to sacrifice your fellow workers? Were you willing to see 2,500 of your fellow employees fired from their jobs permanently?"<sup>205</sup>

While the last appeal may have been used successfully in his own family (or those of Chinese or Oriental background), this last appeal must have seemed archaic and meaningless to those of other cultures or to the younger generation of Oriental families. The appeal of self-sacrifice had no significance to those who were anxiously poised to remove the old power structure.

Debating on Maui with David K. Trask, Democratic nominee for the House, Senator Dillingham blamed Democrat former Governor Long for the appointment of the salary standardization board. He also faulted the board itself for the failure of Act 320 and passage of Act 278 which replaced it. While the Democrats voted against Act 278 they did not come up with an alternative, he said. Now, he claimed, they "like to sit back and pick fleas off of Act 278." Trask slugged back, claiming that the Republicans had had no estimate of the cost of the new salary schedule and said they did not know what they were doing in enacting legislation.<sup>206</sup>

The H.G.E.A. responded to Fong's attack by taking out a large advertisement in the Honolulu Advertiser. It "gratefully" acknowledged Fong's statement about the birth and nurturing of Act 320. However, the association laid the blame for "this deceit, this fraud and this misrepresentation at the feet of Fong and those following his leadership in the 1953 session." The H.G.E.A. stated that Kendall's testimony was



for a different bill altogether, House Bill 151, not Act 320 "which was entirely different from House Bill 151 and something which the H.G.E.A. did not ask for."<sup>207</sup>

What was meant here was that H.B. No. 151 was so altered in the Senate that when it was finally passed, it bore little resemblance to the original bill. Fong was apparently making the distinction between what the House had intended to do, and what the Senate actually did with the bill. While he held the Senate responsible for an unpopular and inequitable law, the H.G.E.A. and the Democrats were not willing to note the difference. To them, any Republican of either house was a foe to be ousted.

The H.G.E.A. reminded Fong that had he been present at a debate between Senator Dillingham and Mr. Kendall on October 29, 1954, he would have heard the senator openly admit that "if they had listened to the representatives of the H.G.E.A. pertaining to House bill 151 they would not be faced with their present dilemma."<sup>208</sup>

Moreover, Rep. Thomas Sakakihara had recently stated in Hilo that the Senate Ways and Means Committee was instrumental in the passage of Act 278, and was influenced largely by downtown big business interests, and the Committee succumbed to the urgings of these interests.<sup>209</sup>

The H.G.E.A. concluded that it was Fong who was untruthful. In addition, he had not accorded their representatives an opportunity to discuss with him or the members of his Committee on Conference the merits or demerits of Act 278.

The advertisement ended with the following statement: "The H.G.E.A. extends to Speaker Fong its deep sympathy because we always hate to see a person's 'double talk' catching up with him."<sup>210</sup>

Robert Dodge answered Fong's charges in a radio address on November 1 during which he read from the Board's minutes. They revealed it was Mr. H. W. B. White who had moved to put the salary program into operation on January 22, 1953 and that Dodge had joined in the affirmative vote of five to two. He also said that the pay raise voted Sen. Heen's son was based on the position itself, not for the person holding the job. Dodge also said that young Heen's identity was not known at the time, and that the recommendation had been made by Budget Director Paul Thurston.<sup>211</sup>

On November 1, the H.G.E.A. supplied its members with the responses to questionnaires sent to the candidates requesting "yes" or "no" answers on what they would do regarding salary and classification in the next Session. Only two Republicans, John Ayamo and Kenneth Olds, responded individually. The others sent H.G.E.A. a joint reply, stating that revisions to the salary and classification law would be made.<sup>212</sup>

Governor King campaigned hard for the Republicans, alleging that Hawaii's problems were due to the failure of 20 years of Democratic gubernatorial administration. He said that it was the past budgetary practices and policies of the Democrats which were responsible for Hawaii's ills in 1954.<sup>213</sup>

The Republican leadership in the House and the Senate was indeed factionalized, but Senator Dillingham added to their woes when he complained at a meeting attended by supporters that it was big business leaders (who up to that time were firmly in the Republican camp) who were to blame for many workers defecting to the Democratic Party.<sup>214</sup> While early plantation and Big Five practices probably merited such an attack, it only served to weaken business support for the G.O.P. It

also illustrated the inability of major Republicans in 1954 to stay united under pressure. While the Democrats hit hard on the expenses of the 1954 Special Session, Republicans themselves were divided on the benefits of the costly "junket" to Washington. Here was another example of G.O.P.'ers finding fault with one another. Had statehood been achieved in 1954 following the trip to Washington, the expenses would have been forgotten, but the fact that Congress again failed to grant statehood only served to underscore the frustration of the old guard party.

#### The Republican Loss

The Democratic takeover in November of 1954 came as no surprise to anyone who was reading the local newspapers, or who was aware of labor union membership. Soon after the primaries, as has been noted, articles predicting Democratic wins were prevalent. However, what was surprising was the extent of the Democratic success. In the Senate race, Democrats took nine seats to the Republicans' six, but the House fight saw the winners placed in 22 seats to the loser's eight. The biggest upset was in the Fourth District, which had not voted in a Democrat since 1946. Only one Republican survived, incumbent Representative Hebdon Porteus. The entire House leadership, except for Porteus, was defeated.<sup>215</sup>

Fong received 16,035 votes, 31 shy of those given Yasutaka Fukushima, the only Republican to survive the Democratic onslaught in the Fifth District. Leading the Democrats was Charles Kauhane (22,886), followed by Steere Noda (22,437), George Ariyoshi (22,382), O. Vincent Esposito (20,293), and Philip Minn (16,766).<sup>216</sup>

Other Republican losses were those of Leonard Fong and Thomas Sakakihara. Leonard was defeated by Democrat James Murakami after 14 years as Auditor of the City and County of Honolulu. However, it should have come as no surprise, because the older brother had received much unfavorable publicity regarding his refusal to pay the claim of contractor James Glover. Leonard suffered a brief jail term and a court order before giving in.<sup>217</sup> The publicity probably did neither brother any good. Like Hiram Fong, Sakakihara also lost by a small margin, 36 votes. Voter turnout had been heavy. Out of 160,865 registered voters, 142,485 actually cast their ballots, reinforcing Hawaii's image of great voter participation in the elective process.<sup>218</sup>

Fong proved to be a good loser. Although the margin of loss was small, only 31 votes, he did not demand a recount. This gave greater credence to his statement that for the past three elections, he had been a reluctant candidate but had run only because his brother Leonard and Republican Party leaders insisted that he do so. Although his loss must have been a shock to him, he did not seem terribly perturbed. According to Walter Chuck, Fong was "sort of quiet" around the office for a few days, but soon life returned to normal there.<sup>219</sup>

#### Reasons for Loss

Asked to comment on his defeat, Fong replied, "I am surprised that the Republican Party took such a beating. I expected we would lose some seats but not that many. I would like to congratulate the winners." As to what led to the victory of the Democrats, he said, "I assume unemployment, dissatisfaction of government employees, the pupil-teacher ratio--all contributed."<sup>220</sup>

Political commentators had a field day following the election. Mary Noonan implied that Randolph Crossley's leadership had caused many problems, saying that the party should not have been a "place to glorify one's self and belittle those who disagree."<sup>221</sup>

Former Honolulu Mayor John Wilson, ousted in the primary by Frank Fasi, must have been satisfied to see Fasi lose to Republican Neal Blaisdell. Blaisdell's win and the close victory of Elizabeth Farrington over John A. Burns for Delegate to Congress were the two major bright spots in an otherwise dismal Republican sky in 1954. Wilson was quoted as saying that "Republican bungling" of the closed primary law, the tax laws, and the law on wages caused the defeat. He said that past G.O.P. legislatures attempted to solve the complicated civil service situation, but only succeeded in making it worse. In addition, Hawaii politics were being influenced by Mainland trends to a greater extent than before. He said, "It was a tidal wave that started in Connecticut and swept across the entire country, including Hawaii."<sup>222</sup>

Crossley himself saw that factionalism within the party contributed to Republican losses. He noted that Governor King and the Legislature were publicly condemned by fellow Republicans for the Special Session and the trip to Washington, while the Democratic contingent was not chastised by their party for going.<sup>223</sup>

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin noted that only one Democrat who went to Washington was not re-elected, Clarence Seong of Maui. The only Republicans who were members of the 1954 statehood delegation to be re-elected were Wilfred Tsukiyama, Yasutaka Fukushima, Joseph Garcia, Jr., and Esther Richardson: all other Republicans, including Fong, making the trip were overthrown.<sup>224</sup>

For the first time in history, the organized government employees through their association, the H.G.E.A., played an active partisan role in an election. The over 9,000 members joined with other labor unions such as the I.L.W.U., the U.P.W., and the A.F. of L. to bring the total of labor votes to approximately 40,000. Each of those votes, it was conjectured, may have influenced two to four others.<sup>225</sup>

The defeat of both Hiram and Leonard Fong in 1954 was seen as a break in their "seemingly charmed political life." Asked to comment on his political future and the Republican loss, Fong indicated that his wife had been asking him for some time to stop his political activities:

But it is difficult to quit. Your party, friends, and supporters would say I was shirking my duty and letting them down.

However, the people have spoken now and I will have more time to devote to my law practice and other business interests. I'll have two years to think it over before making any decisions.<sup>226</sup>

The Republican-run Legislature may have been viewed as too conservative, he said. The Democrats promised the people everything: a one-dollar minimum wage, reduction of the pupil-teacher ratio to 30 to 1, 11 million dollars more for schools, raising salaries of government employees, elimination of the two per cent tax which was bringing in 10 million dollars, and solution of the unemployment problem.

He explained,

In good conscience, we couldn't promise all those things without raising taxes, something the people don't like. Unemployment is such that government alone cannot cope with it. Private enterprise must help...you can't tax business and industry out of business.<sup>227</sup>

He predicted (rightfully, as it turned out) that the Democrats "won't find it easy to fulfill all those promises," but he said he "wished them luck." He observed, "Of course the voters aren't worried

about solutions as long as they have the promises. The Democrats' promises are probably what helped to swing the votes to them."<sup>228</sup>

Fuchs has termed the Democratic victory in 1954 a "social revolution," and other writers have joined with this assessment, but Fong preferred his own version. He felt that there were two basic reasons for the failure of the Republicans at the polls in 1954:

Much has been said and written about the "social revolution" that occurred in Hawaii....Now to me, that's not entirely true. It was probably a revolution in that the Republicans lost. But it was not a social revolution.

All this came about because of two tremendous blunders--political blunders--by the Republicans, although many of them did not see it that way. The first blunder came when Mary Noonan...insisted that we should have a closed primary....The Republican officials, feeling that they could have better control of the Republican legislators, wanted [it]...so that those who were not thinking along the same lines with them could be easily ousted out of office....

An open primary gives [a person] a chance to say that he is non-partisan, "I vote for the man." So he is not bound by a party syndrome; that is, he does not think in terms of party. He votes the way he wants to.<sup>229</sup>

Fong recalled that in his district, both Republicans and Democrats were against the closed primary bill. The electorate was "mixed," and the politicians didn't know where they stood, and they "didn't want to lose any votes." He remembered that Sam Ichinose turned and voted with the majority at the instigation of the Republican party. Once he "turned," several other legislators joined him, and the battle was lost. As it turned out, not only was the battle lost, but the entire war as well:

I told Mary Noonan, and I told members of the Republican Party ..."If you are going to have this closed primary, the Republican Party is going to get weaker and weaker with every succeeding election....If you force a person to choose sides, I'm afraid from what I know of the people's thinking, that they're going to choose to vote Democratic." But the Republican officials were so

intent on putting the screws on the elected officials...so that they would conform to their thinking....

You see, the Legislature, under Hiram Fong, was not an arm of the Republican Party....It was an independent organization, because the thinking among my colleagues, who put me in office, was such that they were not confined to party thinking. They were trying to do what they thought was correct for the general public. And it was not a real partisan group....Although we were elected as Republicans, when we went in there we forgot our Republicanism....

[The party leaders] saw they did not have any control over me. [The closed primary law was geared] to give themselves a power over the members of the Legislature, not realizing that it's the elected officials that really make it, and not they that make the officials. If you do not have elected officials, then your Party's very weak. You may have the strongest party, and [if] you can't vote for anybody, then what is the use of your party? Your party is only for the purpose of electing officials. But they couldn't see it....

Now on the other hand, the I.L.W.U. saw that this was a chance by which they could strengthen the Democratic Party....So their officials worked hand-in-hand with Mary Noonan and her group. And that's the reason why I wasn't able to hold my votes. There were...strong defections from my stand by members of the Fourth District and a few members from the outside districts.

The closed primary that came with Statehood was just a "cooper riveting" of the partisan primary, with some adjustments, according to Fong. He said that the 1949 law "actually made [the voters] Democrats or Republicans. [It] was a darned fool law, as far as the Republicans were concerned, [and] was the nemesis of the Republican Party."

The second blunder was what the Republicans did to House Bill 1188 in 1953. The bill originally dealt only with classification and rates of pay for employees of the Territory, including the counties' employees, but was adjusted to exclude three paid holidays.

From Fong's point of view, it was the Senate which also added the following changes to the original House bill: forbade the accumulation of more than 12 vacation days per year for employees with 15 or



more years service, and eight days for those with less service; total credit accumulation allowable was reduced from 75 days to 60 days, with excess allowable to January 1, 1956; and a physician's certificate was required if sick leave was taken on the day before or after a non-working day. These last stipulations appeared to impugn the honor of every government worker, most of whom were very dedicated and trustworthy, said Fong, adding, "everything was directed against the government employee so that he felt that he had really been taken for a ride."

In 1953, there were 10,713 territorial employees and some 7,196 county employees. Together there were about 18,000 government workers. Fong related 18,000 employees to 160,000 voters, and found that about 11 per cent of the voters were civil service workers. He figured almost every government employee voted against the Republicans in 1954, "because they were angry." He felt they were incensed over the loss of not just one holiday, but three holidays, which they had heretofore enjoyed. With respect to the classification bill, Fong explained,

Now you know with every classification bill, there are always some that feel that they haven't been classified right. Nobody seems to be happy about a classification bill. Most of the people say that, "I have been classified too low; I need a better classification."

In Fong's own words, the Republican disaster could be accounted for in the following way:

The combination of those two acts [closed primary and Act 278] really spelled the doom of the Republican Party, and the turnover came really in 1954....It was a protest, really, by 18,000 government employees.

When you consider that many of these districts were very small districts....You can see how a 10 per cent swing, or 11 or 13 per cent swing of voters in an election like this could mean a change in the whole territorial setup....

It was not a social revolution, as writers would like to say, as the Democratic Party would like to boast about.

In 1951 and 1953 the House had bargained with the Senate on the taxes. Asked what would have happened if the House had gone along with the Senate excise tax, Fong said that "it would have been the same," because the Senate was "intent upon taking away those vacations."

He continued

Now, as you look back, we were politically naive....Politics was not the all-consuming thing in the party....Politics was a sideline for us. And the Republican Party had been in control so long that it was not in the thinking of the Republican leaders, for example, like myself, to say that we will try to perpetuate ourselves.

I was trying to balance government. I was looking at it from a standpoint of a balanced government, and have power balance all over. And I was not planning and scheming to keep control of the legislature in the hands of the Republicans....

Government [now] is everybody's business. It was more of a laissez-faire attitude in our days. The least government, the better. And we did not push the governmental presence into everything....

What I'm saying is this, that it was not such an important thing to be a legislator. And the things that you can get from the legislature...and from government or from anywhere else, as a legislator, were not there. We didn't look for that. And we didn't demand these things. We didn't ask for them. And we did our duty and that was all.

But now, government is so pervading, that...it's quite lucrative to be a government official. And so naturally, their inclination is to hang on....I tell you this because I want you to get the frame of mind of the people in my days. And the frame of mind was that government should do the least amount of things, and let people do what they feel that they should do.

Fong conceded that agricultural labor in Hawaii was bound to be attracted to the Democratic Party, because the "bosses were Republicans."

I would say eventually it would have come that the Democrats would take over, because the Democratic Party is constituted mainly by labor. Without labor, the Democratic Party would be weak.

Fong felt the Senate was mostly to blame:

But actually, the members in the House were not really responsible....It was the Senate that was responsible, [for] these two bills, which brought the Republican Party to its lowest point.

...when we went into conference, they wouldn't yield [on Act 278]. And they only yielded the excise tax part. But we were stuck. It took us 15 days really to come to a final decision ...and we still couldn't agree, [so] the House had to give.

I would say that maybe I'm partly to be blamed. But when you really look at it....It was the Senate that really imposed this bill on us: and we had to come to a compromise and we had the excise tax deleted...but we had to retain the other things. So that's the story.

He felt justified in his assessment:

Well, we have the documents to prove it. The documents are there ....It is not just me picking things from the empty air. I was there, I was in the thick of it, I fought like anything, on the losing side, both times.

The Republican Party...didn't want to save itself.

In an interview with Dr. Dan Boylan, Fong reiterated the same reasons for the dissipation of Republican Party power.<sup>230</sup>

The excellent oral histories contained in the John A. Burns Oral History Projects conducted by Professors Stuart Gerry Brown, Daniel Boylan, and Paul Hooper provide valuable and fascinating first-hand accounts of the reasons the Democrats believed brought on their victory in 1954. The great majority of these accept Fuchs' thesis that there was indeed a "social revolution."<sup>231</sup>

In the memories of his two years in the United States Congress, recorded and transcribed for Former Members of Congress, Thomas Gill provided some additional insight. He was a Democrat who was born in Hawaii and was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1962. He lost to Fong in a hard-fought bid for the U.S. Senate in 1964, and later became Lieutenant Governor under John A. Burns in 1966-1970.

Gill said,

I suspect[ed] it was the [Democratic] Party to which many of the GI returnees would be forced to go, whether they wanted to or not, because the Republicans had the door slammed, and it was their own damned fool mistake.

...almost every institution does this. It grows, breaks through, becomes important, and then decays....

It's one of the inevitable things in the process of history, which is helped along by guys like [Roy] Vitousek. Hawaii had changed tremendously. It was starting to change before World War II, but, of course, the war absolutely broke the patterns and the GI bill made it certain that a great many people would be given professional training--at least those who had been in the armed forces. They would come back to Hawaii and, almost inevitably, there wouldn't be enough work for them, so they would go into politics. This was true of many of the people that returned [when I did]....<sup>232</sup>

Gill indicated that as early as the election before, the switch to the Democrats was already evident, and "The public employees were among those who were annoyed" at the Republicans who had been in power for such a long time. According to Gill,

...we used Mr. Fong as one of the foils, in the session before 1954. I remember being part of the scenario; we took the whole series of platform planks out of the Republican platform, drew up bills that implemented them, and took them into the Legislature. We brought them to the floor and Mr. Fong had them killed.

Of course, he was calling the shots from the podium, and his people were going along. Then we took the votes in the various bills, which were on a strict party line, put them into a brochure and ran them around the 1954 election, to the great disgust of Mr. Fong and others. So he played a little bit of a part of it himself. (Laughter)...

We knew they [the Republicans] weren't going to do anything about it [the platform], so we just wanted to prove it on the record. And they fell for it, which is kind of stupid.<sup>233</sup>

Asked whose idea it was to use that tactic, Gill said, "Well, I can claim some of the credit for it." He also noted that John A. Burns ...had no interest in these things.

Well, I think he was more realistic. He knew certain things last longer than others; ethnic blocs and special interest groups last much longer than ideology.

Whether it was a gut feeling or whatever, his main emphasis was to make sure that ethnic groups or blocs or groups of people that had not been part of the political process in any great degree were brought in, and they were brought in as Democrats. Obviously they did come in. And obviously they did stay there.<sup>234</sup>

As to what actually led to the successful Democratic election of 1954, ideology or ethnic bloc voting, Gill admitted,

I don't know how you measure those things. I think you'll find that people tend to vote for various reasons and give other excuses for it. I think the two factors went together....

They were voting for people who were the new, upcoming group, perhaps of the same ethnic bloc as they were. They were also voting for new ideas. And the two concepts were together at that point.<sup>235</sup>

One factor which generally is overlooked in discussions about the 1954 Democratic win was the fact that Delegate Joseph Farrington died at his desk in Washington on June 19 of a heart attack. Had the Statehood campaign been successfully moving through Congress at election time, it is very possible that Farrington, a perennially popular vote-getter, who attracted a broad spectrum of the electorate (including the I.L.W.U.) might have kept his seat in Congress. In so doing, he would have brought along many other Republicans in on his coat tails in the primary election. Whether he himself would have been defeated in 1954 can only be speculated upon. But if past successes at the polls were any indication, Farrington might have won. There was no doubt that he enjoyed much respect and aloha among Hawaii's people. When he died, their devotion took the form of a unique tribute. He was given a funeral befitting Hawaiian royalty, the only haole so honored. His widow took great comfort in this fact.<sup>236</sup>

#### Peer Evaluation

It was not possible to achieve broad peer evaluation of Fong from his fellow members in the territorial House of Representatives. Some had died, some did not respond to letters or telephone calls, and some refused to be quoted. However, a few more comments can be presented to round out the image Fong projected while in local politics.

Joseph Garcia, Republican from the First District who served in the House from 1949 through Fong's defeat, found that Fong

demonstrated tremendous leadership and was very certain of his ability to handle any situation which confronted him....He possessed political know how and the ability to translate his ideas into action....I was with Mr. Fong on [the] trip to Washington, D. C. [in 1950]. He represented Hawaii with a dignity that gained him the acclaim of Congressional leaders, and even of those who vehemently opposed statehood.<sup>237</sup>

Richard "Kingy" Kimball called him one of the best Speakers Hawaii has had. Kenneth Olds, Republican from the Fourth District in 1949-51, noted that he was in favor of the closed primary law, but since has changed his mind. Olds rated Fong's leadership as "excellent." Toshio Serizawa, Kauai Democrat, in 1953 found that Fong "concealed his toughness very well; he was a very amicable and easy going man; he possessed charisma not found in other politicians of Chinese ancestry except for Senator William Heen." Perhaps the most meaningful evaluation of Fong came from his old perennial rival for the Speakership, Hebden Porteus. Porteus called Fong "one of the best Speakers in the history of Hawaii," who saw to it that good legislation was passed.<sup>238</sup>

#### On Being Speaker, and the Future

Following the Democratic take-over of the Legislature in 1954, Charles Kauhane was selected Speaker of the House. Despite his many years of service as a representative, Kauhane found it difficult to hold rebellious members, even of his own Democratic party, at bay. The House clock was stopped before the final day, and there was some question about the legality of the session because the House had gone into overtime. On the 19th day of overtime, when no one knew how the session would end, or how matters would be resolved, Fong was questioned

about his views concerning the frenetic goings-on in the House he once ruled so "ruthlessly." Demurring at first, he said,

The people have thrown me out. I'm a private citizen now, so I'm taking things easy. I've been retired and I'll stay retired. I don't want people to think I'm a bad loser.

If the Republicans had been asked to write the script for the Democrats to follow so they would foul up everything, in their wildest imagination they would not have written a script like this.<sup>239</sup>

Recalling his 1953 election for Speaker, in which he whipped a majority of his own House Republicans with Democratic help and kept himself in power as Speaker, Fong said,

Everyone was against me at the start. But when the organization was resolved, there was no more trouble. If I were speaker this time, things would never have happened like this.

It's not easy to be speaker. You've got 29 prima donnas who feel they have all the solutions to all the problems. To get them together, or to get a sufficient majority is about the hardest task there is. The speaker has to see that people will stay behind him if he expects to lead. He does this by being firm. You've got to be firm. And you've got to be fair. When you see a spade, you've got to call it a spade.

When I was there, we only caucused on a few important issues. Other matters every man was left to decide for himself, although I felt at times they might be voting the wrong way. If they do, you don't hold it against them, because that's their prerogative. When I was there, we had independence of judgment. There was no regimentation.

There are too many politicians. If you have an issue, you have to face it squarely. You can't keep delaying decisions, no matter how many votes it may cost you. Policy matters should have been done with long before the end of the session.

On the last day you are winding up and it's all right to stop the clock. But if you stop it in between, you have gone into another day. I've never seen a legislature where the majority filibusters and questions its own legality.<sup>240</sup>

He identified three main mistakes made by the Democrats: (1) They blundered by laying off many members of the clerical staff before adjournment: "Without the third house you don't get your paper work

done. That's how things get mixed up, and in the rush of the last day, many errors can creep in." (2) On organization, he remarked: "They've got half the house members on the finance committee and half on the county committee. You can't function with your members on two committees." (3) The Democrats lacked leadership. He noted,

The speaker must be able to engender confidence in his boys, and to lead them with a reasonable program which could be accepted by all or most of them. They've got to trust him. If you don't trust the speaker and the majority floor leader, you can't function. You might as well give up.<sup>241</sup>

In 1955, his future plans did not include politics. He would not try to recapture his old position: "I always said I'd run until I got licked. Now I'm in private life. And I'm happy about it."<sup>242</sup>

#### Postmortem Surveys

Many analyses of the 1954 Democratic victory in Hawaii have been made. In 1956, Bergman and Nagoshi learned that the size of the group voting without regard for party labels was almost large enough to determine an election by itself. Independents totaled 45 per cent, Democrats 30 per cent, Republicans 17 per cent, and those with no opinion comprised eight per cent. Most voters voted on the basis of candidates and issues, not party labels. Between 1948 and 1956, Democrats gained two per cent, or went from 27 per cent to 29 per cent over the years. Republicans lost five per cent, going from 19 per cent to 14 per cent. The undecided group increased from six to nine per cent.<sup>243</sup>

Only among union members and their families were there more Democrats than independent voters, or 38 per cent. Even among this group, the proportion of Democrats was not high enough to decide an election without winning over part of the independent vote. Five



per cent of the Democrats and three per cent of the Republicans surveyed reported that they often crossed party lines in voting, although they did not think of themselves as independents. The result was that the total maximum independent vote was not 45 per cent, but 53 per cent, or a clear majority. The study revealed that if voters were forced to register by political parties in order to vote, 44 per cent would register as Democrats and 26 per cent would register as Republicans. The remaining 30 per cent indicated they would not register at all under this condition. On this basis, the Democrats held nearly a two to one edge over the Republicans. However, the 30 per cent unwilling to declare a political affiliation in 1956 represented a powerful minority group capable of swinging the election.<sup>244</sup>

With respect to the reputation of the two parties, 23 per cent of those surveyed approved of the Democratic Party, while 30 per cent were neutral; 18 per cent disapproved, and 29 per cent had no opinion. For the Republicans, 17 per cent approved, 31 per cent were neutral, and 20 per cent disapproved while 32 per cent had no opinion. The survey also revealed that 72 per cent of the electorate in 1954 were deeply concerned about the statehood delegation to Washington, which, as has been noted, was billed as a "junket" by the major newspapers. Only 29 per cent of those surveyed thought it a good idea, while 37 per cent thought it a bad idea, and 21 per cent had no opinion. The proportion of those who were better educated, Caucasian, and in the upper income groups who thought the trip was a bad idea was higher than those holding the same opinion in the other groups. The greatest Democratic strength and the lowest Republican showing was in Fong's Fifth District by proportions of 37 to 12 per cent. Those "leaning" toward

the Democrats meant that the Democratic Party strength rose to 52 per cent while Republican Party strength totaled only 20 per cent.<sup>245</sup>

One can only speculate that if the independents had been allowed to vote without party labels in the primary election of 1954, strong candidates of both parties would have succeeded, and a more politically balanced Legislature seated. As it was, the Republicans in Hawaii suffered a stunning loss from which they have yet to recover. The Bergman and Nagoshi survey supported Fong's contention that the closed primary was of major importance to the loss of the G.O.P. in 1954.

In an analysis of the Republican Party strength on Oahu, Tuttle found that the Fourth District was becoming more populous than the Fifth District, with registration and votes cast increasing at a rapid rate between 1928 and 1954. After 1946, in spite of great success in 1948, the Republican vote increased only 60 per cent while votes cast increased 75 per cent. Between 1948 and 1952, the Party vote increased only 12.3 per cent while votes cast increased 27.4 per cent, and between 1948 and 1954, the Party vote increased only 5.3 per cent while total votes cast increased 39.8 per cent, a most significant trend.<sup>246</sup>

A precinct to precinct study of Oahu revealed that the vote breakaway from the G.O.P. appeared to have occurred prior to 1952. Republican losses in 1954 were general and were sustained in all but two of the 71 precincts, which interestingly enough, were in the normally Democratic Fifth District. Tuttle found that the rate of non-voters was consistently higher in the Fourth District than in the Fifth. Non-voting in 1954 was much more prevalent in the ten Fourth District precincts which had voted most Republican in 1952 than in the ten least Republican precincts. Republican Party strength had

decreased continuously since 1948, with the trend being apparent since 1952.<sup>247</sup>

It seems apparent that the Republicans were aware of the trend, and attempted to force the issue of party voting in an effort to bring the independent voters into the Republican fold. What the leaders were not aware of, or if they had been aware, were apparently not concerned about, was the fact that the electorate was changing. By forcing party labels onto the primary elections, they only helped to coalesce the independent voters into the Democratic camp. Given internal dissension (due in part to Fong's maverick stance over the years against the Republican Party leadership) several controversial issues, and the superior Democratic forces both in planning and in voter registration, the takeover by the Democrats in 1954 was inevitable in the light of the closed primary provision.

Fong's Views on Communism, Statehood, Tolerance, Education,  
Common Sense, and Politics

When it was disclosed that Jack Hall and some of the other union personnel were members of the Communist Party, Fong's reaction was,

Well, it was a surprise to me that we had a Communist Party in Hawaii. I didn't think that any individual in Hawaii was a Communist....From my viewpoint, knowing these people, I think what they were doing was that they were just protesting the rule [of] the people in control. They were against the establishment. But I didn't think that they really wanted to overthrow the government. Of course, this was used by people in Congress who were against statehood.

The real question against statehood was a question of population. The feeling in Congress was that we were not culturally the same, and that the people in Hawaii had not been Americanized to the extent that they could be called assimilated Americans. And we were so far away, and there was [also] the fear that Hawaii would be too liberal, or too Republican. The Democrats felt that it may go Republican, and the Republicans felt that it may go

Democratic....So when they found out that there were certain people here who were card-carrying Communists, that gave them another reason why they should deny us Statehood. But I understand that even the most rabid anti-Communists didn't feel that there were more than 200 Communists...(and some felt that probably there were much fewer) here. I don't see how they could really turn the [territory] communistic.

But it was used against us. And I don't know how much it had delayed Statehood...Naturally there were people who didn't want Statehood--those who had influence in Congress. It was so easy to call up your friend, who is a Senator, and tell him to do certain things, and his one word would prevent a lot of things to be done here. The President appointed the Governor. He appointed the judges, and the District Attorney. If the person appointed didn't "do right," they could always go back to Congress and see that things are straightened out. Naturally anyone who had friends in Congress would not want to have Statehood. Because they could foresee, with Statehood, their influence in Washington would be nil....Naturally, those with influence in Washington, did not want Statehood.<sup>248</sup>

Setbacks and problems Fong experienced as politician, real estate investor, and lawyer may have affected him temporarily, but he did not dwell on them. He stated,

...these things did not sour me, or my outlook. I knew there were good people and there were bad people....The nation as a whole is always trying to do what is right. But there are certain individuals who are holding back and refuse to go along. But our nation is on the right path, to do what is right. And so, from that standpoint, I take it for granted that everybody has faults. We've got to live with those faults. That's why I may be a good friend to a person whom other people probably would shun, because he has certain faults. But I try to accept a person for his good points, rather than to say that just because he has certain defects, I would not be a friend of his. And so, I have a lot of friends that are "peculiar."<sup>249</sup>

He said he did not choose these unusual people for political purposes. Asked whether his wife was bothered by his having such friends, he said,

Well, I think she's beginning to realize that I do have these friends, and she's tolerated them. She's quite a broad-minded individual....I would say that I am a better man because she has taught me a lot of things. I have been very, very balanced in my thinking, trying to understand every individual. Trying to look at their better side, rather than look at the darker side of things.<sup>250</sup>

With respect to learning, Fong asserted, "You never stop learning. Life is a learning process. Every day something's new." He related how he learned to use a pick ax efficiently from a laborer who did not have much education, and how he had learned much from an uneducated man on whom he depended to fix things around the house. These were skills he had never acquired. "Common sense" he said, was what guided these people, and he was always willing to be taught by those who knew how to do what he did not: "I sometimes wonder if I have the common sense of these people."<sup>251</sup>

Political success had its basis in the home, asserted Fong. In this regard, he never lost his Chinese sense of the importance of the family in all of one's endeavors. His own words expressed it best: "First, you've got to start with a good reputation from home. If you can't start with a good reputation from home and cooperation from home, it's no use for you to try."<sup>252</sup>

He often wondered how his particular brand of rustic campaigning became so effective in Island politics, since he lost only the election of 1954 and that one by a margin of 31 votes. It will be recalled that Fong was not musical. In the earlier, less sophisticated Hawaii, where music, song, and dance were so much a part of the life of the community, especially at election time, any lack of musical ability could have made the difference between success and failure at the polls. He reflected:

How did I ever come so far in politics? I cannot sing. I do not know anything about music. I don't dance. I don't hula. In my days, politicians really entertained the people, because we had rallies. Ben Dillingham, for example, would sing "Three Blind Mice," in Hawaiian! Yew Char would get up there and dance the hula. And others would get their ukuleles and sing. But I could do nothing like that. Not one thing. I've always wondered-- if I could sing, or if I could dance the hula, would that have made any difference in my politics?<sup>253</sup>

### Fong Gives Reasons for his Success

There is general agreement that there is nothing artificial or "put on" concerning Fong's affinity with the general population of Hawaii, particularly with his constituents from Kalihi and among the working ranks. He explained his success in the following terms:

You see, many of the I.L.W.U. people are people that belong to the same class that I belong to: I didn't come from a rich family. They know that I did not come from a very high social class, or that I was not born away from the very neighborhood that they were born in. I grew up in the same neighborhood they grew up in. I went through the same experiences that they went through. And I was no different than they. And, I presume, from that standpoint, they felt that I was just one of them...one of the local boys....I've never felt differently [from them]. I always kept my friends--the old friends that grew up with me.

I've never lost contact with these boys who grew up with me. And, as the Hawaiian says, you know, I never became Ho'okano--that is, proud. I always was humble. And with them, I spoke pidgin [English] and my grammar and syntax (laughter) all mixed up. So I'm just one of the regular fellows with them. And they remember me as one of them, and I'm still one of them. That helped tremendously in [all] my campaigns.

I would say that one of my strongest points is that I can meet people, regardless of what station of life they are in. I can immediately reduce myself down to the speech of a laborer, or an alien, or I can speak with the best of them. I think that I'm a friendly individual....I'm very friendly, very sociable. And I get around these people by talking their language and having the same feelings that they did. It's not difficult for me because I grew up in that atmosphere.<sup>254</sup>

Fong seemed to have escaped the envy which can engulf old friends when some of their long-time school mates and associates become successful. In Fong's case, he felt, "they never resented" his success. "Even though the newspapers say that I was a rich man and all that. They felt that, well, I earned it myself. And so they don't begrudge me." Rather, he sensed, they were secretly (and in many cases openly) proud that he had come from their area and had "risen above" it, "especially the people in Kalihi," he said.

Well, they were proud; at least one of their boys got to the top. Many of the older people remembered when I was a child, that I used to shine shoes, or sell newspapers...shine their shoes--do errands for them. They were quite proud that I have succeeded and gone to school. And many of them talked to their children about it, and hoped that their children would follow in my footsteps. Many, many people tell me they use me as an example for their children.<sup>255</sup>

The most succinct reason for Fong's success can be seen in his statement,

I have tremendous confidence in myself.

That's why I leave a lot of things to my subordinates and associates. If the things don't come out right, I can step in and probably right them.

I was never fearful that anybody would steal away my businesses or would do me in, because I have always felt that I could rehabilitate what I [might] have lost or I could get other businesses, or I could continue where I [was].<sup>256</sup>

Being self-assured, Fong could tackle many projects at one and the same time, permitting others to carry on the daily chores, and letting them be recognized for their endeavors. When Walter Chuck left the law firm, Fong realized that he would take several important clients with him but that was all right with him. When a few partners left Finance Factors, the remaining men had to find the resources to buy them out, which they were able to do. Fong's ability to handle any crises as they arose was reflective of his Chinese heritage, because he was secure in his cultural and personal awareness. Because he was also a product of the American way of life, he was able to take the initiative and control the crises to the extent that he was able to overcome them without too much difficulty.

#### The Loss Becomes a Gain

Fong's loss in 1954 actually cleared the air for him in politics. By putting him out of office, the voters of Hawaii considered themselves

vindicated for any real or imagined wrongs they may have felt he had done throughout his long legislative career. Five years later, they would be more magnanimous and recall his strengths more than harp at his shortcomings and failures. In time he would be grateful for his loss. He recalled some old Chinese sayings: "If you stub your toe, don't yell and don't scream, because if you had taken the next step, somebody may cut off your head." He philosophically said, many years later, "You may be kicked upstairs. I've learned that from life. And so, you just take life as it comes."<sup>257</sup>

On another occasion, he said,

If I had continued in office, they would have remembered the bad points....If I had been in the House of Representatives [at the time of statehood], I probably could not have been elected [to the U.S. Senate]....Many of the people who had reasons to be against me, would [have] continued to have those reasons. But the fact that I was defeated, they felt that they had been, well, they had been compensated. They were willing to start over. They had forgotten. It was a new ballgame.<sup>258</sup>



NOTESCHAPTER IX

- <sup>1</sup>Honolulu Advertiser [HA], 11 November 1950, p. 4.
- <sup>2</sup>Honolulu Star Bulletin [HSB], 10 November 1950, p. 14.
- <sup>3</sup>HA, 18 November 1950, p. 3.
- <sup>4</sup>HSB, 18 November 1950, pp. 1, 11. See also HA, 19 November 1950, p. 1.
- <sup>5</sup>HA, 25 November 1950, p. 6.
- <sup>6</sup>HA, 22 February 1951, p. 11.
- <sup>7</sup>Walter G. Chuck, Recorded interview, 16 February 1979. See also Men and Women of Hawaii (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1972).
- <sup>8</sup>HSB, 7 February 1951, p. 13.
- <sup>9</sup>HA, 2 March 1951, p. 6.
- <sup>10</sup>HA, 1 March 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>11</sup>HA, 11 March 1951, pp. 1, 8.
- <sup>12</sup>HA, 2 March 1951, pp. 1, 8.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup>HA, 2 March 1951, p. 6.
- <sup>15</sup>HA, 1 March 1951, pp. 1, 4.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup>HA, 3 March 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>18</sup>HA, 3 March 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup>HA, 15 March 1951, p. 5.
- <sup>21</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Legislature. House of Representatives. Journal, 1951, pp. 119, 278, 287, 289. Hereafter cited as Hse. Jnl.
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- <sup>25</sup>HA, 16 March 1951, p. 8.
- <sup>26</sup>HSB, 16 March 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>27</sup>HA, 21 January 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>28</sup>HA, 15 March 1951, p. 4.
- <sup>29</sup>HSB (?), 24 May 1951 (?). Courtesy of HLF files. (Note: University of Hawaii Library lacks microfilm copy of this issue.)
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- <sup>34</sup>HA, 22 May 1951, pp. 1, 3.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup>HSB, 23 May 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>37</sup>HA, 23 May 1951, pp. 1, 9.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid.
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- <sup>45</sup>HSB, 25 May 1951, p. 8.
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- <sup>50</sup>Ibid.
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- <sup>52</sup>HA, 23 May 1951, p. 1.
- <sup>53</sup>Honolulu. Bureau of Plans, Kalihi Tunnel Report (Honolulu: Bureau of Plans, and Law and Wilson, 1952), p. 1.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 2.
- <sup>56</sup>HA, 18 October 1949, ed. page.
- <sup>57</sup>All About Hawaii, 1950, p. 160.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>59</sup>HSB, 23 December 1950, p. 10.
- <sup>60</sup>Session Laws of Hawaii, 1951, pp. 648-649. See also Hugh Lytle, "Rejection of Sales Tax is Predicted," HSB, 29 April 1951, p. 1.
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- <sup>63</sup>HSB, 25 May 1951, p. 8.
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- <sup>66</sup>Hawaii (Ter.) Governor. Report, 1952, p. 1.
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- <sup>68</sup>HLF, Personal interview, 23 March 1980.
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<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

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<sup>75</sup>Newspaper clipping from Scranton, Pa. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>76</sup>Hiram L. Fong, "Republican Program May Influence History for Decades to Come," The Pictorial section, Pacific Chinese Weekly, 12 July 1952, pp. 1, 4. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>HSB, 27 February 1952, p. 15.

<sup>80</sup>HLF, Telephone interview, 24 September 1979.

<sup>81</sup>HSB, 24 December 1952, p. B-3.

<sup>82</sup>HSB, 5 December 1952, p. B-3.

<sup>83</sup>HLF, Recorded interview, 6 April 1977, and passim. All quotations and information on pp. 653-666 were supplied by Mr. Fong on this date except as otherwise cited.

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

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<sup>92</sup>Finance Factors, The First Fifteen (Honolulu: Finance Factors, 1967), p. [5]. Courtesy of HLF files.

<sup>93</sup>"The First Fifteen Years of Finance Factors," p. [4].

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<sup>150</sup>HA, 7 May 1953, p. 9.

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### CONCLUSION

At the time that Hiram Leong Fong was defeated in 1954 along with many other Republicans, no one could foresee that he would be campaigning for national office in five short years. While statehood for Hawaii seemed inevitable, movement of the necessary legislation through the Congress was unpredictable at best and had been controlled by an effective minority group of legislators who had successfully bypassed the will of the majority for decades. Fong had been defeated partly because of the public airing of problems within his own political party. He then concentrated on business and legal affairs.

In 1959, following the guidance of Delegate John A. Burns and knowledgeable Congressional leaders, statehood was finally achieved. Fong entered the race for the United States Senate, and characteristically moved quickly ahead with a very personal campaign. He was successful in winning nomination on the Republican ticket, and then beat his haole opponent, Democrat Frank F. Fasi, for the coveted prize.

While the complete story of his Washington years has yet to be written, the words of an old friend are applicable here:

It was not difficult for those close to him to predict his success, nor was it difficult to assess those qualities which led to his phenomenal success. It was not success itself, but the degree of his success [that was significant].

Hiram himself would be the first to be amazed at the extent of his achievements in so many phases of his life. Perhaps talent and circumstance came together, but Hiram was in full flight when the challenge was thrown.

--Lawrence Lit Lau, January 17, 1979.

By 1954, Fong's education for high government office had basically been completed. His defeat by only 31 votes was seen by most of

Hawaii's citizens as not so much a total personal repudiation as it was a protest against the long-entrenched Republicans who had to give way before much-needed opportunities could be provided for the majority of Hawaii's peoples, many of whom were in the emerging Democratic forces.

Voters in Hawaii were well-acquainted with Fong's background and personality: the struggle for an education, the rise from humble beginnings to political success and business fortune, the willingness to work hard and to take stands on issues however unpopular, the reputation for being loyal and a man of his word, and for being one person of Chinese ancestry who had challenged, with success, the established haole factions in his own political party. In a community known for its diversity of immigrant and ethnic backgrounds of predominantly Asian roots, he never played down his "Chineseness," nor did he forget his family and friends along his upward way. Indeed, it was this last characteristic that proved to be one of the strongest components in his personal foundation. He understood human nature and practiced practical politics.

The combination was impressive. Add the ingredients of personal effectiveness in speech and appearance, a supportive family and coterie of loyal friends and associates, significant and sufficient material wealth to make an impact in future political campaigns as well as in business affairs, an effective political following that could be easily mobilized, and it all proved more than enough to boost him to national prominence after local political defeat. It was also enough to keep him in the United States Senate for almost two decades until he chose to retire.

In the eyes of the majority, Hawaii's people felt that he had assimilated and displayed enough of the admirable, basic Chinese characteristics, as outlined by Hsu, in combination with those traits ascribed by Brogan and Lerner to Americans, to merit their support. Even in political loss, Fong was perceived by a significant number of the electorate to have qualified for the Horatio Alger award that was to come 16 years later.

What occurred during his tenure in Washington was not so much a change in his basic nature or method of operation as it was a further refinement, a mellowing, a polishing and a maturing of the man he already was. In the process of his education, he had become a prime example of Lerner's theory of American dynamism.

By 1954, the education of a United States Senator of Chinese ancestry was complete.

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Ho, Chinn.

Isaacs, Alvin.

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Merrill, Fred. H., for the Chinn Ho Oral History Project.

Miho, Katsuro.

Porteus, D. Hebden.

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