S O C I A L  P R O C E S S  I N  H A W A I I
P U B L I S H E D  B Y  T H E  S O C I O L O G Y  C L U B
U N I V E R S I T Y  O F  H A W A I I

E D I T O R
Dick Nagata

A s s o c i a t e  E d i t o r
Edward Minaki

C i r c u l a t i o n  M a n a g e r s
Masa Oshiro
Mitsuru Fujimoto

A s s i s t a n t  E d i t o r
Grace Kijiri

B u s i n e s s  M a n a g e r
Nellie Young

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David Kaiko
Hartwell Luedey

Roth Palk
Grace Uejo
Amy Hamai
Sadako Kusuy
Carol Sakurai

A D V I S O R S
Dr. Andrew W. Lind
Dr. Clarence Glick
Dr. Berthard Hornung
Mr. Kiyoshi Ikeda

C o p y r i g h t , 1 9 5 3
A l l  r i g h t s  r e s e r v e d — n o  p a r t  o f  t h i s  p u b l i c a t i o n  m a y  b e
p r o d u c e d  i n  a n y  f o r m  w i t h o u t  p e r m i s s i o n  i n
w r i t i n g  f r o m  p u b l i s h e r s.

S O C I A L  P R O C E S S  I N  H A W A I I  i s  p u b l i s h e d  a n n u a l l y  b y  t h e
Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Articles in SOCIAL PROCE
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or opinion.
INTRODUCTION

The Theological definition of religion is the service and adoration of God. Our emphasis in this volume on “Religion in Hawaii,” however, is not theological. Instead, our purpose is to bring out the anthropological significance of religion in the multi-racial setting of Hawaii. There are many more organized religious groups than there are ethnic groups in Hawaii. There are healing and sorcery cults; quietistic and revivification sects; the great houses, churches, and separate abodes run almost like private business enterprises. There are tradition-bound ultra-worship institutions and secularized, worldly denominations. There are cathedral, churches, chapels, and tabernacles; temples, abodes, household shrines, and sites of ancient Hawaiian hauoles. There are individual worship, family worship, and congregational worship led by priests and ministers, prophets and mediums, lay spokesmen and unlicensed temple-keepers.

Upon making a careful study, and would find that in the past, and to a considerable extent still in the present, each ethnic group tends to be identified with a particular religion. Thus, generally speaking, we will find that Japanese are predominantly in Buddhism and Shintoism, Filipinos in the Catholic Church, Koreans in the Protestant church, and so on. Increasingly however, our researchers will find people of many ethnic groups in denominations formerly thought of as “belonging” to a certain ethnic group. In this phenomenon, our researchers can ascertain the process of assimilation going on in Hawaii.

We find that religion, like any other institution of society, meets basic human needs. The giving of security, status, and recognition to individuals and groups makes religion a potent force of socialization. In the following articles there is much material to indicate how religion operates in the life of the individual and the community.

The relation of religion to assimilation and the manner in which it meets psychological needs make the study of religion in Hawaii sociologically significant. It is a social significance that we would like to bring out in this volume, rather than inside the field of theology and discuss the function of religion as the service and adoration of God.

We have tried to accomplish this and by presenting a series of articles ranging from the religion of pre-European Hawaii to the place of religion in higher education in colleges and universities today. We only regret that time and space have made it necessary for us to review only a small number of the many denominations existing in Hawaii today. The following are the articles in this volume:

1) Religion in Higher Education by Dr. Harley H. Neighbors. The author (Dr. Ed., Boston University) is present director of the Hawaii School of Religion and professor of Religion at the University of Hawaii. His field of concentration is in metaphysics. His article calls attention to the increasing place given to religion in state supported colleges and universities across the U.S. It calls attention to the necessity for intelligent study of religion for anyone who is to have genuine religious freedom. Finally, it explains the breadth of the role played by the Hawaii School of Religion.

2) Religion of Pre-European Hawaii by William H. Davenport. The author was born in California in 1920 and came to Hawaii in 1940. He is a member of the 1948 graduating class at the University of Hawaii, having
majored in Anthropology and has been accepted by the Yale Graduate School. The article is a reconstruction of the basic concepts and practices of the Hawaiian religion before the advent of Christianity.

(3) Chowano by Evelyn Yama and Agnes Miyakawa. The authors of this article have made a careful study of some of the minor Buddhist sects, Chowano, an offshoot of the Hinokion sect. The sect is of particular interest because since the war the founder has established its headquarters in Hawaii. Miss Yama, a member of the graduating class of 1941, majoring in sociology, is now research assistant in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory. Mine Miyakawa, a student from Japan, expects to complete her undergraduate major in sociology this June.

(4) A Protestant Church in Honolulu by John Githner. The author made his sociological study of Central Union Church while a graduate assistant in the department of sociology in 1944-45. He is now completing his studies for the ministry.

(5) Religious Calendar by Dr. Harley R. Seigler and Bernhard Hornman. The kaladesmotic nature of Hawaii's religious life comes out very clearly in the many different religious holidays that come and go every year. Dr. Seigler and Dr. Hornman, with the assistance of several competent people, has compiled a list and brief description of the holiday and festivities which are of significance in Hawaii today.

(6) The Churches in Hawaii by Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan. An associate professor of religion at the University of Hawaii from 1938 to 1944 and as General Secretary of the largest group of Protestant churches in Hawaii since 1944, Dr. Dunstan has been ideally situated to observe and analyze the problems of the Protestant church. Utilizing the statistics available from the larger church bodies in Hawaii, Dr. Dunstan comes to the conclusion that the Protestant church has lost its one-time position of dominance in the religious life of the islands and that it now presents the problems of a religious minority.

(7) Kahuna and Koho: A Study in Comparative Religion by Dr. Francis Hewiet. A resident of Hawaii for less than a year at the time of his death in April, 1952, Dr. Hewiet, in his dual capacity as State of Temple Shonan-Ei and as a graduate student in sociology, had acquired a surprising insight into life and culture of the islands. In this article he calls attention to certain striking similarities in the form and functions of the priesthood among the Hawaiians and the ancient Hawaiians, although disclaiming any belief in the theory of historical connection between them. Dr. Hewiet brought to a study of comparative religion his rich background of nearly thirty years as a Rabbi and as a professor of philosophy and homiletics in both Hungary and the United States.

(8) Religious Diversity in Hawaii by Dr. Andrew W. Lind. Students of the island social scene have frequently been impressed by the color and variety of religious groups which almost rivals that of its ethnic stocks and racial combinations. Dr. Lind brings to bear upon the problem some of the insights acquired from nearly twenty-five years of experience in Hawaii as a sociologist at the University of Hawaii.

The editorial staff acknowledges with gratitude the help of Miss Peggy Kaimana, Dr. Douglas S. Yamamura, Dr. Chi-Eng-Kun Cheng, Mr. Jimmy Ahamine, Mr. Harold A. Jambor, Mr. Harry V. Ball, and Mrs. Lee Ferra.

DICK MAGATA, Editor

RELIGION IN HIGHER EDUCATION
ON THE MAINLAND AND IN HAWAII
Harley H. Engler

Private institutions of Higher Learning, intended primarily to preserve a religious heritage prized by the colonial fathers, preceded the founding of state-supported colleges and universities in the United States by many years. Dr. Brown points out that Harvard College was not hundred fifty years old when the first state university, the University of North Carolina, opened its doors at Chapel Hill.1) In Hawaii, however, the territorial university came first, and no significant attempt has been made yet to organize a comparable institution on a private and religious basis.

The missionaries who came to Hawaii early established private schools on an elementary level, and across the years church related schools have come to hold a privileged position in the educational pattern in Hawaii. Those have never ventured beyond the high school years, however. Their leaders and benefactors apparently expected their graduates to attend the great private colleges and universities on the mainland where they would still be surrounded by strong religious interests while developing their career insights and while choosing their life-vocation.

In recent years, it has become increasingly evident that this assumption is no longer realistic. Many of the children from church families attend the public schools either because of economy or preference. Since the decade of the twenties a significant number of Hawaii's leaders have taken their university work in the islands, and since World War II, the great majority of them are being trained in "Green Mauna." In 1951 while 87% of Pio's graduates went on to the mainland for higher training, only 20% of Mid Pacific's 80 graduates and 30% of Island's 85 graduates did so. During the same year, only 24% of St. Louis's 240 graduates applied for admission to mainland universities.2)

Forecasting this development as early as 1950, a few of Hawaii's foresighted leaders such as Francis C. Alberty, Bishop Aloysius, Robert Anderson, Judge Perry, Orren E. Long and others, organized the Hawaii School of Religion in order that courses in religion could be offered on a University level. This effort was recognized by the University in 1949, and the School was accepted by the University as an affiliated institution, although it was left under private direction and dependent on private support since it was commonly believed that a tax-supported institution could not use tax money in the teaching of religion, however elective and non-secular it might be.

The church in Hawaii also begins to realize the strategic importance of the University after World War II, and started to organize, or began seriously to strengthen, church-related student groups on the campus. These took their place alongside the University Young Women's and Men's Christian Associations and also alongside the University Young Men's Christian Association.

2) St. Louis College is a Catholic high school. The number who actually went is not known.
On the two remaining campuses part of a campus building is given to the religious organizations to use as a base. Many of the larger state universities themselves employ a coordinator of religious activities to make up for the lack of such a building. However, a coordinator is also often employed where a religious building is present. In fact coordinators are used by 27 institutions in contrast to 23 who do not.

(c) In regard to a religious council:
All of the private schools and all of the state schools with the exception of three have a religious council of some kind.

The state schools tend to favor inter-Christian councils among schools of 3000 students or less. They tend to favor inter-faith councils in schools of 5000 or more.

The type of council seemed to be influenced by the religious character of the area served by the university. In a few areas rather exclusively Protestant, only an inter-Protestant council was present. In larger areas the inter-faith council was used. Yet only the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish influences were significant. No university on the mainland faces the diversity of religious heritage that is present in Hawaii.

(d) In regard to courses taught with university credit:
Among state schools from 3000 to 6000 enrollment, 43.3% offer credit courses in religion, and 66% pay for them from state funds. Among state schools from 6000 to 10000, 41.6% provide credit courses in religion and 54.3% pay for them from state funds. Among schools from 10,000 to 20,000 42.3% provide credit courses in religion and 75% pay for them out of state funds. Among schools above 20,000, 66.7% provide credit courses in religion and 56% pay for them.

In the light of this research it is evident that a fundamental change has taken place in the attitude of state institutions of higher learning toward the teaching of religion; a change of which many people even in the educational field are often not aware.

It is the function of this article to state facts gleaned from actual research rather than to interpret them. However, it may be valuable to call attention to a possible explanation of this sharp transition in this phase of the social process. In the early years as state institutions of higher learning came into being, they took their places alongside of church related educational units which had forerun them. The primary need, it was felt, was for schools where students could gain the necessary breadth and skills that were essential in a culture which was becoming increasingly technical and professional. In such a climate philosophy as well as religion suffered under the hot sun of practical concerns. It is little wonder that in this period America's best known philosophers such as William James, Josiah Royce, Charles S. Peirce, and Gordon Parker Bowker were located to private universities. This seemingly was quite adequate in a period when the country was growing and expanding rapidly, and the democratic way of life was an alluring appeal to the oppressed peoples of the world.

As state universities proved their worth, however, and came to play an increasing role in the entire life of the state, they came to recognize a
ignorance of the human needs which religion meets, and ignorance of the role religion can play in life leaves a vacuum in American life in which the narrowed conviction can find a determined following. Amid the endless diversity that follows, it is little wonder that many Americans turn away in despair and make a religion of their irritation.

In such a vacuum four difficulties arise:

(a) People appear who take advantage of unsettled religious needs. Since the Korean war, a surprising practice has recurred in Hawaii. One of the students at the University was asked by a friend to attend a "religious" service in his home. The student comments on the service as follows:

"The circumstances under which the service was held were: Mr. Y. T.'s mother had a serious illness in Korea and she was anxious to learn of her well-being because she had not had word from him for some time. The object of the service was to learn if he was still living or had died in battle. The "priest or priestesses" professed to have a psychic mind through which he could see and visit the boy and thus ascertain his status.

"Including the "priest" and myself, there were 12 in attendance. The family, all but the mother, were openly hostile to the "service", and were attempting just to please their mother. We all gathered in a circle, sitting on the floor in typical Japanese style; the "priest" sat in the center of the circle. The "priest" began to intone a prayer suspiciously like the Buddhist "Mani" mantra. He repeatedly intoned the prayer until he went into a trance after which his intonations were incoherent. He remained in this state for approximately fifteen minutes. After he came out of this trance he seemed unaware of his surroundings for a moment. After coming to, Mr. Y.'s mother began praying the "priest" with questions as to his son's well-being. The "priest" immediately snapped at her that he had visited her son in Korea and that all was well with her son. Therewith, the rest of the family, led by the priest, turned against the "priest's" revelation. The "priest" then rose to leave muttering something about having to go another home to conduct another service. I was informed that "the testament for the service" was twenty-five dollars.

"After noticing the look on the mother's face after she had been assured of her son's well-being, I begged off my promise to K. Y. of appearing to his mother. On a later date I had a long talk with her and came away with the feeling that I had at last planted a doubt in her mind as to the authenticity of the "priest's" message.

"People like this "priest", who have taken advantage of the present crisis and the pliability of the Japanese people are nothing but fakes, criminals who should be arrested. I have been in touch with others who are trying to dredge out money from the unsuspecting and gullible."

(b) Some "priests" probably are "Greezers" as H. Y. believes. But some people undoubtedly believe they have such "powers." Believers in the essence and in the power of the "medium" are to be found in Orient and Occident alike.

-4-
Crisis. As a result religious liberty exists in America like a sunshine child easily averted by neighborhood clouds. Instead of as a shield minted in the forge of individual and social life through the travail of our time.

The Hawaiian School of Religion affiliated with the University of Hawaii, accordingly labors in a fascinating and challenging field. As Hawaii moves toward statehood, the Hawaiian School of Religion attempts to develop a sound understanding of the Christian thought and institutions of the West at the same time it attempts to develop a sound and fair understanding and appreciation of the religious thought and institutions of the East. It deals with young people who are choosing their life vocation. It deals with many as they are asking whether they shall remain loyal to the training of their churches or whether they shall live safely as in a religious world. It deals with many others who have had no religious background and are beginning to awaken to the more sensitive areas of "value" and creative living.

The surprising number of students with no religious background who elect courses in the School indicates that the growing religious consciousness reported on the mainland is present in Hawaii too. For example in one class of 28 students, 18 had no religious affiliation at all, and the percent age is often higher. In this same class, 15 were Congregationalists, 8 Episcopalian, 5 Methodists, 10 Roman Catholics, 1 Christian Scientist, 5 Latter Day Saints, and 1 Church of Christ. Student comments often indicate the stimulus with which students elect courses in religion. They also indicate the work the School is doing.

One student wrote in the course, Rel. 151:

"As a child I had attended a Buddhist Sunday School, but later became a Christian. One evening I attended a church and the service was in Japanese. I was a little bit bewildered, but I was so interested in the service that I decided to attend it."

A preference for private schools in Hawaii often overshadows the actual significance of the public schools and helps to create false conclusions. Many who see Hawaii as the meeting place of East and West assume that everyone in Hawaii has a sound understanding of the spiritual heritage of the East. This is far from the actual situation.

A leisure time survey made by the Youth Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, and of the Board of Church and Church combined in four of the leading high schools in Honolulu in 1946 found that only 24% of the students attended church; 12,4% attended Sunday School, and only 4.3% attended any church youth Fellowship; Buddhist, Christian Church, Catholic or Greek. Very little social engineering is being done to provide a tolerance understanding of the religious heritage of either the Occident or the

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good and kind one. I have drawn not only that conclusion, but something else deeper and finer has been added despite the evil and catastrophes here on earth. My faith in God has been strengthened. I have come to see a broader view, to be more tolerant, and above all, believe in God. This God of ours is a wonderful, good, God of love. He does not force us, or want to force us to conform to whatever He may wish. Therefore he has given us free choice. Free choice to live our own lives in whatever manner we may choose to do. Some have chosen the right path, but others - the evil and sinful life. But that is the risk we must take when free will is given to us.

A student from the mainland brought a biographical note into his paper, and told how he had given up his religious faith when he came into contact with science courses in high school, because he thought one had to choose one or the other. Now, he says, the idea one can hold to is the findings of science and religion alike in enabling him to retain his whole relation to life.

A local student states a similar question quite frankly:

"My own view on death at the present time are very confused. Up to this time I was a complete agnostic, but my listening to Dr. Ziegler’s lectures, my attending different churches and my reading of books on religion has affected my outlook on life. Being a multi-cultural I could not see what death would mean other than just the disintegration of the body into atomic particles. However, my faith after death, I feel, is now beginning to be of concern. If I could be sure, or have faith in, or believe that part of me - my soul - will actually live on somewhere, I would live a more secure life right now in this time of great insecurity. To be able to be unafraid at death, to have something beyond to look forward to, to be secure in some Greater Power. I think, is one of the greatest concepts which man can believe.

Another local student who found it more difficult to adjust new discoveries to ancient truths said he is still a skeptic, but is "all out in searching for a God," comments on his difficulty thus:

"While or not the majority of students have become more agnostic as to the existence of God with an increase of knowledge and education as it has happened to me, I have not. I remember as a child I was a God fearing boy, afraid to swear vulgar words and also susceptible to horrible superstitions. Just then, during my adolescence, I became agnostic, I guess only it perhaps it came about from a belief in scientific knowledge..."

A G. L. from Honolulu who is now considering the ministry for his life work reported on a book he was asked to read:

"I have read or books, but I have found no book more important and timely than this. During my freshman year, I had taken a course in Sociology and Anthropology, and after these courses I had considered myself an agnostic only, not a being with a soul or feeling, due to the courses emphasis on man as the product of the environment. Since I had no religious belief, I did everything to satisfy myself materially and in doing this I found more unhappiness..."

Since my return from Okinawa, I have been a self-centered person. I had seen the miracles of war in Okinawa and I had felt rich in mind. I looked forward to the day when I might work for mankind, but I had a conflict within myself. Asking myself, "Can I work for mankind? Yet have a feeling of dependence on something beyond myself? Can I be a good worker yet have a temper at times? Since I did not know whether there was a God, I did not know to whom to turn but my inner self. But my inner self could not answer my questions. I became depressed. About a year and a half passed and I had still not found my answer. I was unhappy and at times brought unhappiness to my family due to my depressed condition. Then I read this book and I said to myself, 'That's right! I can turn a comeback move if it is in connection of his every move'? So I said to myself I didn't make myself, no why should I try to explain my human nature. I should not rely on myself alone for aid for my weaknesses and confusion, but on God. And I can say with honesty since I have turned my inner confusion to God, I have found a lightness in my head and body..."

One of the most interesting and revealing accounts comes from a G. L. student who is unusually sensitive in spite of a hot and bruised exterior.

"Perhaps exploring my early life would explain my rebellious attitude toward religion. I was brought up in a Buddhist home, being instructed with the principles at an early age. I accepted the Buddhist doctrines just as I would accept any regulations in my home. But after a freshman at St. Louis College, I was converted to Catholicism. My conversion was directly due to the strong emotional factor, and also, I felt the need of a God with whom I could love and serve. At that time I wanted to join the ministry... Then it happened, Dec. 7, 1941..."

On that fall--falling winter I was one of the few in church worshipping God. But the following Sunday, I had to stand on the steps of the church, for it was "pancaced, packed." Then every time I entered the church, the people looked at me with sympathy, praising God. I began to ask myself, "What is one of them? I had no body and no soul. I then knew that I was not like them..."

I went into the Army. I grappled with those questions, but I did not find the answers. I came to college and once again grappled with those questions. Then suddenly I found that I was on the positive side on religious arguments. My friends began to question my standing as a Catholic. I told them that I had quit being a Catholic. With that brave and honest of me? For I didn't practice what was preached to me..."

At present my whole outlook is changing; deep inside of me I have a craving or longing for God. My sub-conscious mind is telling me to pray and forget all about my discussions on religious issues -- forget that I had once converted God. To pray and ask Him to make me well again -- to make my soul well again. To forget about my wounded pride, for it had led me to
RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN HAWAI'I

By Andrew K. Lum

No adequate religious census of Hawaii has been conducted for the past fifty years. It is not to be assumed, however, that lack of official recognition of religion in the census reflects the total religious interest in the population. It is not improbable that a substantially smaller proportion of the population of Hawaii in 1952 than in 1900 would report themselves as affiliated with any religious sect or denomination, but even the most casual acquaintance with the social situation in Hawaii today reveals a variety and range of religious experience which was totally lacking a half century ago.

On three different occasions during the second half of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to obtain accurate data on the religious affiliations of the population of the islands, but on each occasion account was taken of only three major religious divisions, viz., Protestants, Catholics and Mormons. The censuses of 1853, 1884, and 1896, all provide some data on religion, although the comment in the report for 1896 regarding the inadequacies of the information probably apply with equal force to the earlier reports.

In a matter of this kind a large number of people decline to state what their religion is, and with our large Asiatic population, Buddhists, followers of Confucius, etc., and their many varying sects, the statistics had nothing to do.1

The statistics on religion in 1853 imply that the entire Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian population was affiliated with one or another of the three major divisions of the Christian church represented in the islands—10.1 per cent as Protestants, 18.8 per cent Catholics, and 3.9 per cent as Mormons. Considering the active state of the several missions in Hawaii at that time, such a distribution of the religious influence seems quite probable. By 1884, the composition of the population had so changed through immigration and life had become so secularized as to reduce the proportion of those reporting any religious affiliation to 61.1 per cent of the total population, with the Protestants constituting 36.9 per cent2 and the Catholics, 24.8 per cent.

Toward the close of the last century, the 1890 census reported just half of the population as being at least nominally Christians, with 21.4 per cent Protestants, 24.2 per cent Catholics, and 5.5 per cent Mormons. It was recognized that the Japanese and Chinese, who by this time constituted 43.2 per cent of the entire population of Hawaii, "must be Buddhists or followers of other Eastern creeds" but no attempt was made to take account of them in the religious enumeration. While recognizing their inadequacy, the figures reported in 1890 are of considerable interest as indicating the overwhelming concentration of Christians in Hawaii among the Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians, and Caucasians.

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2Presumably, this figure includes 3,576 persons or 4.4 per cent of the entire population who were reported as Latter Day Saints or Mormons and 1,090 Anglians. The same report states that "a special census taken of the Jews in the kingdom gives their number at 86, as (Census of the Hawaiian Islands, 1884, p. 5.)"
TABLE I. Percentage of Total Population Reported as Christian by Three Major Divisions and by Ethnic Groups, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1896.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mormon</th>
<th>No Christian Religion or Not Reported</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12842</td>
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<td>11.1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
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<td>35.2</td>
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<td></td>
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*A slight element of estimate is involved in the figures for these two groups.

In view of the fact that the Hawaiians had been reported as completely Christianized forty years earlier, the proportions reporting no Christian religion among both the mixed and pure-blooded groups are significant. The drop in the proportion affiliated with the Protestant church from 40 per cent in 1853 to 41 per cent in 1866 tells graphically the story of “bush-slicing” and of pressuring by Catholics and Mormons during the last half of the century. The Mormon faith, with its emphasis upon the Polygamists as one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, had begun to appeal especially to the pure Hawaiians. The sharp contrast between the Portuguese as a predominantly Catholic group and the Haole as a strongly Protestant, but somewhat secularized group, undoubtedly had much to do with the sharp racial distinction which was maintained between them.

The period since Annexation has been marked by a striking increase in the number and variety of religious sects and denominations in Hawaii. At the beginning of the century, the program of the Churches in the Islands was divided among the Catholics, Congregationalists, Disciples, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Mormons. As recently as 1900, the major activities of the so-called Christian churches in Hawaii were confined to the following denominations and sects: Catholics, Congregationalists, Disciples, Episcopalians, Lutheran, Methodists, Pentecostals, Salvation Army, Christ Scientist, Latter Day Saints, Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, and Seventh Day Adventists.

The period during and since World War II has witnessed the greatest expansion in the number of different Christian sects in Hawaii, and a full listing of all the different types now represented in the Islands would be

many times what it was in 1900. The following tabulation of the different types of churches or Depts prepared by the Honolulu Council of Churches in January, 1951, is admittedly incomplete, but it reminds one of the church page of a Los Angeles newspaper.

Apostolic Faith ... 17
Assembly of God ... 4
Baha'i ... 1
Baptist (Northern) ... 1
Baptist (Southern) ... 11
Bible Church ... 2
Catholic (Roman) ... 31
Christian Scientist ... 3
Church of Christ ... 3
Church of God ... 1
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints ... 15
Church of the Living God (In Mahos Mau Loa) ... 1
Church of the Nazarene ... 3
Church of the Old Time Gospel ... 1
Community Church (Independent) ... 6
Congregational ... 24
Disciples of Christ ... 2
Divine Church of God ... 1
Episcopal ... 19
Evangelical ... 2
Friends Meeting ... 1
Full Gospel Bible Mission Church of God, Inc. ... 1
Full Gospel Missions, Inc. ... 2
Gospel Hall ... 1
Hawaiian Pentecostal Full Gospel ... 1
Holiness Church ... 3
House of Prayer ... 1
Independent Missions ... 3
International Christian Church ... 1
Jewish ... 1
Jehovah’s Witnesses ... 1
Korean Christian ... 2
Lutheran (Western) ... 3
Lutheran (Missouri Synod) ... 2
Methodist ... 15
Pentecostal Holiness ... 3
Reorganized Church of Latter-day Saints ... 4
Salvation Army ... 6
Science of Mind ... 1
Seventh Day Adventist ... 6
True Jesus Mission ... 1
United Church of Truth ... 1

One of the most striking developments within the Christian religion in Hawaii during the past twenty years has been the appearance of some of

2The number attached to each name indicates the different congregations or churches which are listed as belonging to that sect or denomination, although in the case of the independent missions and community churches, there is probably no denominational tie between them. It is also possible that some of the churches listed separately in the tabulation are actually associated with the same sect or denomination.
the evangelical denunciations and of the pietistic and faith-healing cults from continental United States. Conscious with the closing of foreign missions outposts in Asia prior to World War II, the evangelizing zeal of some churches was directed to the American possessions and dependencies where large portions of the population were still outside the Christian fold. Hawaii provided an especially attractive field for the labors of missionaries resided from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, because of the large number of unconverted immigrants from these areas residing in the islands. The younger, militant, but relatively "undisciplined" religious sects, which were just becoming established in continental United States also found in Hawaii a promising field for expansion. Unrestricted by com-

ity agreements or denominational commitments, and armed only by "a compelling passion to win souls," the self-appointed evangelists of a score of peculiar doctrines could find ready converts in the Territory of Hawaii.

To tell the entire story of the sudden expansion of the cult religions in Hawaii would require more space than this brief article will permit. The social situation existing prior to and during the recent war, however, created a type of religious and spiritual vacuum in the Islands which the "other-worldly" and faith-healing sects were peculiarly qualified to fill. The administrative influence of the public schools, radio, movies, and the press had undermined the confidence of the Island-born generations in the religious institutions and practices of their parents without, however, providing an adequate substitute in the Christian religion as expressed in the churches already functioning in Hawaii. The war itself created a further vacuum by denying the first generation Japanese the solace of their traditional religious practices, at a time when the personal and group crises were at a maximum. The situation was therefore ripe for new prophets to proclaim their new truths.

The emergence or renewed expression of several faith-healing sects of Oriental origin affords further confirmation of this hypothesis. One of the most striking of these cults, Seicho-No-Ie (House of Growth), is a pre-war importation from Japan, but it achieved its greatest following during and after the war when the first generation Japanese experienced the most severe attacks upon their self-confidence and group pride. Under such critical conditions, the novelty of Seicho-No-Ie, with its emphasis upon the mental healing of Christian Science along with the familiar moral values of Buddhism and Shinto, attracted many of the immigrant generation.

Father chanced upon the book, "Seicho-No-Ie" (House of Growth), one day and was strongly impressed by the message it contained. I can say for one thing that religious message has made quite an impression on my father. Indeed, his mind had become an enlightened one and he is now able to point out faults and weaknesses in my own philosophy and religion.

As Father gained greater insight into life and an appreciation for spiritual values, he became gentler, kindlier, more understanding, and more tolerant in his ways. As Father developed in character, our family life definitely improved.

Today, I am proud of Father. He has so developed within the past year and a half that from a clumsy teacher of human personalities, he has emerged to be a constructor of integrity, of goodness, of strength in other personalities.

And our family today is one of companionship and peace and mutual support.

---Japanese female student.---

Some of the faith-healing sects of Buddhism and Shintoism, including Shingon, Tenrikyo, and Koyukyo, were able to come to Hawaii more quickly after the close of the war than the other and larger traditional branches.

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An interesting correlate of the growing religious diversity in Hawaii has been the various and unpredictable effects upon personality and family patterns. Under the conditions of rapid change in the religious faith which is available in the community and as a consequence of the major personal and family crises occasioned by the war, many individuals have been encouraged to assume a pragmatic and experimental attitude toward religion, much as they would toward a car or washing machine. They have tried out one type of religious system after another in accordance with their changing moods and inclinations. Similarly one is likely to find within the same family a striking diversity of religious practices observed by the different members of the family.

I never could understand the Buddhist priests well because their vocabulary was much too difficult for me. Formal reli-
gion never really played a significant part in my life. Father was baptised in an Episcopal Church, attended a Catholic high school and was graduated from a Methodist University. Mother was a Buddhist because her mother was of that faith. I attended an Episcopal church for a while when I was in the fourth grade at English school, but I soon lost interest. It was a sort of a Sunday school. For several years after, I did not think seriously about attending church. When I was senior in high school, I decided to go to a Catholic church with my next door neighbor. I was disappointed because I found the Catholic church to be too rigidistic. The ritual meant nothing to me and I was convinced that a person must be brought up in a Catholic family before he can appreciate that religion. I do believe in God but I still have not found the church in which I would like to worship him.

---Japanese female student.---

Mother was a devout Buddhist, but did not compel us to go to the temple with her. My sister wore Congregationalist, but I followed Mother to her temple. When I started grade school, I changed to the Congregational Church. I attended it faithfully until a new pastor was transferred to our Church. A year after his coming in 1950, there began to filter into our community a new religion called Mormonism. We first watched them as strange beings who seemed and acted and thought in pairs. When the children were won over first—then the older boys and girls—then, in the end, their services were held in the evening, it did not conflict with our going to the Congregational Church. One day, the pastor in his sermon preached against the Mormon and tried to put down the church members.

---The brief descriptive accounts were obtained from introductory students in sociology as part of a discussion of their own family situation. Identifying designations have been eliminated.---
A strange combination of religious liberalism, practical experiment-
imism, and simple superstition appears in the following account. Here the 
driving force of worry and fear, accentuated by the stresses of war and of 
serious illness, undoubtedly contribute to the diversity of religious prac-
tices within the household.

Our family has no religious prejudice. "Freedom of Religion" is our motto, brother and sister,
and members of the Eycliptical Church and Sister Y is a member of the Con-
gregational Church. The rest of the family are non-member of 
any particular religion. We believe that everyone has a fre-
dom to choose any religion he wants to worship. He can be a 
Mormon, Buddhist, Episcopalian or anyone of the numerous 
religious sects. Our belief is that as long as you follow the Ten 
Commandments, you are a person that has the character of a 
good person.

Mother was not a religious person until my brother B was 
inducted into the Army during World War II. She worried 
about him, and therefore attended the church to pray for her son's 
safety. She came home happy and ever since, Mother became an 
important and an active member of the Eycliptical Church in our 
hometown. She has influenced many of her friends to attend 
the Church services. She believes in God for B came home 
safe and sound again, and this time from the terrible war in Korea.

I attended the H Christian Church but since I am away 
from home now, I occasionally go the C Church here in Honolulu.

Just for curiosity sake, I have attended services at the 
Episcopalian Church several times. There isn't any difference 
in their principles for they both abides the Ten Commandments.

My family do not follow many of the Japanese customs 
extcept to have a shrine for our dead grandfather. Before an in-
cidental happened, Mother never cut any food on the little shrine 
but every single my sister A because she has done it.

If all begins when A became very ill. She couldn't eat, 
drink or sleep. Because of this, she became thinner each day. She 
was brought to the doctor and the doctor couldn't find any-
ing thing wrong with her. He believed that she was imagining 
things. Days went by and she still felt weak and sick.

A's mother-in-law is a very strong Buddhist and therefore 
she believed that A should be brought to a lady who can tell the 
cause of her illness by prying. A was taken to Hikahara with 
her mother-in-law to visit the lady. The lady told my sister 
our family history without getting the information from anyone 
except Buddhas himself. She said my sister's illness was caused 
by grandfather, Father's father, because my sister was the 
weakest in the family it was brought on her. You see, she had 
just given birth to a baby girl just two months ago.

The reason for my grandfather's cause was because my 
mother was not putting any food on the shrine. My sister 
couldn't eat because there wasn't any sister. In other words, my sis-
ter's body is my grandfather's soul. When the lady gave an 
suggestion to A to eat, she could eat the fruit.

Listening to my sister's story, my mother immedi-
ately followed the lady's instructions. The funny thing about the 
story is that before my grandfather died, he didn't be-

5This was undoubtedly a part of the program of released time for 
religious education then in practice under the Territorial Department of Public 
Instruction.
In general, the parents of Chinese ancestry appear to have been somewhat lax in adhering to the ancestral religious practices, or perhaps it is merely that the children have been somewhat less averse to the perpetuation of the traditional rites. It is significant, at any rate, that Chinese children of the fourth generation participate in ceremonies which even they regard as unchristian.

Grandmother believed in ancestor worship and kept a little altar on which she burned incense every morning in the kitchen. On certain feast days when spiritual food was prepared and placed before the altar, Grandmother made us kneel before the altar and bow our heads to the floor three times. I remember the time I questioned Grandmother as to the reason for our doing this. Wasn't it against our Christian teachings to bow before idols or graven images? Why should we do something contrary to what we are taught? Grandmother was indignant and wouldn't speak to me. Mother came to the rescue and explained that this bowing was Grandmother's way of showing respect to her gods which was comparable to our kneeling before our beds at bedtime while saying our prayers; and that although I was taught differently in Sunday school, I should show some respect to grandmother and was thus made to apologize. The Chinese people teach their youngsters to always respect their elders, and although I couldn't quite see things from Grandmother's point of view, I abided by this custom and respected her.

--Third generation Chinese.

Frequently, Japanese parents, particularly, have encouraged their in-bred children to embrace one of the so-called American religions on the theory that as American citizens their religion should also be American.
THE RELIGION OF PRE-EUROPEAN HAWAII
By William H.ftarper

No detailed account of the pre-European religion of Hawaii was ever recorded by or from any informant who was an actual worshipper in that religion and who was not trying to reinterpret it in light of Christian concepts which were early introduced into the islands. The present reconstruction, based on the mythology and a few fragmentary records from a variety of sources and dates, is only an attempt to get at the main concepts which were functioning at the time Captain Cook arrived in 1778. To fit these concepts into a logical whole and then to place this into the context of the culture would be dangerous indeed, on the basis of existing records. However, in some instances this has been done where a direct relationship seemed obvious.

Cosmogony

"At the time when the earth became hot At the time when the heavens turned about At the time when the sun was darkened To cause the moon to shrink The time of the rise of the Fletcher The slime, this was the source of the earth The source of the darkness that made darkness The source of the night that made night The intense darkness, the deep darkness Darkness of the sun, darkness of the night Nothing but night" (55, p. 58).

So begins The Kumulipo, one of the genealogical prayer chants which linked the last ruling kings of Hawaii to the primary gods (2, p. 7). This chant lists successively the appearance of plant and animal life as they came into being in a dark, pre-Human period of the world called Eo, night. Following Eo, the birth of the gods and human beings in the period of light called Ao. The remainder of The Kumulipo recounts the lives of all central gods and demi-gods and comprises the genealogical tree of the royal family (1, p. 200).

So rich in connotation is The Kumulipo that exact meaning is impossible to determine. One interpretation suggests it is to be interpreted as literally as possible as an account of evolutionary development. Another suggests a poetic analogy to the processes of conception and birth, and since it is known that the whole poem was composed as a "name song" in honor of the birth of a young chief this etiological interpretation seems plausible. Other similar genealogies containing cosmogonic explanations coexist with the general idea of a poetic style. Intense night, Eo, during which only the gods existed and from them all others issued (15, pp. 8-9).

The major deities were four: Eo, Kane, Lono and Kanaloa. In actuality these four gods, also, are personifications of great natural forces, and are rarely referred to without an epithet attached to the name, describing the particular aspect which was being invoked (20). Various myths link these deities with the creation of the world as we know it. One account describes an initial era in which Kane dwells alone in continual darkness, followed by a second era where the sun and moon, Ka, Kane, and Lono make the earth and the things of the earth. In a third era, Kemahoom, the earth-beginning, and Laiehooma, the earth-below, are created from them all things animate and inanimate descend. During a fourth era, Kane ascends to the upper heavens above us on earth subject to death (2, pp. 44-45).

Kanaloa, the least important of the four, is sometimes represented as an opposing force in association with some lesser deity, Aloha, who rules the underworld (1, p. 65). In other accounts, probably influenced by the Christian myth (14), Kane, Ka, and Lono are pictured as ruling, both in unity, with Kanaloa the perfect replica of Baal (12, pp. 6-10). Still other versions have Eo and Eo as ruling god and goddess before the others, with Ka and Kanaloa coming from a mythical island to land at Kealakeku on Lanai. Lono arrived still later, landing probably on Molu (2, p. 51).

Despite the different versions of creation, the names of Pupa and Wakes nearly always appear significantly as the progenitors of all Hawaiians (14, p. 52), 2, p. 203). In one, Pupa gives birth to these islanders, in another the islands were shaped by the hand of Wake (14, p. 52); and in The Kumulipo Pupa and Wakes are spoken of as the divine parents (3, p. 125). At least in historic times, Pupa and Wakes were accepted as the official first ancestors of the Hawaiian people, both chiefs and commoners alike (1, pp. 114-15, 14, p. 83).

This latter concept becomes the "center" for the Hawaiian social structure, for the chiefly class, the all's, were the ones who by tracing descent through the main line were closest to the deities, and hence their preoccupation with genealogies which were the proof of this divine relationship. To a subject, the ruling chief was the living incarnation of a deity and was accorded the same respect. Lesser all's were graded in hierarchi
cal arrangement depending on their relationship to the chiefs. A ruling chief, however, was not necessarily the most divine, for though the sacred
ess of a chief was never disputed, political power depended upon success in war.

The extreme sanctity of a high chief also demanded that the blood never be contaminated and permitted the famous sitting marriages which frequently occurred. Closely associated with the chiefs, particularly the ruling chiefs, were the priests, the kahunas, or professional group. The kahunas were regarded in the same way as the all's, despite their descent and what particular rites or services they performed (15, pp. 43). Each tribe or clan of the kingdom was presided over by a distinct group of kahunas. Although the chiefs were closer in descent to the gods, the kahunas were in direct contact with the gods and hence were best able to determine ways in which to gain or perpetuate the power which was inherited from the major gods.

The numerous classes of commoners, the maloanau, were held in complete subservience to the all's by a rigid system of control which also found its sanction in the religious concepts. Yet there was some fluidity between the common and chiefly classes, for both classes of all's could exercise some power over any below them and if the receiving offspring was not killed, he would have some claim to the all's (14, p. 56).

At the bottom were the slaves, the kamauna, or pariah. Even the word "kamauna" was a deprecatory one signifying decadent and contemptible. Members of this caste were segregated from all others and were marked by character
tistic tattooing on their faces (14, pp. 68-71). Presumably this group could not trace ancestry to any acceptable Hawaiian progenitor.
MANA

Basic also to the religious system was the concept of supernatural power or mana. As one writer interpreted it, mana was “psychic dynamism” (9, p. 28) which is exhibited in persons as power, strength, prestige, reputation, skill, ability, and kinds of accomplishments. These evidences were not the mana itself, but the manifestations of mana. It is not clear whether the mana was divine power imparted by the gods, or whether it was generated by prayer and ritual, or both. Whatever the origin, mana could be imparted to an inanimate object, a person, or a spirit, thus rendering the entity capable of accomplishing any deed (9, pp. 26-28). In a person, mana was stored in the head (9, p. 80), but a fish hook, an adze, a spear, or a piece of land was just as capable of displaying the evidence of the power.

Whether any distinction was made between mana and sacredness is not obvious, but generally the more divine the person the more mana he inherited and the more he could wield. Conversely, a commoner or slave was not capable or fit to possess much mana, and generally, regardless of class, women were less capable of retaining mana than men. This also gave support to the rigid class distinctions, for if an ali`i or any of his possessions came into physical contact with a person of lower rank, not only would the ali`i lose some of his power, but the supernatural power gained by the lower ranking person would probably injure him (9, p. 28).

Mana was the central concept underlying the very much elaborated kapa system of Hawaii. The kapa was the major social control perpetuating the rigid class distinctions as well as conserving natural resources. The yielding of mana was also associated with magic and sorcery, and here, just as in Christianity, worship and magic became so intimately associated they cannot be separately discussed.

SPIRIT WORSHIP

To the Hawaiians, the soul was conceived as separate from the body, and capable of leading an independent life. It could leave the body through the inner angle of the eye (2, p. 144), to wander off and assume any shape it wished (2, p. 177) leaving the original owner either dead or in a very debilitated condition. After death, it inhabited a spirit world. This soul was free to wander the spirit world or return to the real world, which was the case when a chief's spirit came back on sacred sites (2, p. 164). A wandering soul, however, was a bad thing and considered malicious and even dangerous. A kauhina priestess, who had been consulted earlier, was sent to the shores and islands adjacent to each island to ascertain what harm the wandering souls and ghosts were to be visited (2, p. 154; 16, pp. 2-3). In the spirit world also dwelt all the ancestral spirits, and the reception of a particular soul into their midst depended on how well these ancestors had been vaccinated by this descendant.

The spirit world was conceived in different ways. Sometimes it was a beautiful world with regions of sky, land, and water. The particular region where the spirit dwelt was the appropriate environment for the form it assumed (2, p. 164). In this world it was thought to be a layered sky, each ascending region inhabited by spirits according to their relative ranks on earth, or it was thought of as a similarly structured underworld, which was reached by a jumping-off place marked by a tree. This tree itself was either the passage to, or provided the method of attaining, the underworld. A friendly spirit had to be on hand to conduct a newly arrived soul to the proper branches or else the spirit world sink into the abysmal depths of darkness ... Pu (3, p. 118).

Three concepts were the bases for the very important summum worship, or veneration of ancestral protective spirits. An individual could be imagined not as the particular spirit which was to be sought, or asked to perform a particular act, but rather as the family benefactor. Pendent prayers and offerings might induce it to enter an object, a carved image, or an animal and then the spirit become a patron. Very commonly, a summum worship was the association of the summum with an individual animal or class of animals. A shark, an owl, or a lizard might be the sign indicating the presence of the summum, and would appear in time of danger or stress to aid or warn the worshipper.

Worship of this type was a family affair, and each family carried its own myth concerning the original association between the spirit and the particular animal (2, p. 120). The mana derived from this summum was retained and passed on by the family in which it belonged. On the other hand, this mana must become vindictive should the proper rites and observances not be carried out (2, p. 108).

A common practice which reminded the tie between the family and the summum was the practice of dedicating a deceased person, particularly a child, to the summum, or dedicating him as a protector. Dedication ceremonies were performed by a special shaman who actually made the body and the spirit of the deceased become one with its new form. If a specific animal were selected for the new summum, the priest would induce the spirit of the deceased to enter the animal's body, whereas it would immediately show outward markings similar to those of the deceased's body or the clothes he was wearing. From this time on this animal would be fed and cared for by the family as a pet (2, pp. 123-4). The same process could be done with a bone or other personal object of the dead person making it a fetish, suitable for worship. This form of worshipping ancestral spirits, incarnated into animals and inanimate forms, was not strictly universal, for the Hawaiians did not believe that the group had actually descended from the incarnation itself (5).

The Hawaiian universe was literally filled with an infinite number of gods, spirits, and summums. No matter what the occupation, the activity, or the situation there was an appropriate personification or spirit which could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon. In case of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all could be called upon.

Since each child claimed descent from a major god, any worship of that god was in a way summum worship. Great chiefs would be deified after their death, their bodies would be removed from the corpse and a fibres image made to encase them, which became the object of worship (14, pp. 104-17). In time the images of gods of a chief and his gods would become confused and all the lore was incorporated into the mythology of the major deity (2, p. 17).

WORSHIP OF KU

The worship of Ku is one of the most terrifying, and also the most mysterious of all deities. Ku is known as the god of war and he is described as the most powerful god in all the Hawaiian pantheon. He is portrayed as a man with a powerful body, great strength, and a fierce temper. Ku is often depicted with a club and wearing a helmet, indicating his connection with war. He is also associated with the ocean, often appearing on the back of a large fish. Ku is said to have a large number of cults and temples dedicated to him, and his worship is often accompanied by sacrifices and offerings. Ku's influence is felt throughout the Hawaiian Islands, and his worship is still practiced by many Hawaiians today.
The worship of Kane was very mild in comparison to that of Ku and Kane, yet in prayers offered to Lono, the other gods are invoked as well.
WORSHIP OF KANE

The worship of Kane was much less rigorous than that of Ku, and at the time of the arrival of the first missionaries he was the major deity of the people (3, p. 42). No human sacrifices were offered to him for life in Kane was sacred (2, p. 45). Both the Ku and Kane worship had specific days of the month which were sacred, and during which heavy taupe were enforced. A famous hula song called “The Waters of Kane” mentions Kane as the source of all life (3, p. 65).

Kane and Nahana are associated together. In myth, Kane and Khina are described as living in a mythical group of islands, the last islands of the gods, where the homesteads of the gods and goddesses are located in the clouds or beneath the sea and are sometimes seen at sunset. Kane is mentioned in the Hawaiian mythology both as a god of the sea and as a god of the sky. His worship is associated with rain and with the ocean. In the Hawaiian religion, Kane is often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand.

The manifestations of Kane were as numerous as those of Ku. In dreams, Kane’s human form was often seen standing with his head in the clouds, on top of a hill or mountain, or sitting on a rock overlooking the sea. Kane was a god of the ocean, and his worship was associated with the sea and with fishing. He was also a god of the sky and of the air, and his worship was associated with the wind and with the clouds. Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea. In the context of the Hawaiian religion, Kane was often depicted as a deity with a fish in his hand, and his worship was associated with fishing and with the sea.
wishes of the fetisher or sorcerer. It is doubtful if the spirit and the mana were thought of as separate.

Nearly all sickness and death was attributed to the work of a sorcerer. The kalahu‘i ‘anu was one who prayed someone to death and the kalahu‘i hā‘ōna was one who sent sickness and trouble (2, p. 105). Important were certain ceremonies such as the kalahu‘i hā‘ōna and the kalahu‘i ‘anu. The former was a healer and was a member of the Lele kalahu‘i who provided over healing temples where the sick and infirm were taken to be cured (2, p. 110). A kalahu‘i ‘anu performed rites over a dead body in order to determine who had been the cause of the death (14, pp. 94-100). Some kalahu‘i received the power of restoring life by inducing the departed spirit to reenter the corpse. An asamaka could also persuade the departed soul to come back to a dead body (3, p. 145, p. 135).

When a chief died, very elaborate kalu services were held during which a kite was sent into the air to invite the god Lono to rule the spirit world. Lono would punish the person responsible for the sorcery and also could conduct the soul of the chief to a special place for deities (14, pp. 104-7). Extreme care was practiced in burying or hiding the bones of an alli‘i to prevent them from becoming sorcery fetishes. The corpse was considered to be a very large object, and anyone in contact with it was defiled until regular purification ceremonies could be conducted.

Several sorcery gods have already been mentioned, but Kalapiahu of Molokai seems to have been one of the most dangerous in the latter days of the religion. Kalapiahu was an image which had been cut from a very poisonous tree. This tree was one of a group which had been rendered extremely dangerous by one of the Kane gods who had sent a flash of lightning into it making it poisonous. All of the wood, save that of the original image, had been thrown into the sea, but the image had power to send a stream of light or a white bird in the night bringing death to a victim (2, pp. 111-13).

As effective asamaka was the best protection against sorcery and such a protector could be represented by an amulet carried by a warshipper. Belief in sorcery was a very persistent concept with the Hawaiians, and early missionaries complained about his reliance upon sorcery as the most effective weapon against sickness, even after his having been converted to Christianity (3).

One can well imagine why the ancient religion of Hawaii disappeared so rapidly after contact with European culture. The newcomers displayed a more manly, their religion, which lacked a similar supernatural power, even in its strictest form, was never as oppressive as the old kapus and sacrifices. However, many concepts such as the asamaka, or guardian spirit, and the fear of sorcery persist even until today.

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KAHUNA AND KOHEN:
A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION

By Francis Hewit

An interesting coincidence provides the incentive for this compara-
tive study of the kahuna-system in Hawaii and the system of priests in an-
cient Israel. This similarity applies strikingly in the terms applied to the
priest in the two languages—kahun in Hawaiian and Kohen in Hebrew.
(In the Arabic language the appropriate term is: kahun, which shows an ever
closer similarity.) This fact could give rise to the fantastic notion that the
Hawaiian system of priesthood was derived from the Hebrew and that there
ought to be some historical connection between the Polynesian tribes and
the ancient Hebrews, lost in the haze of bygone ages. Yet it seems that
there can be no grain of truth in such a notion. The similarity of the words
must be purely coincidental, the more so as the Hawaiian word refers to
the mysterious connected with the functions of priesthood, whereas the He-
brew expression means the service of God. Kahanu in all probability means
"the keeper of the secret" (hinau, secret, mystery), whereas the Hebrew
verb, from which the noun kohen is derived in Hebrew, and its literal transla-
tion is "to perform service."

Such coincidences in two different languages are not uncommon and
the conclusions which are sometimes derived from them must be viewed
with considerable caution. Thus we would not accept the assumption that
the Polynesians are a group of the ten lost tribes of Israel, as claimed by
some Mormon missionaries, who have tried to find a basis of justification
for the admission of the Polynesians to the fold and even to the priesthood
in Mormonism.

Although we cannot accept any theory so far-fetched and improbable,
very interesting similarities in the institutions of the priesthood of the He-
brew people and of the Polynesians do exist. These similarities do not in-
dicate any connection between these ethnic entities; they prove neither blood
relationship nor any historical contact. They only serve as evidence that
institutions grow out of the needs of people and that similar natural factors
bring about similar effects, and that these effects, always psychologically
motivated, take similar forms.

The need for the administration of religious functions arises from the
different crises that occur in the life of a people. There are communal crises,
crises in the family and crises in the life of the individual. War, famine,
crime, natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes or volcanic eruptions,
childbirth, marriage, death, the building of a house, the transi-
tions of adolescence, the dangers of individual and community life ... all
these different crises, in which the people feel their weakness against the
power of nature, or against the empty space of the environment, or even
against the forces of the social surrounding ... all these inevitabilities and critical events
in human life and in human endeavors, evoke the need for extra-
natural help. And the priesthood, representing the supernatural, gives the
salve, the help and the strengthening needed by the people. Accordingly,

*This is part of a considerably longer study entitled, "Kahuna, Kohen,
and Priest: Comparative Studies in Priesthood and in Missionary Achieve-
ments," of which Rabbi Hertz had completed only the first draft prior to
his untimely death on April ninth, 1952.

it does not seem too surprising that even the priestly forms are similar in
very distant and different communities.

In the Hawaiian language we find a classification of the priests ac-
cording to their functions. In David Malo’s Hawaiian Antiquities twelve
classes of kahunas are listed, whereas inoxel P. Lorrain’s article, "Medi-
cine in Hawaii," nine more classes are enumerated. It is true that many
of these classes represent some form of expert secular technical knowl-
dge, especially in the fields of hunting, medicine, architecture, yet it is
also true that all these professional tasks were performed by priests.
These functions were connected with important events in the life of the
people, crises of different degree, and that they demanded religious dedi-
cation before, during and after the professional work. These numerous
classes of priests show the universal influence of religion in the life of the
people.

The Old Testament gives only three classes of priests: Kohen Gadal,
the High Priest; Kohen Mamahau Mitchenam, the chief military chaplain and
the third category is simply kohen, the common priest. But many of the
functions of the different classes of the Hawaiian priests were performed by
the Hebrew koholah (plural of kohen).

The Kohen Gadal was the highest spiritual functionary in the king-
dom of Israel and Judah. Many of his duties concerned with those of the
Kahuna-hil, who was in charge of the temple (sanctuary) services and offerings,
the distribution of the goods paid by the people as a form of tax to the
priests, the control of the lower priests and the duty of the consecrating
the king, whether to enter into war, or to refrain from it. They all, except the
last one mentioned, were duties of the Hebrew High Priest too. The offer-
ing of prayer before battle was the duty of the Kahuna Mitchenam, according
to the Biblical law (Deuteronomy, ch. xxv).

The lower Hebrew priesthood was not classified according in differ-
ent functions. Nevertheless their duties were diversified and multifaceted.
They also had medical duties and tend to know the pathology of different
diseases, especially that of leprosy, gonorrea and other venereal diseases.
Their duty was to separate the contagiously ill from the bulk of the popu-
lation and to treat and cure them according to the knowledge and practices
of the era. (Leviticus ch. Xv.) In Hawaii, there were more specialized priest-practitioners: the kahuna hili, the bone-setter, the kahuna luakea, the midwife, the kahuna hau, who was the "massar-dealer," the
diagnostician was called Kahuna Hi and the osteopathologist was called Kahuna Ha.

Among the duties of the Hebrew priests belonged the purification of
the uncircumcised. An elaborately system of impurities was established and at this
time we should find very remarkable similarities between the functions of
Hebrew and Hawaiian priesthood. The females were regarded uncleans dur-
ing the menopausal and during and after child-birth according to the Biblical
day. During menstruation this impurity lasted for seven days. After the
birth of a boy the mother was unclean for seven days and a continuous pur-
ification period of thirty-three days was added. After the birth of a girl the
impurity lasted for two weeks and the purification period for thirty-six
days. In Hawaii the rule was to keep a purification period of ten days after
any birth according to the order of the Kahuna Hi, and marriage

*Accidental Hawaiian Civilization, 1913.
It seems that throughout the history of the human race there has been a constant struggle between the two forms of magic, the one performed by those who represented official religion, the other practiced by those outside the pale. The history of the Church also shows this bifurcation of magic. The priests practice magic, whereas the sorcerers and witches bring the demons into the bodies of their victims, thus giving an opportunity for the priests to perform exorcisms. It would take too far to thoroughly explore this interesting area. Nevertheless, at this point the hypothesis seems to be justified that everywhere we may find a revival of individuals against official religion. The relics against the power of official priesthood resort to the performance of acts that belong to the official sphere of the priests. The resulting anti-magic breaks out in open conflict and the prohibition by those in authority of what is challenging their authority and which they stamp with the name of black magic as opposed to their own white magic or religion.

The phenomenon of sorcery also indicates such a tendency. It is not always ideological differences that account for seceratization. Quite often it is the spirit of rebellion against the power of the official priesthood, and occasionally the individual lust for power and favor for a lucrative business that bring about seceratization movements.

That the babaus were able to perform seemingly miraculous healings is probable. The power of suggestion, a still unperceived field of existing phenomena, is able to bring about the healing of so-called functional or psychogenic diseases, and where the people live in an atmosphere of deep religious and superstitious beliefs, this power is most certainly heightened for the very extreme. In the Bible we find numerous such healings performed by religious leaders, priests and prophets, and in one case this power is used to discover the sin of the adulteresses. (Numbers ch. V).

But all such phenomena are common in every form of priesthood, and even though there are no coincidences and specific similarities between the functions of the Khoaman and the Babaus, we have no right to draw any far-fetched conclusions. The fact of these similarities may be very interesting but we must not base improbable hypotheses on them.

In this connection, it is interesting to mention that a new sect has arisen in Los Angeles, which claims to originate from the practices of the Polysemic babaus system. This sect is called Huna, the Mystery, (Peter Freeland: Light of Mind, the World's Psychosomatic System of the Polysemus, ny. 1945, Los Angeles,) This pamphlet claims that by the help of the adakama, the man is able to use uncurtained fire, to bring about instant healings, to become tall, and to rear up from it. According to the author, means the highest forms of human sub-consciousness Ego. But in the sources of the Hawaiian religion it simply means spirit, the spirit or the ghost of an ancestor.
THE CHURCHES IN HAWAII

By Dr. J. Leslie Duncan

The task set before us in the assigned subject is to make some observations about the state of the Christian churches in Hawaii. We must at once delimit that task in a number of ways lest we be guilty of equivocal presumptions. We cannot speak of the Catholic churches for about them we are, generally speaking, ignorant. In like fashion we must leave out of our thinking the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Christian Scientists, not only because our knowledge of these is practically nil, but also because they are, in one way or another outside the rather broad road within which the Christian churches move. There remain then the so-called free churches of Protestantism.

Even in respect to those churches one must claim a considerable degree of ignorance. Some facts and figures are available, but these do not mean very much as they stand. They require interpretation, which of necessity is done with the outlook and the standards of judgment one possesses. So that while we undertake the task assigned to us, we do so in the realization that the result will be colored by our own individual position and will be of value only as we use it as a foil for our own thinking.

It is a matter of deep regret that there are a number of the free churches about which we can say nothing. This is unfortunate because they have come to occupy a significant place among our people. We refer to the so-called "free or cult groups." During recent years representatives of these movements have come to Hawaii, have enlisted followers, built buildings, and are conducting active programs. We do not know how many of these churches there are, nor how many people are drawn to them. That they are here, we are sure, for it is hardly possible to drive along any of our main thoroughfares without passing one or more of their centres. Through observation we might come to certain conclusions about them, but we could not be certain of those conclusions since they would be so inadequately grounded. However, if the churches of this type in our Territory were similar in character to those found on the mainland, we can suggest that their existence shows a trend in the make-up of our population and the liability of the denominational churches to meet the needs arising through this trend. In the statistics which follow, we have included cults.

This article was prepared and presented first in the spring of 1951 to a group of Protestant ministers who sponsored it immediately. Some churches are convinced that it presents far too pessimistic a picture of the role of the Protestant church, whose strength and influence, they insist, can never be measured in more statistics of membership. Others, however, have been startled by the implications of Dr. Dunstan's study and urge a broader dissemination of its findings among Protestants. It, perhaps more than anything else, is responsible for stimulating the Honolulu Council of Churches to initiate late in 1953 an Island-wide study of religious trends. The editors of Social Process in Hawaii are happy to be able to make Dr. Dunstan's provocative and unreserved statement available to a wider audience, not as a defense of, or reason for defending, Protestant church in action, but as a contribution to the growing body of factual information in the field of the sociology of religion. While Dr. Dunstan uses the title, "The Churches in Hawaii," he has in mind only the Protestant church as he is concerned in his opening paragraph.

mates to cover those involved in these churches, but that is as far as we can go. They deserve our attention, for no other reason, than that they are centres of religious life in Hawaii.

As nearly as can be discovered, taking the figures reported by the denominations established in the Territory of Hawaii, adding estimates for the sects and independent churches now existing, there are approximately thirty thousand Protestants. Our total population is now about 445,000, so that the Protestants are less than 6 per cent of the people, or to say this in another way, one out of every seventeen persons in Hawaii is a Protestant church member. In the United States as a whole, according to the latest figures 32 per cent of the population are Protestants, or approximately one out of three people. Clearly, our churches are a minority group in the State.

Of interest in this connection, although a subject which we cannot follow out, is the percentage of Protestants in Hawaii's population over the years of the last century. According to fairly reliable figures cited by Professor Kaye Saunders in his history of the territory, in 1850 25 per cent of the population were Protes- tants. Many things have happened during the past one hundred years that have affected the Protestant churches: a sizable influx of people from the original settler class has taken place; the Roman Catholic church has expanded its work; and other non-Christian, non-Protestant religions have been introduced. These developments may serve to explain the changes that have taken place in the relative position Protestants have in respect to the total population, but they do not alter the present fact. We are but a very small group in our Islands. And if we would have that fact further emphasized in our minds we need to remember that in 1836 Dr. W. S. Hepburn reported that the Hawaiian people were a Christian nation and that three years later Mrs. Gerrit P. Judd could write, with ample justification, that only a few persons could be found in the Hawaiian kingdom who did not regard themselves as Christians. Whereas, Protestants were once the majority group in the population they are now very much in the minority.

Moreover, the thirty thousand Protestants are divided into nearly two hundred different churches. That is an average of 150 persons per church. It is agreed by fairly competent students of church life that in our western economy there ought to be a minimum of three hundred members of a church to function as an effective organization. Our average is half that, but average in decaying. Two churches have over one thousand members each, nine churches have from five hundred to one thousand members, and eighty more have between three and five hundred members. Only nineteen of the churches have the required minimum membership and together they account for nearly twelve thousand members; this leaves eighteen thousand members for the remaining 181 churches, or an average of one hundred per church. And those figures are for the limited membership, which as you well know, is usually right in excess of the number who are really active church people. So that while as a whole we Protestants are a minority group, we are also organized into churches, the majority of which are in size far below the level of a possible effective program.

Then further, most of our churches were organized either during the early part of mission work in Hawaii or during the years when pioneers brought their experience from the Orient. It is difficult to determine exact numbers for many of them, but they must be made somewhat arbitrarily. But it would appear that scarcely more than seventeen or at most twenty churches have what we might call, a modern origin. The significance of this in the lives of the character of the churches when they began and the difficulties they have had
to face through the years because of their origin. Our churches were racial churches, and as such the life within them was colored by the traditions and the culture of their members. It is not proper to speak of Hawaiian Christianity, or Japanese Christianity, or Basle Christianity, but it is in order to say that Hawaiian patterns of life were taken into the churches by the people, and through Japanese and Basle culture and all the rest. But through the years tremendous changes have taken place among the population of our Islands. You may call the changes the process of Americanization or use any other term you like. In essence, the ways of American life have been taught and practiced, and these have, at many points, cut across the older ways of life which had been incorporated in our churches and to a certain degree made sacred.

Take, as an illustration, the Hawaiian churches. Basically, these churches were family affairs. And this does not mean just father, mother and the children; it meant all who have descended from a single ancestor. A man told me, not long ago, that he had been in his family reunion the week-end before. When I asked how many were present he said he did not know, but it took four large H.R.T. buses to transport the crowd. He spoke, not only of a single family, but also of his church. We have never tried to discover how many different families there are in our churches, but one suspects that if all relationships were acknowledged and all family trees drawn the number would be relatively small. As we picture churches that are built not only through faith in Jesus Christ but also on the ties of blood connection that form a family. But one of things that the new life in our territory has done is to cut across such relationships and to make them of little importance. The individual, as such, has become the significant entity, instead of the individual as a unit in a living group. And so the Hawaiian churches have faced this change, their identity has been broken, their program lessened in effectiveness, and their membership made smaller.

Then these churches have been forced to meet another element in the change. When the churches were family groups they were controlled, as were all tightly knit family groups, by the head of the family and his councilors. The head was assumed to know the needs of the group and to be able to guide action so that those needs could be met. Members of the group followed the direction of the leader and deferred to his planning. And the head assumed full responsibility for the welfare of the group. Then the changes that have taken place in Hawaii have taught people, and especially the younger people to think for themselves and to choose their leaders. What we commonly call the democratic process has been made a usable and desirable tool for the group and the life of the group and all the rest. And that has profoundly speed the churches, their order and their individual members.

These two conditions, which have existed not only in the Hawaiian churches but in that which is well, and suggestive of a number of confusion produced in the churches because of their origin and the history through which they have traveled. They lead in their beginnings characteristics and ways that have been challenged and called in question by the development of the territory. This has meant that the churches have been groups of people that have known uniquely the strains and the stresses that have eroded through the territory.

In this we have been dealing with the majority of the churches. There is a minority, we estimated their number at a maximum of twenty, which have been organized in more recent years. They are not only the churches which have been organized in more recent years. They are not only the churches which have been organized in recent years, but whose American ways of social and economic outlooks are traditional. They do not have within them an older nucleus of people who were the church a generation or more ago and that they have been free to accept such patterns of organization and program as they have been taught by their organizers.

Then we must go one step further. Not only are the people who are Protestants separated into two hundred different units, but those units are separated from each other by denominational affiliations. The denominations each bring the units belonging to them togethe so that they have a sense of unity. But this not only means that among Protestants there is a number of units. So that instead of thirty thousand people feeling their units one with another in these religious faiths, smaller numbers of them feel themselves united as over against the others. This separation is accentuated because many of the churches are still dependent upon mission support and they must serve their denominational connection, and because there are those churches which emphasize their separateness and thus bring the idea to the attention of all the people. Over against this, the very fact that the churches exist within a circumscribed geographical area and a fairly static population tends to mitigate this division. And of recent years there have been some efforts made in getting the churches to work together and feel themselves within a single fellowship. Yet the divisions among the churches remains.

These, then, are the Protestant churches. Two hundred organizations, spread across the territory, many of them with small memberships, separated from each other by race, tradition, status, experience and, affiliation. Altogether their numbers are but a minority of the population, and those numbers, divided as they are, can hardly have the force even of a minority.

If it was the objective picture the churches present, what of their inner life? It is indeed difficult to measure that or to judge it with any degree of accuracy. There are certain evidences which may appear to be indicative but these are in no sense decisive. However, we may mention them. Of the ministerial leadership now active in the churches twenty-three men were born in Hawaii. In this figure the leaders of the Hawaiian churches are not counted, for they would of necessity have to be indigenous if they are of the Hawaiian race. Presently, churches should produce their own leaders if they have strong life, yet such has not happened to any great extent through two and three generations. And of recent years there are no figures available to show how many new members the churches have been adding each year. Every evidence would show that the new members are joining the churches although not in very large numbers. And it would appear that the ascendency is only slightly greater than the losses. New churches have been organized, but when one deals with the Protestant population in a whole, it seems as though these churches have come into existence largely at the expense of those earlier established. The denominations have been emphasizing the work of evangelization for the past few years, some of them using the slogan "each member one" but the results have not been noticeable. Such growth as has taken place has been slow and indeed. It may be made up of scarcely more than Mainland new-comers transferring their church membership and the children of church members who have reached marriage age. Yet the winning of new members is a sign of the vitality of a church.

A considerable number of the churches, and here we speak of those which maintain a pattern of organization typical of our country, are not yet self-supporting. It is obvious, in view of their size, that they could not be.
The cost of operating a church with a full time pastor is too great for the churches to carry. So each year sums of money are made available through mission sources for the aid of churches that cannot pay their own way. What effect this has upon the members of the churches is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. It may be that they think of religion as something which is paid for by others, or it may be that they see in the outside help a temporary necessity from which they strive to escape. But again, a church that is a vital organization takes the responsibility for its own support.

Most of the churches conduct Sunday Schools in which children and young people are trained. The enrollment in these schools is slightly under twenty thousand or two thirds the size of the churches themselves, and enrollment figures for these activities are notoriously greater than attendance figures. It has sometimes been said that Protestant churches ought to have church schools with enrollments larger than their membership if they are to maintain themselves. This is not the case in Hawaii.

The churches give tuition. According to the latest figures available this giving totaled nearly sixty thousand dollars in one year or two dollars per member. This, of course, was over and above the contributions which church members make to the support of their own organizations. This giving is less than Mainland congregations, and whether it represents the result of promotional work or is the product of an understanding of the worldwide church we do not know.

These evidences, the raising up of indigenous leadership, the recruiting of new members, the willingness to assume the financial load of the churches, and the contributions to benevolences are indicative of the life of the churches. If they were definite indices we should have to conclude that the churches are relatively weak. But they are not definite for they have to be taken together with other factors in the condition of the churches. In light of the relative smallness of a majority of the churches and the many problems with which they have to deal the wonder may be that they do so much.

Now we may venture one or two observations about the churches which are not tied to any recorded data. Admittedly these observations are completely personal and are open to criticism. It may be that they are quite inaccurate, but for better or worse here they are. First, the Protestant church people, in the main, know very little about the faith they profess. Members can repeat parts of the Bible, the creeds, the prayers, but that ability means very little. The group that must have upon the living realities of the faith, so that they feel its impact upon them and respect, is most elementary and perfunctory. It is next to impossible to arouse much interest among the people in a consideration of their religious belief, and anyone with a fair knowledge of Christianity can readily hear heretical statements put forth as true doctrine. And yet the Protestant churches rest upon an understanding people, those who are able to be their congregants.

Second, the program of the churches is sparse, disorganized and traditional. Sunday services of worship, the celebration of the sacraments, the mid-week prayer meeting and occasional social gatherings are the general rule. Here and there other features have been added, and here and there other features, holdovers from past days, remain. The former have not yet taken substantial or wide spread root and the latter are slowly dying. The churches escape the piousy of their programs on the ground that the members are involved in so many other community activities that they have little time for the church. And if the members knew where they stood this
A PROTESTANT CHURCH IN HONOLULU

By John H. Gilber

Editorial Preface. The Protestant congregations of Hawai'i have historically been composed primarily according to ancestry. The reason for this is clear, namely, that at the time of the founding of these churches the most effective ministry was in the language of the native Hawaiians and of each immigrant group. In the case of the Hawaiians, the congregations cut across class lines to such an extent that today a church like Kawaiahao has members from all walks of life.

On the other hand, the churches of the immigrant groups were established originally for people of the lower-income brackets, while the English-speaking churches were attended by people mainly of the middle- and upper-income brackets.

Thus very many of the Protestant congregations early became somewhat distinct ethnic and class organizations, each tending to continue along the original lines.

However, the traditional lines have been increasingly undermined by the assimilation of the immigrant groups and their consequent increasing use of the English language, by the rise of many persons of immigrant ancestry into the middle and upper classes and by the increasingly large number of Japanese no longer identified with the upper-income brackets and the racial class of greatest prestige.

Consequently many churches with an immigrant heritage have abandoned their ethnic name and attempted to broaden their membership. At the same time congregations historically upper class and Caucasian are also becoming involved in the same process of making their appeal more inclusive. These two trends, both working in the direction of the inter-racial and inter-class church, are riveted by conservative elements within the congregations itself to give up the old order of things and are slowed up by the difficulty with which the general public relinquishes the symbolic role which has been traditionally assigned to each church.

The present study is of one of the traditionally middle-to-upper-class Ha'ole congregations and was done three years ago by a graduate student in sociology, now studying for the ministry.

Introduction. Central Union Church has long been one of the best known religious institutions in the city of Honolulu. Unfortunately, not all of its fame has come from the succession of distinguished ministers, its large and extensive religious program, and its imposing edifice.

Central Union has, however, also been thought of, at least in the minds of some, as the church home of the upper-class Ha'ole, the rich man's congregation, or, the religious branch of the "Big Five." For instance, a sociologist student of Oriental accuracy who visited Central Union Church in connection with a field trip in 1945 reported:

I have heard a great deal of the exclusive Central Union Church and have been picturing the church practically every day but have never seen the interior, nor have heard about the activities until the day of our excursion... Unsurprisingly, because

of the large group of upper-class Ha'ole, membership in this church lends prestige and higher social status... In this respect, a larger group of Orientals will not be accepted, nor will they fit in such a congregation.

It was interesting to me that such an opinion would exist concerning any church in Hawai'i and particularly a church of a liberal denomination whose tradition is rooted in the early missionary enterprise in these islands.

Subsequent conversations with responsible members of the community as well as with members of the staff of the church itself show that Central Union is not racially exclusive nor does it, at least as reflected in the attitudes of its leaders, desire to be so. However, such negative assumptions as are present in the community cannot exist without some reason, a reason which in this case might stem from the actual class and racial structure of the church.

The purpose of this study then will be to determine statistically something of these important aspects of the composition of the church and to explore further the meaning of the statistical results by conducting a series of interviews among representatives of some of the racial groups involved.

Racial Composition. Before considering the racial composition as such, it seems wise first to consider some general statistics relative to the membership as a whole. Of the 1,755 church members considered1 61 per cent were Caucasian (194) and 39 per cent (664) were non-Caucasian. (Though this is clearly an over-proportion of women it is fairly typical of middle-class and upper-class Protestant churches and need not be elaborated upon at this time.) The average number of children per family, with both parents members, was 1.8. This made the average family size slightly under four.

The following table gives the statistical picture of the racial composition of the church both in 1934, when a survey was made by Walter King, and in 1946.

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<tr>
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<th>1934</th>
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<td>12</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>9.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian &amp; P. H.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1This figure is less than the official church tally since I omitted associate members and those regular members living on the outer islands or on the mainland. The grand membership total at the end of 1946 was 2,164.
Here we see at once the striking contrast between the professional and managerial levels and those below. These two groups comprise over 70 per cent of those gainfully employed whereas the skilled, semi- and unskilled groups comprise less than 5 per cent of the total group. If the clerks and kindred workers groups can be considered middle class (it is probably at this level that most of the gainfully employed women will be found) and the managers and professionals middle and above, it must be concluded from this table that the majority of the congregation may be considered at least the middle class occupationally speaking. Such a finding could be said to proceed as a direct corollary from the character of the racial structure with its high percentage of Haole's who have traditionally comprised the middle and upper classes of the Islands.

A special analysis of the occupational statistics of the Portuguese and Oriental members indicates that they are somewhat lower than the old-time Haole members. Nevertheless it is probably safe to assume that both groups in Central Union have a higher occupational and social status than do their groups in the community at large.

Residential Pattern. We may compare the 1950 map showing the distribution of members with the 1940 distribution. However, some differences in the construction of the two maps should first be noted. The 1940 map does not give the members of the Sunday school nor does it show the number living at each residence. The racial breakdown also differs in that only four groups are used in 1940, these being the Portuguese, Other Caucasian, Hawaiian and part Hawaiian, and Oriental, as against a more specific breakdown of the Oriental groups in 1950.

On the whole and particularly in the Haole and Hawaiian and part Hawaiian groups this present study shows much the same residential pattern as did the one in 1934. There are more members but in general they are in the same areas of town. Two minor exceptions occur in the Wilhelmina Flats and Kalanianaole Highway areas which were sparsely populated in 1934 but which show a fairly high concentration of Haole now. The growth of members in these areas represents the expansion of the city as well as the expansion of the church.

Two areas; Kaimuki, and the general spaces south of Waikiki Heights and Manoa Valley and east of Kapahulu Boulevard stand out as being fairly well mixed racially. These areas represent what might be considered the more middle-class sections of town. It is interesting to note that the vast majority of the non-Haole groups come from these localities.

In general then it may be said that the members of Central Union Church live in the upper-class and the middle-class areas. The areas of greatest concentration are those of highest land value or at least those which are exclusive and are populated most generally by Caucasians other than the Portuguese. The middle-class areas are much more pronounced in their racial mixture. All in all, there has been little basic change in residential pattern since 1934. These findings tend to uphold those on class structure as deduced earlier in this study.

Contributed Church Income. The following figures serve to indicate somewhat of the nature of the financial support of the church. However, it must first be said that it is difficult to get any one set of figures which are indicative of the church as a whole. At the risk then of being somewhat selective, but with the desire to be accurate, the average contribution per year per person (in many cases a person is said to be representative of a...
family group is calculated by dividing the amount paid in pledges during the year 1948 by the number of members pledges. The income from those contributions is not considered in this calculation nor is the total membership of the church. However, 9% per cent of the total membership since membership is a tally of individuals. The official membership at the end of 1948 was 2183. Of the 975 who pledge pledge, seven gave over $5.00 per week or an average of $642 per person or family group for the year. Thus 3 per cent of the members pledging gave slightly under 31 per cent of the total amount received in pledges. Just what these figures mean in reference to the class structure of the church is difficult to state without comparative figures from other churches. Even if we could safely say that 8 per cent of the membership is in the highest income brackets, comparative figures are still necessary to determine what these mean in reference to the community at large.

Interviews. In order to make this study more complete, four interviews were conducted. The subjects were chosen as fair representatives of each of the four major ethnic or racial groups involved in the church - Haole, Portuguese, Oriental, and part Hawaiian. In general the interviews revolved about the following questions: What are the important things you and your group are receiving from this church experience? What does your group feel toward the other ethnic groups in the church?

The first person to be interviewed was an elderly Haole woman, for fifty years a member of Central Union.

The question concerning the role of the Haole group in Central Union was not dwelt upon long. It was assumed by the interviewer and readily affirmed by the subject that the Haole group plays the major role in the life of the church. However, an interesting point was brought out concerning Haole sociability. My informant stated that she has heard that new Haole sometimes feel the church in cold and strange. She stated that though this might be true in some cases she knew that every effort was being made to overcome this; both from the ministry and the congregation. She felt that strangers who do feel this way are often themselves responsible and should attend specialized church functions and accept some definite responsibility in the life of the church. "If they would do this they would find Central Union not at all cold, rather, very warm and friendly." As for her own experience in the church she stated, "I have always been happy in Central Union. It has been a great part of my life."

As far as she knew, there is no discrimination against any of the non-Haole groups. If such discrimination does exist on the part of some, she has not been aware of it nor has she noticed any such ill-feeling in all her years with the church.

According to her the role of the Orientals in church leadership is slight. With the exception of what she thought were about six Sunday school teachers, she knew of no others in positions of leadership responsibility. She knew of none on the board of trustees, standing committees, deaconsesses, young married people's group, or the men's club. However, she stated that Orientals are active in the young people's groups and the church. There are many Oriental children in Sunday school and in the pre-school.

The second interview was with a part Hawaiian girl from her early twenties. She has been a member of the church since 1947.

The most interesting thing about this interview was the informant's satisfaction with Central Union. She stated, "I think the people that go to Central Union are better than those in any other church I know. They are so friendly! It's the most comfortable church I have ever been in. I've gone to other churches in town but they were cold and unfriendly." She also stressed the unity she had found among all of the members. "I started going there when an Oriental-Haole girl friend of mine invited me to the Tower Club. I was really surprised to find Orientals in there and in the church. I had always heard that Central Union was exclusive, but it isn't at all."

She concluded by saying that she very definitely gets fellowship and spiritual uplift from Central Union. "When people ask me what church I belong to I am very proud to tell them 'Central Union'."

The third interview was held with a middle-aged man of Portuguese ancestry. He had been a member of Central Union since the merger with the Pilgrim church in 1940 and at present holds a responsible church office.

All in all my informant spoke very highly of the merger. A large share of the Portuguese have assumed positions of responsibility in the various specialized church groups. Many, though not all of these, are the ones who were leaders in the old church or who had community interests outside the church before coming to Central Union. My informant stated that most of them have appreciated being accepted by the "Anglo-Saxons" and have tried to prove themselves good church members. He knows that the majority of the Portuguese are carrying more than their share of the financial burden. This he feels is a result of a "natural paise" that many of the Portuguese bring to the church. He pointed to the significant number of Portuguese "Bible Women" in days past as a further illustration of this point.

However he also mentioned a small minority group that is not yet fully adjusted to the new church life. He feels there is still a little clashiness, yet those who are clashious seem to be happy in their church life. These come to church regularly and attend many of the special church functions, yet they are hesitant in taking roles of leadership. Others are self-conscious because they are not in a particularly high occupational
bracket. Many of these are of the laboring class. Some of the older members of this group do not speak English very well, yet the interviewer managed to point out that they are exceptionally regular in church attendance in spite of this handicap.

In 1940 a merger was finally felt satisfactory and arrangements were then carried out for such a move. There were still some opposed but only two people requested their names to be taken from the Pilgrim Church roll. The main objection was that “Central Union was too much the church of the aristocracy and the Portuguese would not be welcome”. Now, when the actual merger took place, the overwhelming majority—well over 90 per cent—of the former Pilgrim members actively affiliated with Central Union. The few who were undecided then have almost in the last month joined along. My informant feels that the results since then have been very much for the good. People who were losing interest in the old Pilgrim church as well as some of those most skeptical about the move gradually became interested and now have become mainstays of the new work. "Instead of having members we actually gained back several of our old members!"

My informant feels that his group has made a real contribution to the Portuguese community because they have shown that Portuguese can get along in a spirit of unity with other Caucasians, even those of the higher economic and social bracket.

My last interview was with a middle-aged Japanese man, a member of an important profession and a member of Central Union for about twenty years. In his youth he had attended a Japanese Christian church but because disinterested as he grew older because the church had no English services and seemed geared more to the older generation. At the suggestion of his pastor he sought membership in some other church and thus became interested in Central Union at the invitation of the minister there.

My informant stated that all of his children have gone through the Central Union Sunday school and have attended that function of the church quite regularly.

When asked about discrimination he stated that he had never felt anything of that kind and on the contrary had always been made to feel welcome. This was particularly true when he and his wife joined, though lately, due to the increase in membership and the fact that they do not attend regularly, there are many in the church whom they do not know. When asked if he knew of any reasons why more Orientals did not attend Central Union, he felt that strong Oriental churches and the Church of the Crossroads, plus the fact that Central Union did not actively seek-out any new Oriental members, all could have a bearing upon the situation. He stated, however, that it was interesting to note what he felt was an increasing number of Oriental weddings being held at Central Union. He indicated agreement when I asked if he thought this might possibly indicate a warmer feeling on the part of Orientals to the church.

Conclusions from the Interviews. Several general things may be said relative to the findings of these interviews. All as individuals seemed to be happy in Central Union, and as representatives of their groups seemed to feel that their respective groups are satisfied with the church. No one had heard or heard of any prejudice on the part of one race toward another. All felt that the church was friendly irrespective of class or racial distinctions. All but the last interviewee (and he did not know) felt that the Portuguese had become well integrated in the life of the church.

It seems significant here that the one member of the four interviewees who had come into the church after the union did not even realize that such a union had taken place, even though she is aware of individuals of Portuguese ancestry in the church. All uphold the fact that Orientals are not, by and large, in positions of leadership in the church. None of the four had much knowledge of the part Hawaiians, even though one is a member of the group.

If any one general conclusion can be drawn from all this, it would seem to be that though Central Union is 95 per cent Caucasian it is not racially exclusive in theory or practice. The high Caucasian membership and the high economic and social prestige that seem to accompany Caucasians in Hawaii are misleading factors to outsiders, who are not aware that such combinations need not always lead to exclusiveness and discrimination. Throughout most of its years, Central Union has met the religious needs of a group of people who were culturally different from many of the other groups around them. That it should continue to minister to this group is not surprising, nor is it any more surprising that other ethnic groups should find a church home here when they too have sufficiently acquired this culture. However as long as racial churches continue to exist in Hawaii’s Protestantism, Central Union by the very nature of its ministry in the past, will be one of them, not necessarily by choice but by a series of factors which are beyond its power to control.
CHOWADO
By Evelyn E. Tsune and Agnes H. Nishihara

Chowado, a Japanese Buddhist sect in Honolulu, was chosen for study due to certain qualities which differentiate it markedly from other religious sects. Though founded in Japan, its headquarters are at present located in Honolulu with its founder and leader residing here. It had been transferred to Hawaii after World War II as a result of the burning of the headquarters in Japan. This, plus its completely individual transplantation to the community, made it seem feasible to undertake the study from the social process point of view. Even though unique, the growth trend revealed in the history of Chowado is typical enough to be applicable to other religious groups in Hawaii as well.

Through actual attendance and participation in its varied religious and social activities, we were able to get first-hand information about the sect, its rituals, its constituency, its problems, and other factors affecting the growth of the church.1 Informal interviews with the priest as well as various members of the church gave us insight into some of the attitudes held by them regarding the church itself and the role they felt it played in the general community.

The following are sections of a longer, more detailed study of Chowado.2 The study will attempt to explain the history of the church in Honolulu, its adjustment to the Hawaiian situation and to a secular world, the attitudes of its members toward this adaptation, and other problems at present confronting the church.

"Chow" means harmony and "do," road or manner, being the same character as in Shing and Tendai. Chowado may thus be translated as the road of harmony. It indicates the attempt by the founder to reconcile the utilitarian with the sacred by a system of physical exercises merged with religious or spiritual exercises. This sect, as will be apparent when the founder's background is given, is an outgrowth and variant of the important Shingon sect of Buddhism.

According to the Rev. Raisa Fujita, the founder, physical health is the basis of everything in this world. For any kind of physical activity as well as for religious and spiritual activity, health is an essential ingredient. Thus it is permissible for an individual to practice a set of physical exercises devised by him for health, which he calls Chowado, without belonging to the church itself. On the other hand, no one may become a member of his church unless he has practiced and mastered the health engineering system, according to him, a healthy body is an essential component of a truly religious individual.

Because the church and its activities revolve primarily around its leader, it is felt to be of some importance to touch briefly upon the person.

1In Hawaii, the word church is so frequently applied to non-Christian religions and places of worship that we have decided to retain it. It is derived from a Greek word meaning Lord's house.

2The complete study is on file in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory.

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sonality and biography of the founder. He is a vigorous man in the middle eighties, very impressive, though short in stature, with a long white beard. He speaks no English.

The following are excerpts of his autobiography translated into English from the book Kukunia Sinshin Kaiko No Gengo to Bushi (Principles and Methods for the Improvement of the Nation's Body and Mind) by R. Fujita.

I was born in 1869... When I was eighteen years of age, I became a disciple of Hojo Fumako, who was then the leading authority of Buddhism in Japan and accompanied him to Kyoto. Fumako was not only a scholar but also a person of very respectable character. He had, however, one major weakness. He was a heavy drinker. He drank even while reading or studying. Therefore, I was forced to drink in his company and although I despised sake at the beginning, I too, became a heavy drinker. In spite of the chronic intestinal cancer that resulted from drinking, I managed to continue my study. When Fumako was appointed head of the newly founded Daitokuan (The Academy) in Tokyo, I followed him and studied Buddhism there. Later I transferred to the Tetsu-gon-kan (The Philosophical Institute), where I majored in Oriental philosophy.

At twenty-four, I returned to my home in the country. There I got a good position and felt very important especially after having studied as long in Kyoto and Tokyo, I soon became very radical reformer and proposed the doing away of many traditions. I soon reduced the hostility of many people but it had no effect on me. I had some successes and some failures. Several years later I was selected to aid Fumako in a struggle for the position of chief abbot of Shingon Chizan (one of a Shingon sect). I undertook this task with no worldly ambition but merely to repay my "ob" or spiritual debt to this teacher. When at last this problem was settled to the satisfaction of both myself and the leader, I soon found myself promoted to a position of high authority at the age of twenty-seven or eight. How proud and triumphant I was then!

I look back today with shame at my worldly self, satisfied with little knowledge and ignoring pain and the teaching of the mind. I was greedy, always striving for power and recognition and greatly indulging in drinking. I was certainly unworthy to be placed in a position of authority over people. Wherever I was in conflict with myself or with others, I immediately turned to liquor.

One can well imagine the eventual fate of a person who was not only born weak and had a chronic stomach and intestinal diseases but who led a life such as mine. I soon became neurasthenic and a victim of tuberculosis and light paralysis of one side of my body. My entire life was spent day by day and soon I was forced to give up everything I worked for and concentrated on overcoming these physical and mental illnesses.

It was then that I became familiar with a book written by Kukunia, the 24th priest, who had also been at one time a neurasthenic neurasthenic, but who had managed to cure himself. This book greatly impressed me and I decided to follow the methods he used to cure himself.

In 1898, I decided to start a new life and left my position. I traveled from one place to another practicing Kukunia's medita-
The following is a translation of a part of the general conversation which the writer had in presence of some of the Japanese people (the friends of the Honjojishu) who were included as a part of a group of some half a dozen persons.

Reminiscence comments about the "good old days" were not infrequently in-
had taken over and served as substitute for Fujita because he had gone to
Japan, was immediately interested along with other leaders in the Japanese
community. The state of the church during this period was explained by Mr. 
G. in the following way:

During the war, this organization simmered down to near stagnation because there was no regular member, and because
there was a law prohibiting the assembly of more than ten persons. The building was left in the care of the regular core-
taker.

On the other hand, an account by one of the oldest members of the
Chowado stated:

We managed to carry on pretty well during the war years even though the priest was in Japan and his substitute was dis-
terred because most of us were primarily interested in the
physical existence and not the religion. Therefore, we had no
need for priests like the other churches. About five or six of
us took turns leading the rest in conducting physical exercises
at the church. Despite everything, things did work out pretty
well. Of course, we never had more than five persons attending
and we weren't able to meet as often as we would have liked to.

After the cessation of hostilities, with the return of Fujita from
Japan, the church, although unsuccessful in gaining new members, has
managed to retain a sizable number of its original congregation of approxi-
mately thirty to forty active members.

In a twenty-year old unimposing two-story structure in McCully, the
only Chowado Church in Hawaii is located. The land was a half as the building
was, according to Fujita, donated by one of his fellows who was greatly
impressed by his lectures on the health engineering system in the early

Originally my residence was in Lewia, but there was a
contractor in McCully who was so impressed by my lectures that he
became a very devout follower of this system. It was
not long before he began to talk of the possibility of donating a
piece of land in McCully so that I might be able to establish a
Chowado training center in Hawaii. However, he was hindered
because he thought some of the regular members might object
and later the question of ownership of the land might become a
problem. Therefore, I told him that he might avoid all of this
future trouble if he would turn over the land to me directly as a
gift. Thus I acquired a piece of land and it was not long after
that the church was built by the same contractor.

Except for a bell hanging in a belfry on the second story, the building
does not reveal its nature and function to the casual observer. The single
square building can only be identified by a sign on its porch written in Jap-
nese characters, “Chowado.” This lends itself to much speculation, for
once wonder whether it is a physical training center, a Buddhist
mission, or a Christian shrine. It is only after one has either spoken
to one of the members or entered the church itself that one realized that
it is essentially Buddhist in nature. The first floor is composed of a series
of rooms on the right and the left with a long hallway between the two. The

reception room is first, the living room with the kitchen right across it:
next, and the rest are rooms used for varying purposes. The priest’s bed-
room is also located on the first floor.

The second floor is a single large room used for religious and health
training purpose. A typically Buddhist altar is set in the front of
the choir a stranger has for identifying the church. A series of small stools line
the walls on either side of the room and an earthworm isle, he re-
moves a stool and places it in the center of the room for the service. The
service also is typically Buddhist, not much different from any Buddhist
service one may attend. However, the singing of hymns composed by the
priest himself with health as the central theme, and of the Japanese alp-
bet by Kobo Daishi, whom they worship, and the chanting of orthodox Bud-
hist prayers, lend a distinctive flavor to the religious worship of this sect.

The central theme of the sermons reveal the priest’s attitudes to-
ward the religion and what he considers to be the hereditary functions of religion.
He stated in a sermon:

Those who believe in or practice superstitions believe
bodily unhealthy persons. Something is wrong with their
minds. Yet in knowing how many people believe in what those
so-called religious leaders say, I want to externalize all of
them and name a religion based on philosophy and science.

Though primarily concerned with attacking the asceticism of those
religious sects, rather than the philosophy upon which they are based, he
has created much hostility among members and leaders of the other reli-
gious sects. Members of the Chowado are cognizant of this fact and often
discussions are held regarding this matter with little or no definite con-
clusions reached, for basically they felt that they are in agreement with
the priest.

Among the members of the congregation, reasons for membership in
the church varied with each individual. Here prominently served as a path
for some members to Chowado.

I started to go because I live so near the church. When it
was first started, Fujita interested almost all of the neighbors
so that they went to church. However, there are not too many people from this
district who do come to church. I can’t understand it.

Large numbers were attracted through curiosity. Some had previous-
ly heard of the Chowado from others or had read about it in newspapers. A large
majority were the ill who were seeking relief physically and spiritually.

One of the most interesting features of this church has been its in-
creasing adjustment to a cold and secular world. The increased activities of
people in an urban industrial society allow them very little time for the
more purely religious activities. To meet such problems and to retain the
interest of the members, the church has had to adjust itself and meet such
problems realistically. Fortunately, the founder being alive and being ac-
tive the members of the congregation, in cognizant of this fact and has
continued himself with overcoming some of the difficulties. He states, “Religion
should change with the times and not be static.” With this view,
“Religion should change with the times and not be static.” With this view,
the movement to achieve an informal attitude regard-

ing his dealing with the church members. First, he has considerably ari-


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plied the rituals of the church. The "Kihyo-shiki," the ceremony of initiation into the sect, was once a very rigid affair held at five in the morning. "Bujii," or abstinence from all animal food on the day before the "Kihyo-shiki" as well as familiarity with his system of physical training were the qualifications which had to be met. The childishness of deities, added to the solemnity of the ritual, made the participants "tremble with excitement." Today, the ceremony is held at all hours of the day and "Bujii" is no longer a requirement.

In addition, "Bujii" was at one time an absolute must with Buddhist priests. Fujita followed the rule rigidly, and on the fifteenth and twenty-first of each month, set aside as "praying days," this practice was also observed by his whole congregation. Fujita only differed from the orthodox Buddhist priests in his interpretation of "animal food." In the Buddhist philosophy, because of the belief in reincarnation, the killing of any living organism is sin and, therefore, priests had to abstain from any food obtained through killing an animal. According to Fujita, however, dairy products, which were included among the list of "animal foods" by other Buddhist priests, are not obtained through killing and, therefore, the prohibition does not apply to them.

Today, however, with the exception of a few days in a year, Fujita no longer observes this practice. Some of the members have interpreted this in the following manner:

I heard that Senret suffered a great deal during the war. He lost his house by air raids and was forced to retire to Yagakura. He went through periods of critical food shortages there. He was forced to eat anything that he could get his hands on. Since then, he seems to hate that it is eating too much to satiate for certain foods. He no longer observes "Bujii." He does not require us to do so either.

Now our priest eats anything and even drinks wine. He's certainly changed from the old days.

Whatever may have been the explanation, this change alone has impressed segments of the congregation and seems to have "brought him closer" to them.

Perhaps the outstanding change is how some members saw it was in the personality makeup of the priest himself from the "good old days" to the present. The then dignified and rigid priest was approachable to the ordinary member. Everyone respected and feared him.

As you know, in pre-war days, our priest was here only about three months out of the year. During his stay we really behaved correctly but as soon as he left, we really relaxed and became "Bujii" rules and did not really conform to all his teachings. We had the attitude of "When the cat's away, the mice will play."

Today, the situation is in extreme contrast to those days. After services on Sunday, the priest is frequently seen in informal get-togethers when refreshments taken from the offerings are served. Here are six or seven members all around and discuss various subjects ranging from more general to a serious consideration of some of their pressing financial problems. There is much joking and laughter. The following reconstruction of such a con-

versation gives one an idea of the discussions and the closeness felt by those members to the priest:

"Senret, you should go to the other islands on a lecture tour. I'm sure you will get many members that way. Lectures over the radio are not enough."

"Yes, but we don't have the money to pay for his trip."

"You know (to the speaker), we don't pay him a salary, so Senret does not have any money."

"This church is really poor."

"We should raise some money."

"How about having the names of donors and the amount of donation listed around the outside wall as at other churches? Mr. So-and-so one thousand dollars. Mr. So-and-so seven hundred dollars."

"Yes, yes. People will start donating to this church just to have their names listed outside."

"Even those who did not intend to donate will say, 'oh, my, if Mr. So-and-so has donated hundred dollars, I also must donate at least a hundred dollars."

"Yes, that's really good. You know, that will cause competition and people will start to show off."

"And once they donate they will stick to the church too."

"Yes, of course. If one has donated once, on the next occasion when a donation is asked for, he will feel that he has to do that again because he did it before."

"Well, priest, shall I ask the ladies here to form a women's club in the church and take care of those problems? Women usually have good ideas on how to raise money."

"You had, Senret, but we can't do it. After all, we have strengthened our character through years of exercise which doesn't allow us to do cunning things."

(Laughter)

The priest, himself aware of these changes, exemplifies with those members who tell him of their preference for the dignified and strict man he was before. He says:

"Do you think people will come to me now if I acted as before? No, young people won't even approach me. They would be so scared. One has to change with the times you know."

Another aspect to this process of gradual secularisation has been the taking on by this sect of added functions primarily designed to attract new members. In its attempt to offset the competition by recreational and educational organisations for membership, the church has organised the "Holof-
and each morning they conducted exercises. We were forty persons who participated. Because Choson is indifferent to the religious affiliations of its members, I decided to join when I returned. However, my work in my own church kept me so busy that I very seldom have time to attend its exercise sessions.

A third and very important problem is one of language. As long as the services, lectures, and other activities are carried out solely in Japanese, there is very little hope for growth. Because of the lack of finance, this church is unable to send anyone to Japan to learn how to communicate with the Japanese. Choson has also the problem of language between the priest and his congregation. High school educated and only a lecturer in a religious university, the priest's speech is highly academic, philosophical, and abstract. The congregation, on the other hand, consists mainly of laid Japanese with a high school education at the most. Thus, most of the abstract philosophical terminology used by the priest is far beyond their comprehension. Complaints are frequently directed to him by them. However, according to the priest,

'It is hard to express the same thing in a simpler language when you are accustomed to the use of a more academic one. There are also many times when I get so involved in my talk that I don't care whether they understood me or not. I just go ahead and say what I want to say and hope that a little at least will sink in.

It is interesting here to note that on the part of many of the older members, despite these complaints about the minister's terminology, there is expressed a feeling of great pride that their leader is so educated and can speak so well.

Fourth, the very name "Choson" also serves to drive people from its doorsteps. It is an ambiguous name and unless one takes the pains of investigating, it is very difficult to decide whether it is a religious, cultural, or physical exercise organization. "Do" meaning path or road has a moral connotation but at the same time, it is the same "do" as the one used in "pudo" (pijito) and "sado" (tea ceremony). Then each person is left more or less to determine by himself exactly what connotation the word has.

There is in addition to all of the above factors, the growing attitude of indifference exhibited by the public regarding any sort of Japanese religious. A common attitude can best be observed by the following statement made by a prominent Japanese community leader:

"Yes, I saw the advertisement of the Choson in the newspaper but I just didn't pay any attention to it because I just took it for granted that all they were interested in was getting money. It seems to me that today, all of the religious sects are after money, money, and more money."

Closely tied in with the problem of membership is the onerousness of problems of finances. One of the tragic consequences of an industrial world has been the necessity of having funds to carry out any project of any consequence and the problem of membership is largely dependent upon the amount of funds available. This sect has found it necessary to adjust to the secular world and gradually his resistance to money-making.
projects is being broken. His original stand against them is being against the principles of religion is constantly being altered. A step toward the resolving of this problem has been the organization of the "Smile Club" whose dues are collected from the members. These dues are the only de- pendable income by which the church survives. Other than that, voluntary contributions by the church members are the only source for the priest’s maintenance.

The wind brings me falling leaves
Just enough to build a fire.

This favorite poem of the priest, according to him, expresses, in simplest terms, his own philosophy of life. This factor has raised some concern among the members who feel definitely that there exists a need today of going ahead and doing what should be done rather than letting the situation take care of itself. Because of this essential conflict between the ideals of the priest and the realization of the existing situation, this church has suffered from lack of funds to carry through its work. However, recently a compromise has been effected between the priest and the congregation. A "banzai" was suggested as a possible source for funds and the priest has consented on the grounds that,

If you are giving something in return for people’s money, then I think it is all right for you to go ahead and do it.

It is interesting to speculate as to the future of this church. It, like many other small sects in Honolulu, has no headquarters in either Japan or the United States. It stands alone in Honolulu. Coupled with the dying interest of the Nisei and Japanese in any immigrant institution, the future indeed looks dim for this church.

A RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL CALENDAR FOR HAWAII

Harley R. Zeigler and Bernard Horman

The following calendar indicates how the religious and cultural patterns introduced into Hawaii by the different religious traditions and ethnic groups blend together to produce a pattern of cultural life whose richness can be found in few parts of the United States.

The complete absence of aboriginal Hawaiian festivals is noticeable. The Hawaiians once had a number of important festival periods. For example, the fish-fasting season was once opened with a festival. On the first day the fast was kept. The second day, every- one put down his not just once. The resulting catch was shared by everyone alike and distributed to all the people without charge. On the third day the professional fishermen began to fish. This festival was forgotten by different peoples who could not share it came into the islands.

A most important ancient Hawaiian occasion was the annual four months starting in October or November known as the makanahi, in which the people destined from war and engaged extensively in sports and in ceremonies in honor of the god Lono. The Hawaiians early turned almost completely to Christianity after the missionaries arrived early in the nineteenth century. Today their festivals are identical with the legal holidays of the nation, and the special days of the Christian faith.

The Hawaiian people also preserve two unique features of their early Christian heritage. The first is the Sunday School Hour or review. Once each quarter this takes the place of the church service in historic Kawaihai Church, the main Hawaiian Congregational church, often called the Westminster Abbey of Hawaii. On this Sunday everyone is expected to take some part by reciting a psalm, giving a prayer, or making a two-minute speech. It thus provides for self-expression, and demonstrates what has been learned. The Sunday School Hour is also observed in other Hawaiian churches as well as annually at the Aha Pa'au or conference of the Congregational Christian churches.

The second unique feature is an annual musical contest. A piece of the world’s great choral music is translated into Hawaiian. The church choirs in each island participate, and the winner is chosen through island contests held in April. The territorial contest comes in June at the annual Aha Pa'au. The judging is done exclusively on the basis of the contest piece, but while the judges are choosing the winner, each choir sings a number of its own choosing.

Midnight services are also held on Christmas Eve and New Year’s Eve at Kawaihai Church. In early times, the Hawaiians began their celebrazionef New Year’s with a great meal beginning at midnight on New Year's
January 6  Epiphany: Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Celebrated mainly by liturgical Christianity. Also called the "Twelfth-day" after Christmas, and "Twelfth-night." On Sunday only by chance.

January 31* Chinese New Year. Also Korean New Year. This most important Chinese festival begins the lunar year. It comes at the new moon in late January or early February. Also still in vogue in rural Japan. Much activity in Hawaii's Chinese temples for weeks before the New Year because worshippers are clearing their spiritual state of debt. Also much activity in the home. In recent years the Chinese community has organized elaborate Chinese New Year festivals at this season, with parades, "dragon dances," lanterns, etc., which carry wide appeal for tourists. In this way the festival is gradually being adopted by all of Hawaii.

January 30  Franklin D. Roosevelt's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 10* Race Relations Sunday. Many churches of America use this Sunday before Lincoln's birthday to foster world brotherhood.

February 11* Purim, the Feast of Esther. A joyous day in which the Jews read the book of Esther, have festive meals, exchange gifts with one another, and give atonement to the poor - in memory of their deliverance in Persia.

February 12  Lincoln's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 14  St. Valentine's Day. Celebrated in Hawaii as on the Mainland.

February 22  Washington's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 27* Ask Wednesday. The beginning of Lent, the annual forty-day period in the Christian church year leading to Good Friday and Easter, a period of special devotions and personal self-denial. The day before, Ash Wednesday marks the opening of the Lenten season. All Catholic churches and many Protestant churches observe Ash Wednesday by special services.

March 1  Korean Independence Day. This has been observed since 1919 more particularly by the older generation of Koreans as an affirmation of Korea's "declaration of independence" from Japan.

March 3  Hinamatetori or Japanese girls' day, in which dolls are featured. Share of Honolulu feature Oriental dolls in special window displays. Gaining increasing acceptance.

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In the wider community, the festival features exhibits of dolls.

**March 21**
C-higan Ceremony. A special Buddhist festival at the beginning of spring. During the three days before and the three days after this ceremony, Japanese Buddhists pay tribute to their ancestors. The dead have crossed the ocean of existence and have reached the other (bik) shore (gai), i.e., Nirvana.

**March 30**
Prince Kuhio Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii, established by the legislature a few years ago in memory of the Hawaiian prince who was for many years Hawaii's delegate to Congress and who sponsored the legislation which established the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

**April 4**
Tsai Qing. The day on which the Chinese clean the graves of their ancestors and engage in memorial services at the graves. This festival does not come on a given day of the Chinese lunar calendar, but rather about fifteen days after the beginning of spring, and so always comes on April 4 or 5. In Hawaii it is associated with a whole season of several weeks during which Chinese families clean graves and disperse the remains of their ancestors dead for five or more years, and prepare them for permanent burial.

**April 5**
Palm Sunday. The festival in Lent, commemorating Jesus' entry into Jerusalem at the beginning of the week in which he was crucified. Palm Sunday thus ushered in Holy Week.

**April 8**
Wenska Day or Hanamatsuri. The Buddhist celebration of Gautama's birthday. A large and very gay celebration is held by all Buddhist sects cooperatively in Kapiolani Park or Ala Moana Park, on the Sundays nearest to the day. On this day also images of the infant Buddha (Then- go-Shaka) are set up in the temples for worshippers to pour imperice-tea (su-tsu-cha) over with a ladle. This tea is then bought and taken home in some country areas to kill the worms that cause various diseases. Elsewhere it is a custom suspending parsley.

**April 10**
Peach or Passover. This begins a Jewish festival that lasts for eight days. On the first two nights, after religious services, the Passover meal, Seder, is observed in the Jewish home.

**April 11**
Good Friday, in commemoration of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

**April 12**
Easter Sunday, in commemoration of the Resurrection. This oldest and most important of Christian holy days comes on the first Sunday after the first full moon in spring. Churches of all denominations are crowded on this day.

**April 20**
Birthday of the reigning emperor of Japan. Before World War II this was a gala occasion for Hawaii's Japanese. While it has been greatly de-emphasized, it still carries some sentimental value for people of the immigrant generation.

**May 1**
May Day. Celebrated in Hawaii as Lei Day, with emphasis on school and community pageants around the Lei Queen. Exhibits of leis. Everyone wears a lei. Many of these features on University of Hawaii campus. Also food booths of the different cultural groups.

**May 5**
Tango-no-Saki or Japanese boys' day, also called Bu-buri-mo-Shiki, or Boy Festival. At this time the famous Japanese kites in the shape of carp lend a colorful touch to Japanese homes in Hawaii, particularly those celebrating the birth of a first son during the preceding year. Increasingly the custom of flying carp is being taken over by other than Japanese families.

**May 10**
Flowers de Mayo. Observed in the Philippines during the whole month of May, where the Catholic Church generally gives it a religious character. It was observed officially in Hawaii in 1940, but it has generally been observed only by families and individuals.

**May 11**
Mother's Day. Sunday, observed as on the mainland.

**May 23**
Ascension Day. This Thursday, forty days after Easter, commemorates Jesus' final departure from his disciples.

**May 27**
Chinese Dragon Boat Day, on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. A very important day in rural China, this festival is gradually losing its importance in Hawaii. The festival commemorates lost souls who died by drowning. Little rice cakes are thrown into the water. Dragon-boat regattas to the best of the Chinese drum make Dragon-boat races a regular feature in Chinese villages. In 1952, the fifth month is repeated, in order to keep the heart and antinominal years together. The second dragon-boat festival on June 3 will hardly be noticed.

**May 30**
Memorial Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

**May 30**
For the Jews this is Shavuoth or Pentecost, the end of a fifty-day period which started at the Passover, and is called the Omer. Shavuoth is also called the Feast of Weeks and particularly the Feast of Revelation. This holiday commemorates the beginning of the Torah (the #Festivals marked with an asterisk are "moveable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

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June 1st
The Christian Pentecost or Whitunday, fifty days after Easter, commemorating the occasion when the Holy Ghost appeared to the disciples of Jesus in tongues of fire, making it possible for them to begin their effective ministry. In a sense it is the birthday of the Christian Church. At this time some of the Portuguese Catholics have special carnivals and processions, the biggest one culminating in a three-day Feast of the Holy Ghost, a week after Pentecost, June 5, 7 and 8 in the grounds of a chapel on Pwangan Drive. In the morning of Trinity Sunday there is a special mass with procession at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament in Pasco. Of the several festival periods in the Catholic calendar, this is the one with the greatest amount of Portuguese Old-World character.

June 11
Kamahana Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. This honors the Kamahana dynasty and especially its founder, Ka-mehameha I, who united the Hawaiian islands politically. Kamahana Day and Kilo Day are the only Hawaiian holidays. No true folk festivals survive. Parade, canoe races, hula.

July 4
Independence Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii, celebrated as elsewhere in the United States. The Philippines acquired their independence on July 4, 1946, and thus this day now has the same significance for Filipinos as for Americans.

July 13-16
O-Bon Festival, sometimes also called Obon-o. An important Buddhist period in honor of the dead. The spirits of the recently dead are said to return to their families. Japanese Buddhist temples all over Hawaii in turn put on the famous and very picturesque Obon dances, in which mainly teen-agers and young adults participate by dancing to a large circle around a central platform where an orchestra and singers provide Japanese folk-dance tunes. These dances occur all night over a period of weeks and the temple grounds assume a carnival-like atmosphere. Now other than Japanese youth people may be seen participating. They simply don kimono and imitate the steps and handclippings of the other participants. Japanese homes also celebrate the return of their loved ones, recently dead. After a period of three days some families give them a send-off back to the realm of the spirits by letting little boats with lanterns sail out to sea. In China this festival is known as the

July 15th
Feast of the Hungry Ghosts festival and is celebrated beginning the fifteenth day of the seventh month, about a month and a half after, July 15, the fifteenth day of the seventh month according to our calendar.

August 15
Korean Day of Liberation. Follows theewishing Man. who formerly lived in Hawaii, celebrate the founding of the Korean Republican government on this day.

August 24th
Seventh Night of the Seventh Moon. A highly romantic Chinese festival which some Japanese celebrate on our July 7 and call Tanabata. The occasion commemorates two stars of the heavens, the Weaver-Maid and the Cow-herd, one on each side of the Milky Way. On this night only these lovers allowed to meet, providing it does not rain. The festival appeals particularly to maidens, who prepare special food, make offerings to the Weaver-Maid, and bring in water of special purity. Sometimes a girl may be fortunate enough to dream of the man she will later marry.

September 20th
Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, which lasts two days and is followed by ten days of repentance. It is preceded by a week of self-criticism and prayer.

September 23
O-Higan Ceremony. A Japanese Buddhist fall festival, corresponding to the one at the beginning of spring.

September 29th
Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement. This is the high point of the Jewish holidays. Devout Jews will not leave the synagogue during the entire twenty-four hours. A strictly kept fast day.

October 2nd
The Chinese Moon Festival, coming on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month and thus associated with the harvest. A special occasion in the home and the temple, the family is said to live for the whole day filled with rich moon-sausas. Such cakes can be purchased from Chinese food shops in Chinatown.

October 4th
Balush, Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. Commemorates the forty-year sojourn in tents in the wilderness during which they were cared for by divine providence. Four plants are brought to the synagogue: the palm leaf, the citrus fruit, myrtle, willow twigs. The families build booths for the meals of the holiday.

October 5th
World-Wide Communion Sunday, a special occasion accepted by almost all Protestant churches.

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October 10 Chinese Republic Day, the most important national holiday in China until the overthrow of the Republic by the Communists. Because it comes in the tenth month of our calendar it is often referred to as Double ten Day. Still an important occasion for Hawaii's Chinese of the older generation.

October 13* This is Aloha Week, featuring Hawaiian pageantry and a lantern parade. Everyone wears an aloha shirt.

October 31* Reformation Sunday. This Sunday nearest to October 31, the day commemorating Luther's Reformation, is used by many Protestant churches to celebrate the Protestant Reformation.

October 31 Halloween. Celebrated by children in Hawaii as elsewhere. This new secularised celebration is associated with All Saints' Day, November 1, an important day in the Catholic Church.

November 1 Armistice Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

November 21* Thanksgiving Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. Observed by all groups in Hawaii in the traditional American manner.

November 30 First Sunday in Advent. Beginning of the traditional Christian year and of the Christmas season.

November 30 Filipino National Heroes Day. This is a legal holiday in the Philippines. In Hawaii it is observed in some places by speeches and banquets.

December 8 Buddha Day. The day of Buddha's enlightenment. Also called Jon-e. Celebrates the day of Gautama's enlightenment under the Bo or Peepal tree.

December 13 Channukah. The Jewish Feast of Lights. A day commemorating the liberation of the Jews under the Maccabees. Candles are lighted and gifts are exchanged.

December 14* Universal Bible Sunday. Emphasized by some Protestant denominations.

December 22 Chinese Winter Solstice Day, marking the shortest day of the year. Temple worship.

December 24 Christmas Eve.


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December 30 Rizal Day. This is the most universal of Filipino festivals. It is observed in the Filipino churches on the nearest Sunday. There are public gatherings with speeches. Rizal was a martyr to the cause of Philippine Independence from Spain.

December 31 New Year's Eve. New Year's eve is unique in Hawaii because it is observed with fireworks as well as the traditional watch night parties. A midnight service is held at Kawaiahao Church and many others. The Korean people gather in family and friendly circles and eat special foods such as "Man doon." On this night in Japan, no one is supposed to go to bed.