SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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and the
SOCIOMETRY CLUB
University of Hawaii

RACE RELATIONS AND ACCULTURATION

Integration in Hawaii's Schools ........................................... Bernhard L. Hormann 5
Racial Bloc Voting in Hawaii ............................................. Andrew W. Lind 16
Ethnic Factors in Oahu's 1954 General Election .................... John M. Digman 20
Changes in the Social Setting of the Hawaiian Oral Tradition ................................. Rebelle Kawena Kinney 25
Some Characterization of American and Japanese Culture ........... M. Hilo and Emma K. Himeno 34
Some Patterns of Mate Selection Among Naichi and Okinawans on Oahu ......................... George K. Yamamoto 42
The Filipino Wedding: A Comparison of the Past and Present ............... Caridad Martin 50
The Transition from Japanese Hospital to Kukui Hospital ............... Nancy M. Horiwaka 54
One Navy Wife in Hawaii .................................................. Evie K. Nishio 56
Race Relations in the U. S. Army .......................................... Chris M. Kiniura 64
New Hawaiiana—Books and Reports ..................................... Bernhard L. Hormann 67

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PREFACE

The year 1952 marks the 50th Anniversary of the University of Hawaii and also the coming of age of Social Process in Hawaii, with the 21st annual appearance of this joint student-faculty publication. Since 1897 the University has become one of the key institutions of higher education within the Pacific area and it has made research on the Pacific its special concern. We, the staff of Social Process, are proud to be a part of this institution, and we trust that the present issue may prove to be a worthy contribution to the University’s significant research program in the field of human relations.

The theme of race relations has been emphasised in earlier issues of Social Process, as it has also in the research program of the University. It many respects Hawaii affords an ideal laboratory for the study of race relations, and it is only natural that this theme should figure prominently in the writing and thinking of students at this university. Volume 21 of this series, already out of print, was devoted entirely to the subject of Race Relations in Hawaii, and it seemed appropriate that Volume 21 should also be focused upon some variant of this theme.

Hawaii has welcomed immigrants from all parts of the world, and together they have contributed to a new way of life—the Hawaiian variant of the American way of life. Each immigrant group, although thoroughly steeped in the cultural values and traditions of the homeland, has following its arrival in Hawaii, gradually become enmeshed in part of its culture in the process of becoming adjusted to the new social environment. Thus, the problem encountered by all of the many ethnic stocks in Hawaii has been that of retaining enough of their own heritage of values and traditions to give order and continuity to their lives, while at the same time fitting in with the expectations of the new American community of which they are becoming a part. It is to this dual problem of the Hawaiian community—one of the slow yielding of the traditional values and the gradual adjustment to the new of “Acculturation and Race Relations”—that this issue of Social Process is devoted.

We believe that the articles of this issue afford a broad and representative cross-section of the problems involved in this dual process. They reflect the varied experience of sociology students from four of the major ethnic groups in Hawaii, as well as the more technical and scholarly analyses of the social processes by members of the faculty.

The initial article is by Professor Bernhard Horman and was prepared for the Atlanta, Georgia meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, where it was presented on April 12, 1957 as one of a panel dealing with “A Comparative View of Racial Segregation and Desegregation in the Schools.” In this paper, Professor Horman seeks to account for the fact that today neither Hawaii’s public nor private schools, with possibly one exception, are racially segregative.

Andrew W. Lind, associate professor of sociology, takes up the familiar theme of racial bloc voting in Hawaii. Also concerned with the area of bloc voting is the presentation of a study by John J. Dignam of the Psychology Department, giving an analysis of the role that ethnic factors played in Oahu’s 1954 general election.

Rubellite Kaneoa Kinney, graduate student in English, shows through specific incidents, the acculturation of the Hawaiian people, taking into account primarily the changes in the field of Hawaiian folklore.

3
INTEGRATION IN HAWAII’S SCHOOLS*
Bernard L. Hermaan

In evaluating the degree of integration in racially mixed communities throughout the world, most informed observers would place Hawaii pretty much at the integration end of a continuum leading to segregation at the other end. In the present paper the purpose is to describe and explain the integration in Hawaii’s schools so that the Hawaiian situation can then be compared with others where communities face the problem of providing education for children of racially heterogeneous populations.

Hawaii, with its half million people, is truly one of the most mixed communities in the world. Only a hundred and eighty years ago the islands, about twice as big as Puerto Rico, were occupied by two and three hundred thousand indentured neolithic plantation laborers, whose contact even with their ancestral homeland in Tahiti had long been broken. The discovery by Captain Cook in 1779 brought the inevitable forces of civilization, good and bad. The population declined, the survivors mixed with the newcomers and, by virtue of an excellent public health program and continued marriages, the descendant people are now the most rapidly increasing part of the population. Beginning in 1820 New England missionaries left their mark Christianizing these folk people and rapidly transforming them from a preliterate to a literate society. It was also largely, although at first slowly, Yankee initiative which laid the groundwork for a new economy based on trade and sugar and pineapple plantations, and this in turn led to the recruiting of peasants from all over the world and their importation as plantation laborers, primarily in the years from 1879 to 1912. Often the families came too or were later brought in. The last labor importation involved over 5,000 Filipinos in 1944. The major movements of population in recent decades, however, have been to and from the U.S. mainland, mainly of whites, called Mainers in Hawaii, but also of Orientals and Hawaiians, or the racial complex of Hawaii’s population is thus always fluid, the present proportions can be roughly summarized as follows: A large fifth of the population is of pure Caucasian descent; a smaller but rapidly increasing fifth has varying proportions of native Hawaiian ancestry; almost two-thirds are of Japanese origin, and the remaining fifth consists of Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Americans, Filipinos, and Samoans, pretty much in that numerical order. By common usage these are the “races” of Hawaii.

Hawaii’s public school system differs from Mainland systems in this important respect. It is under one central administration consisting of a superintendent of public instruction, appointed by the governor, and his staff, and of a board of commissioners, representing the public, and also appointed by the governor. There are no local school districts and local school boards. Financial support comes from appropriations made by the elected legislature of the Territory of Hawaii. This centralized organization is derived from the centralized school system developed under the Hawaiian monarchy during the last century. This means that teachers throughout the Islands and at both elementary and secondary levels have to meet the same educational standards and are paid the same salary scale. The centralized administration further makes for similarities in the attendance requirements, educational standards, and curriculum to which pupils throughout the Territory are subjected.

*See notes at end.
Compulsory school attendance antedates annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898, and for many years has kept children in school until their sixteenth birthday. Even before Annexation the public schools were already using English rather than Hawaiian as the required medium of instruction.

The centralized administration grew out of the missionary aim, determined upon at their first arrival in 1820, of making a whole nation literate. This led to their reducing the native language to writing and to their early establishment of common schools and a higher--or "select"--schools early. Already, one decade after their arrival over half the adults were required to be literate. Catholic missionary priests also set up such common schools. By the 1850's these common schools had evolved into a governmental-supported school system.

The "select" schools had more distinctly vocational aims and were the direct inspiration of General Armstrong, one of Hawaii's missionaries. In founding Hampson Institute, from which Booker T. Washington in turn got the idea for Tuskegee. The select schools also trained teachers and potential wives for these teachers.

The children of the missionaries, the mixed children of white fathers, and the children of the Hawaiian chiefs, in status quite distinct from the commoners, had special educational needs which led to the establishment under private auspices in the 1830's and 1840's of schools for these children. Punahou School, will be discussed below. The other early private schools later became public schools, accepting white children, as well as mixed and aristocratic Hawaiians, and taught in English, rather than Hawaiian. During the last decades of the nineteenth century the common schools gradually changed over to English in response to the request from Hawaiians who wanted their children to learn English. The American-type public high school was established in Honolulu in the nineties, drawing at first mainly white children.

As children of the foreign labor immigrants grew to school age, from the eighties on, they entered the public schools, which by this time these children became numerically important, had become English schools. This new group, largely of Oriental children, rapidly became the dominant element in the public schools. In 1890 somewhat less than half the children in public schools were Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos. By 1920 they constituted 80 per cent of the enrollment.

These second-generation children had serious difficulties with the English language and pressure from worried parents, largely white, led to the so-called 'English standard' schools, begun in the middle 1920's as part of the public school system. Admissions to these required an oral English test. These schools were first at the elementary level and then extended to the secondary level. During the three decades of their existence only nine were organized throughout the islands. While non-white children were not excluded, the schools had a predominance of white children until the outbreak of the war, when the number of whites went down because of evacuation to the U.S. mainland. Their places were rapidly filled by Hawaiian and Oriental children. In 1947, when 8 per cent of all public school children were in these standard schools, the Orientals constituted 41 percent, the Caucasians 59 per cent. The non-white children were in the standard English school enrollment. About this time a political issue over the abolition of this system, on grounds that it was "undemocratic" and that the problem of the linguistic lag was being solved in other ways developed and caused the Legislature to call for elimination on a year-by-year basis. In four years, standard schools will be a thing of the past.

While at the height of the "English standard" system non-white children who had been excluded sometimes fell they had been discriminated against on a racial rather than a linguistic basis, there is none but the most subjective evidence to indicate that this ever occurred. Certainly it was never in any sense policy. The standard school enrollment statistics for 1947 just cited as well as observation of the present enrollment at the remaining standard high school--official racial statistics no longer being released--also any charge of racial discrimination.

The total enrollment statistics by race for the public school system were last released in 1947. In percentage the 64,923 children were divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian, pure and mixed</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we see clearly the presence of all races in Hawaii's integrated public schools, although certain races, particularly the Caucasians, are underrepresented.

Integration applies also to the people who are professionally connected with the public schools. For instance, in over a third of the 203 public schools of the Territory Oriental principals are in charge. As the remaining English standard high school a quarter of the faculty of around seventy teachers are not white, but Japanese, Chinese or Hawaiian. This is in great contrast to the nineteen-twenties when I had my first teaching experience in the public school system, and the one public high school in Honolulu had no Oriental teachers. The first Japanese principal, I remember, was appointed in the thirties.

I have tried in my historical sketch to show how these non-aggregated schools developed. For over a century universal education has been the aim, available to the masses. Thus we can say categorically that racial segregation has never been the practice of the public schools in Hawaii. To explain this fact more clearly, I shall now turn to the private schools, for they played a distinct part in the process.

In 1947 the 33,201 private school children showed a somewhat different racial distribution from that in the public schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian, pure and mixed</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10.8</td>
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<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What stands out is the over-representation of Caucasians, Hawaiians, and Chinese.
Earlier I made brief mention of private schools as "select" schools established for special groups of children during the last century. Punahou School was established in 1841 for the children of missionaries who otherwise would have been sent to the U.S. East, as the first ones were sent. The parents, eager to keep their children close and to prevent their contamination with the Hawaiian language spoken by Hawaiian playmates, welcomed a board schooling for their children. Punahou soon accepted non-missionary "white" children and Hawaiian and mixed children who could meet the standards. Later in the century the school met the threat of an influx of Chinese children, with inadequate English speech, by an informal quota of 10 per cent for Orientals, which was maintained into the 1940's but has now been abolished. Punahou, with an enrollment of over two thousand, now admits anyone who meets the academic requirements, with preference to children of alumni. Because of the long-continued quota, the enrollment is still predominantly Chinese. Punahou School, more than any other school has become the symbol in the community of the "Hawaiian" school, and the sporadic object of anti-white feeling. However, in fact, it is gradually losing this characteristic. Its highly regarded football team has many non-white players. Its students a few years ago elected a Japanese boy as president of the student body. Oriental teachers are being added to the faculty. No longer so much the "White" school, Punahou strives to be the school with the highest "academic standards."

If Punahou has been the "white" school, Kamehameha is the "Hawaiian" school. Established in 1837 by the will of the last surviving royal descendant of the great King Kamehameha I, this school is the sole beneficiary of her estate, owing 9 per cent of the lands of the Islands, and admits only children with an eighth or larger proportion of native Hawaiian ancestry. Public or private, it is the only school to which the term "racially segregated" might appropriately be applied. Yet its students, numbering 1500, have all degrees of mixture, some looking Hawaiian, some Oriental, some white, some socially mixed, and in this sense the campus is more inter-racial than racial. What criteria there exist in the wider community of this very fine institution with its increasingly high standards, goes out of the "aggregation," which, the critics claim, protects the students from the multi-racial community in whose grasp is less and less characteristic of every phase of life. The defenders, of course, argue that Kamehameha has helped to make the Hawaii Hawaiians in their painful and difficult transition to urban civilization.

Other private schools are mainly under religious auspices: Catholic, Congregational, Episcopal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Baptist, Lutheran, Buddhist, Mormon. Some have a colorful history which takes them back into the last century. Others are quite recent. The Catholic parochial schools, established in the last quarter century, have experienced marked growth, accounted for by the great strength of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims almost 40 per cent of the total population. Some of these schools, established originally for special groups of children, for instance, boys with commercial view, are no longer selective, and have become denominational or non-denominational, or completely intersacial.

That the Chinese are over-represented in the private schools is due in their being too close to the 10 per cent ratio in some respects most assimilated. Chinese have sought private school instruction at Punahou or elsewhere over a longer period of time and in larger proportions than the other Oriental groups up to now.

The predominating part that private schools have played in the past development of the educational system of Hawaii may be evaluated in the following way. These schools have in general fulfilled the function of allowing the public schools to concentrate on two tremendous tasks. First was the task of transforming a preliterate Stone-Age folk people—comparably with the Sinti—to either literate people capable of taking their part in the modern American way of life the children of large numbers of "colored" Asian and white European immigrants of peasant background and strange culture, many almost or completely illiterate, or, if literate, being so in a style of writing utterly foreign to our own, very many of Buddhist and native folk beliefs. The private schools have made possible the successful accomplishment of these civilizing tasks by relieving the public schools of the pressure to establish special schools for the white and other children who had special educational needs. Even the private afternoon language schools of the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans eased the work of the public schools in this sense. Immigrant parents felt reassured that through the language schools their children were being trained in important Old World values, and this helped them accept, or at least not interfere with, the program of the public schools for their children.

Today, it is because the public schools have accomplished so well their assimilative tasks with the Hawaiians and the non-white immigrants that racial integration is being accepted as natural and is increasing in both public and private schools. While parents of moderate means now accept the public schools more freely than ever before and private schools are less and less identifiable by race.

How well and how rapidly these two tasks were accomplished is easily demonstrated. By 1930, adult Hawaiians and Port Hawaiians were less than 2 per cent illiterate. A continuous program of administering standard tests indicates that Hawaii's children are in a steady upward trend and are now approximating U.S. standards. For instance, sixth graders in all public schools in September, 1956 scored 3.9 on the California Achievement Test. In a similar achievement test given in 1949 the total score for sixth graders had been 5.4. Survey indicates that retardation in language, which was formerly a serious problem is now a relatively minor problem. Hawaii's public school children who have transferred to Mainland schools are in a majority and are rapidly assimilated, and frequently challenged by the local schools. A small sample of Navy wives interviewed by one of us recently, with minor exceptions, claimed satisfaction with Hawaii's schools. According to the 1950 U.S. census a higher proportion of the population between 14 and 17 years of age is in school in Hawaii than on the Mainland. The respective percentages are 82.1 and 75.2. A large proportion of these graduates continue their schooling, just over half of the 8,658 private and public high school graduates of 1956, according to the census report.

In 1930 the median school year completed by the population over 25 years of age was 8.7 for Hawaii and 9.3 for the U.S.

We have accumulated many accounts of the rapid rise of poor immigrant families. Take the account of a picture bride who came from Okinawa in 1922, did plantation field work, supplemented the meager family income with a small handcart business for the tourist trade and sewing for others, and who has raised a family of nine girls and one boy. The daughter who wrote the account is now teaching in Michigan. Several of the other children will probably get higher education. The mother took adult
work in English and citizenship in public night schools and has become a naturalized American citizen.

The increasing interracial character of both public and private schools is a strong indication of the lack of effective demand for racially segregated education. Yet the demand for private education continues. Enrollment is considerably greater than on the mainland, at present 15 per cent as against an average of 11 per cent on the U.S. mainland, and this deserves a comment. It has been occasioned largely by the expansion of religious schools mentioned earlier. In a community with such a large non-Christian population it is understandable that competition among the schools should be keen. However, the response of local people of other than white background to private education is not primarily and initially a religious response, except transfer as Catholic parents now have greater opportunity to send their children to parochial schools than a few decades ago. The response, particularly of Oriental parents, is rather one which reflects a striving for the best in education, for Europe from earlier hardships, for improved status. It reflects marked upward mobility.

To document this it may be pertinent to quote from a few student papers written in the fall of 1899. A Chinese girl, who moved from the city to a plantation when she was in the first grade writes:

A few of the ambitious Japanese laborers tried to span the gap between their station and the more prosperous families by sending their offspring to mingle with the children of the more prominent families in an exclusive kindergarten far beyond their means.

A Japanese girl writes:

By the time my sister was five years old and ready for school, my mother and father had made up their minds that since nothing was more important than education, they would send her to the best school possible, even if they had to dip into savings. After conferences with her Portugueseneighbor and after visiting various schools, mother and father decided on a private Catholic school. When mother and father found out that Catholic students were given first priority in being accepted, they decided that nothing must stand in the way of a good education. Hence they decided to send their daughter to the school.

As an Oriental mother, whose two girls were being sent to Punahou at a financial sacrifice said it to a white mother whose children were attending public school, "We would send our children to public school too, if they were Catholic."

What we see then is a pervasive concern throughout Hawaii with the quality of education for children and with the social status they may attain through education.

Racial integration is a fact, and merely reflects and reinforces integration in the community at large. In political organizations of all sorts, highly active PTA's, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanian Clubs,

in church work, in neighborhoods—indeed all phases of life, segregation is giving way to integration. Three of last term's intermarriages and over the twenty years of this nineteen thirties and forties almost a third (33.3 per cent) of almost two thousand children born were mixed.

Nevertheless, there are racial taboos and resistances to the processes of integration in the schools and the community at large and I would be remiss if I did not mention them.

Tours like Tokyo high school and Tokyo university are occasionally used in non-Japanese circles is a recognition of the high properties of Japanese students in those schools. A few "flirt "students continue their spurious isolation. Charges of racial blue paint are occasionally made. Japanese and Chinese parents sometimes take their children out of public schools because of a high proportion of Hawaiian or Portuguese children, whose negative affect on the academic and social behavior of their own children they fear. One occasionally hears the term "jive Rasta" used with deep resentment by Hawaiians and Orientals. Fights involving white servicemen and local non-white boys have occurred through the years with blatant ethnic animosity sometimes to one, sometimes to the other. Negroes have felt discrimination from white and non-white elements in the community.

It is of course in the more intimate spheres of life that in each racial group there are fears of the sort which bother people in the South. In the files of the Hawaiian Adams Social Research Laboratory are many student papers consisting over a period of the last twenty-five years dealing with experiences in this more intimate realm. I have just read almost two hundred new papers by teachers and students. All kinds of experiences, behavior, and feelings are reported. Some studies bear upon various romantic Generalization is difficult. I should like to quote a few papers to indicate the range of reaction in this sphere of personal contacts. The first set deals with the school and classroom situation. The race and sex of the student are given at the beginning of each quotation.

Chinese girl: The school is another factor that affected my choice of friends. I have attended co-ed public schools from kindergarten through high school, and my classmates were composed of children of various races. Studying, playing, and working with them throughout the years, I have become very well acquainted with many of them. Some of my very good friends were my classmates since my intermediate school days. (317)

Japanese girl: I saw, too, how my English friends became victims of the stereotypes. The Japanese children, the Portuguese children, the Hawaiian children would "go up on them" and tease them by such names as "Oh, you stink cheese," on the worse occasions, "You dog, slant eye, monkey," "You say "Rasta,"" "You rub, always eating cornets." A few of the more "billy" boys would yell, "You damn dirty Japanese, did you take a bath on Saturday?" This refers to the stereotypes which many non-white have of whites that they don't bother their daily existence and consequently have a characteristic body odor. . .

During my sophomore year in high school, I was especially aware of race favoritism. I had heard year after year that boys who did not like Japanese students. From the first day in our classroom, I noticed her attitudes toward the
I have the account of a Chinese-Hawaiian family with six girls and one boy. Five of the girls are married, respectively to a Chinese, a Japanese-Hawaiian, a Chinese-Hawaiian, a Japanese, and a Filipino husband, each with the approval of the parents. There are frequent occasions when the whole family happily gather at the parental home. In this family the Oriental influence is seen in the emphasis on the family's integrity and good name. The children were encouraged in education and were kept under control by the formula, "You mustn't bring the family into bad repute. What will people say?" As the children started earning they contributed to the family income. The Hawaiian influence is seen in the fact that both parents speak Hawaiian and have taught a little of the language to the children, and in the relaxed and warm atmosphere within the family. The influence of the West is seen in their religion—they are Catholics—and in their acceptance of the American way of life. (2153)

A Chinese-Hawaiian-Japanese girl speaks of the pride with which she told people of her plural racial heritage before she abandoned her heritage; as she spoke she understood that it is impossible to control the marrying trends of their children. I have also seen the result of mixed marriages. I shall tell you some stories of my own ancestry. Since my parents aren't too particular, I tend to be conservative instead of rebellious. (2149)
These mixed children are coming to be known as "cosmopolitans." At the annual University of Hawaii beauty contest, which chooses several queens, one for each of the major races of Hawaii, the cosmopolitan group has for years been one of the component "races." It is interesting to note that the stereotype about these people, even accepted by people of pure ancestry who are not contemplating out-marriage, is that they are physically attractive.

What would happen if Hawaii faced the problem of a large number of Negro families to absorb cannot be known. As has been mentioned earlier, small numbers have entered the Hawaiian scene and these have over the years been absorbed. Negroes have been elected to office and attained other prominent positions. However, most people in Hawaii are so inexpressively with a Negro population that even though they pay lip-service to the Hawaiian system of race relations, they are still somewhat taken aback when confronted with still another color of the human spectrum. I am sure there would be disturbed Oriental, Hawaiian, and white parents. How disturbed would probably depend on such factors as size of the group, role in the economy, residential concentration or dispersion. The Negroes would have the advantage which the Hawaiians and Asians and European immigrants did not have, of an already acquired common English language and American way of life.

It is of course futile to pursue the question. I ask it merely to point to the importance of understanding the sociological process at work in Hawaii. Under the impact of dynamic forces derived primarily from America, races seem to be eroding. I see Hawaii as unique primarily in the circumscribed nature and small size of the community and in the particular combination of population elements. Perhaps in a small place primary contacts develop more easily. Perhaps there is something special about the outlook on life of the Hawaiians and the Orientals. These are questions for further research. But in other respects Hawaii has compressed into it characteristics typical of modern mass society as seen in our nation and throughout the world. What has been happening so naturally in small Hawaii, is it perhaps happening, more slowly, more painfully, in the nation and the world at large?

Explanatory Note
This paper was one of a panel of three read at April, 1957, meetings of the Southern Sociological Society on Integration and Segregation in the schools: South Africa — U. S. South — Hawaii.

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On school enrollment and other educational data, see regular reports of Department of Public Instruction: Biennial Report, School Directory. The Department also supplied data to the writer. See also Community Survey of Education in Hawaii, Part I, "Conclusions and Recommendations," March, 1941.


The Romano Adams Social Research Laboratory files were used. The quotations from documents in the confidential file have their code numbers. The account of her Okinawan mother was written by Edna Oshiro and published under the title "The Americanization of My Mother," in Social Process in Hawaii, vol. XVIII (1944), pp. 39 ff. The newspaper clipping file yields information about the Samoan immigration, about fights between local boys and servicemen.

The writer also used the telephone to check on information and got the most recent facts from public and private schools.
RAJCAL BLOC VOTING IN HAWAI*  
Andrew W. Lind  

Throughout the fifty-seven years of its territorial status, Hawaii has been subject to the unceasing charge of racial bloc voting. The presence of large numbers of persons of Oriental ancestry in the population of the islands has led untrained observers to assume that mere differences in physical appearance and persisting cultural traditions must prevent the individual from normal participation in the political life of the community. The fact that European immigrant groups in the industrial centers of Continental United States have been manipulated as political units by party bosses has led to the highly questionable conclusion that similar results must follow in Hawaii.

Even the elementary facts regarding the ethnic character of Hawaii’s population are frequently misinterpreted by the uninformed as yielding dangerous political consequences. Because the population of Oriental ancestry has constituted somewhat more than half of the persons resident in Hawaii throughout the period since annexation, reaching a peak of 44 per cent in 1920, and declining to 27 per cent in 1950, it has commonly been supposed that they must have wielded a corresponding degree of political influence. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. By virtue of federal legislation which excluded from citizenship the great bulk of the immigrants from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines until World War II or after, their proportion of the adult citizenry in Hawaii declined to be much less than the total population figures might imply. As recently as 1930, when the combined population of Oriental ancestry made up nearly two thirds of the entire population of the Territory, they constituted only 28 per cent of the total adult citizenry. By 1950 a very much better balance between the number of adult citizens of Oriental ancestry and their proportion of the total population had been established, largely through the naturalization of the Island born citizens and the gradual decline of the foreign born aliens. At the mid-century point, persons of Oriental ancestry made up 52.3 per cent of all the adult citizens of the Islands as compared to 37.0 per cent of the total population.

Any Islander would, however, immediately recognize the basic error in assuming that any type of unity exists between persons simply because they or their ancestors had once lived in the Orient. Certainly the differences in racial subtleties and social practices of the peoples of the four countries of the Orient are as vast as are the differences in their in their personal life and political behavior in Hawaii as any common cultural values which they alone might possess. No one at all familiar with the Island scene would ever contend that the combined citizenry of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry has in the past constituted any sort of a solid bloc in Hawaii or that there is any likelihood of it doing so in the future.

What is more commonly feared, particularly by those not too well informed as to the inner working of Island politics, is that some one or Oriental immigrant groups might function as a single voting bloc and might thus control elections or determine the balance of political power. This concern actually resolves itself at the present time into a fear or distrust of the citizenry of Japanese ancestry since they are the only group of sufficient size to constitute any potential political threat in this regard. In 1930, which is the most recent date for which accurate data are available, persons of Japanese ancestry made up 46.2 percent of the adult citizenry of the Islands, persons of Chinese ancestry, 8.6 per cent, and persons of Filipino ancestry, 5.0 per cent. The further fact that these ethnic groups are not evenly distributed over the Islands appears to give additional weight to this argument. For example, on the two Islands of Hawaii and Kauai, from which separate county and territorial officials are elected, voters of Japanese ancestry may constitute as many as half of the total number of voters and would thus be situated, if they all agreed, to elect their own candidates. Presumably also, the Chinese or even the Filipinos, if they made up a solid bloc, subject to rigorous control, might decide the outcome of an election by the proper placement of their support.

The possibility of the democratic processes being subverted in one way or another is not a matter of public concern. It is obvious to all that the political processes should not be subject to the operations of such personal influence. The national government, the state government, and the local government are in a position to correct any abuses which may be exposed. The key is whether or not the public will question the action and the underlying reasons of the parties which have become involved in the political processes of the Islands.

The general temper of Island life is such as to invite serious public indignation toward any one who sought to influence the public on the basis of his racial ancestry. Not only would his opponents of other ancestry immediately seize upon such a serious issue but, members of his own ethnic group in the combatting party would strongly oppose any such actions. It is safe to say that there is no natural disposition toward racial bloc voting which any candidate might be disposed to exploit, it clearly stems from the familiar American practice of “choosing the familiar when in doubt.”

Hawaiian elections, like those of continental United States, are frequently devices for re-distributing minor offices and jobs, and public opinion fails to focus upon any special candidates. Our American political system requires the voter to pass upon the technical qualifications of individuals, many of whom he has never seen, much less known. Under these circumstances

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* A statement prepared for the Hawaii Statehood Commission.

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what is more natural than to cast one’s ballot for the names which sound most familiar? As between names printed on the ballot, all unfamiliar to the voter, in Hawaii the Haole (North European or American) may be expected to vote for Smith, the Chinese for Sun, the Japanese for Sato, . . . the Portuguese for Silva, and (the Filipinos for Santiagos.) Election tellers observe that ballots involving the selection of several candidates are frequently checked for only one or two, and it is commonly assumed that the failure to vote for all the possible candidates is evidence of bloc voting. Lack of information is more often the cause.

That the political neophyte profits by this weakness is unquestioned. Many an inexperienced citizen, ambitious for a political career, would scarcely dare to run for office without the virtual assurance of this minimum support of friends and acquaintances in his own racial community . . . . One discovers, therefore, that in the case of political novices, there is a significant correlation between the vote received by the candidate and the number of voters of his own racial ancestry. When, however, a candidate emerges from the common mass of politicians running for office, and becomes popularly identified with important civic movements, he is compelled to make his appeal for votes on a broad, community-wide, inter racial basis, and by so doing, to alienate a part of the community which first helped to launch his political career. The experienced politician will confess that his most bitter opposition frequently comes from his own racial community. 2

The official practice prior to 1946 of recording data on the racial ancestry of all voters in the Territory made it possible to conduct certain studies on the correlation between the vote received by candidates of various ancestries and the number of votes of the corresponding ancestries. Repeated investigations extending over a ten year period (1928-1939) revealed two clearly marked tendencies— one involving a rather high positive correlation between the number of voters of a particular ancestry and the number of votes received by candidates of that ancestry, and the other involving a very low or negative correlation between these two sets of variables. In other words, there was clear evidence that the younger, less experienced, and relatively colorless candidates, through the circumstance of familiarity mentioned earlier, exerted considerable political strength from voters of their own ancestry. It was equally evident, however, that the older, more experienced, and politically stronger candidates had incurred the active opposition of important elements in their own ancestral group, sometimes in the point of losing virtually all support from that source. These contrasting trends applied to candidates of all ancestries—Hawaiian, Port Hawaiian, Portuguese, Other Caucasian, Chinese, and Japanese. The extent of racial bloc voting, in the sense of all the members of a particular racial group voting exclusively for members of their own group irrespective of personal merit, was more difficult to identify or measure. Even the most casual observation of the Hawaiian political scene would indicate, however, that ethnic groups do not constitute political units.

None of the racial groups belong exclusively to one political party. The candidates for political office who are of Japanese ancestry, for example, appear on the ballots of both Republican and Democratic Parties, and the same is true of the candidates of all other ancestries. There is doubtless a somewhat larger number of persons of Japanese ancestry enrolled as Democrats than as Republicans, just as the reverse is probably true of the Haoles, but it would be quite inaccurate to characterize the population of Japanese ancestry as Democrats or the Haoles as Republicans. Persons of Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Puerto Rican, and pure Hawaiian ancestry have been repeatedly elected to office including some of the most important positions in the Territory, although no one of these groups represents as much as ten per cent of the voting strength of the Territory.

As a means of testing more accurately the possible extent of bloc voting in Hawaii, social scientists at the University instituted in 1939 a series of periodic investigations based upon the actual ballots in representative precincts of the Island of Oahu. Student observers were stationed at the polling booths as the votes were tallied, to record the precise manner in which the ballots had been marked. Included in the sampling were precincts known to have a heavy concentration of the major racial groups. Without attempting to summarize the tabulations of all seven studies, the following excerpt from the one conducted in 1949 will give the general tone and configuration of the result.

It was found that only 2.24 per cent of 12,591 ballots in the sample counted were cast for candidates of any one of the three groups—Hawaiian, Japanese, and Other—and that might be considered as evidence of bloc voting. . . . For all practical purposes, this indicates racial bloc voting, if it did exist at all at the Primary Election, was insignificant.

Other studies have revealed slightly less or slightly more of what we have chosen to define as racial bloc voting but it should be apparent that even this minimal amount may not represent a clear case of "casting one's vote irrespective of the relative merits of the candidates and solely because of the candidate's race." For practical purposes, therefore, it may be concluded that racial bloc voting in the Mainland sense, of the rigorous control over an entire block of voters of a common race, does not occur in Hawaii, and even in the more restricted sense of voting exclusively for members of one's own ethnic group, it is no doubt as to be inconsequential.

2 Ibid.
ETHNIC FACTORS IN OAHU'S 1954 GENERAL ELECTION

Ed K. Oughan

Hawaii's general election of 1954 provided students of politics with many interesting surprises. For the first time in the history of the Territory, the Territorial Legislature was controlled by a Democratic majority. In addition, Democratic gains were observed in areas traditionally considered Republican strongholds. These results, by themselves, were sufficiently novel to call for explanation. Beyond this, however, was a fact which many believed was a signal of an important change in Hawaiian politics: many of the newly elected officials and representatives were of Japanese extraction. Probably invariably, this led to the resurrection of an old-repeated charge: "blow voting."

However it may be defined, the term "blow voting" has generally been connected voting for the ethnic extraction of a candidate, rather than for the candidate's other qualifications, such as education, record, or party. While research on this matter is understandably complicated, it has been additionally hampered by a semantic difficulty attending use of the phrase "blow voting". Unfortunately the term suggests an all-or-nothing affair, regardless of the intention of the person using it. For this reason, the author would propose that the ground for an examination of the problem be cleared first by dropping use of the phrase "blow voting" in favor of the term "ethnic factors." Unlike "blow voting," the latter term may very easily be thought of as a matter of degree, both in respect to individual voters and to the electorate as a whole.

It was the concern of the studies reported here to examine, as objectively as possible, the vote pattern of the 1954 election on the Island of Oahu, in an effort to gain some insight into the various guides used by the electorate in making their vote decisions. While it was more or less tacitly assumed by the author that some indication of ethnic preference would be revealed in the analysis, the particular method used was sufficiently objective to guard against the intrusion of preconceived opinion.

METHOD

The statistical method used in both the studies reported here is known as multiple factor analysis. Based upon correlation procedures, the method has achieved considerable success in the field of psychology, serving particularly well to bring order into areas characterized by sets of vaguely related variables. One begins a factor analysis with a number of more or less related variables. The statistician used in indicating the relationships in the product-moment correlation and by means of it. When completed, a factor analysis will generally provide fairly satisfactory answers to the following questions: are these one or two factors underlying and are responsible for the relationships and variabilities observed? by What is the relative importance of these factors? of What variables may be assigned to the variables in respect to the extent to which they are upon these factors? Unfortunately the technique does not, of itself, name the factors. This must be done by inspection of the factor picture, by observation of the variables which, on the basis of their factor values, seem to be important.

Two studies will be reported here. In the first study, the basic variable studied was the variability of the various candidates' vote strength from precinct to precinct. As a first step, since precincts varied considerably in size, all precinct returns were converted into precinct values. On the basis of these data, each candidate-variable consisted of a number of values, as many as there were precincts. Pairs of candidates were then related on the basis of the product-moment correlation coefficient. Two correlation tables, one for each of the two districts of Oahu, were thus established. These tables were then analyzed by the so-called multiple group method, a variant of the basic centroid method of factor analysis.

In the second study, the interrelationships among the candidates were established on the basis of the information provided by a sample of the actual ballots cast in the election. Before they were destroyed, the author was permitted to examine a stratified sample of 204 ballots of the Fourth District and 283 from the Fifth District. Intercorrelations were then computed between pairs of candidates, using the intracorrelation coefficient, a derivative of the product-moment coefficient for use in the case of dichotomous variables. Similar to the precinct study, correlation tables were constructed, one for each district. The tables were then analyzed, using the same method as was used in the case of the precinct data.

RESULTS

Study I: Precinct Study

In the case of the Fourth District, only two factors were isolated. Together, these factors were sufficient to account for almost all of the variability, and relationships observed among the candidate-variable. The first factor split the candidates into two distinct groups, one composed entirely of Republicans, the other of Democrats. Accordingly, this factor was called a "Party" factor. The second factor split the candidates into two groups, regardless of political affiliation. One group was composed (with three minor exceptions) of candidates of Japanese extraction; the other, of all other candidates. Consequently, this factor was termed an "Ethnic" factor. Of the two factors discovered, the "Party" factor seemed to be clearly the predominant factor overall, accounting for 80 per cent of the total variance of vote strength of the candidates across the precincts. Factor II, the "Ethnic" factor, was responsible for 15 per cent of the variance, leaving 5 per cent unaccounted for. Inasmuch as variances, while statistically, probably for technical reasons, give a somewhat distorted impression of relative variability, a fairly good comparison of the relative order of importance of the two factors may be had by comparing the square roots of the above values. When this is done, it may be fairly stated that, so far as the precinct method is concerned, the "Party" factor was somewhere around 2.3 times as important as the "Ethnic" factor in the determination of overall precinct variability.

For the Fifth District, three factors were isolated. The first two were the factors uncovered in the Fourth District, factors of "Party" and "Ethnic" affiliation. The first accounted for 40 per cent of total variance; the second, for 33 per cent. A ratio formed by the square roots of these values suggests the relative order of importance of these factors in the determination of precinct variability in the Fifth District. Factor I, the "Party" factor, seems to be about 1.18 times as important as the "Ethnic" factor. In addition, a smaller, "residual" factor was discovered.

1. The mathematically inclined reader is referred to L. L. Thurstone, Multiple Factor Analysis [Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1947].
This factor proved somewhat difficult to identify, although there is some possibility of the serving as an "Experience" factor, inasmuch as those candidates with relatively low values for this factor were running for office for the first time. Whatever it was, it clearly did not suggest an ethical master, and was responsible for only 2 per cent of the overall variance.

Study II: Sample Ballot Study

As might be expected, the picture emerging from the analysis of the interrelationships based upon the ballots is somewhat more complex than was the relatively simple pattern found in the present variability study. In the case of the Fourth District, four factors were extracted from the correlation table. As in the case of the present study, the chief factor discovered was a "Party" factor, which accounted for 48 per cent of the total variance. Factor II was clearly an "Ethnic" factor, as it split candidates into those of Japanese and non-Japanese extractions. The third factor seemed to be an additional ethnic factor, inasmuch as candidates with relatively high values in respect to this factor were of Chinese and Hawaiian extractions. This second "Ethnic" factor seemed rather highly related to the non-Japanese category of the second factor. A fourth of less importance was included. Tentatively, this has been called an "Experience" factor, since those with relatively high values in respect to this factor were generally either young or running for office for the first time.

Factors II and III together, the "Ethnic" factors, accounted for 23 per cent of total variance. When the square-root of this value is compared to the square-root of the variance proportion accounted for by Factor I, the "Party" factor, one may justifiably conclude that the "Party" factor, in the Fourth District, seemed to outweigh "Ethnic" factors by a ratio of about 1.64 to 1.00.

Analysis of the relationships found in the Fifth District resulted in a somewhat similar pattern. The predominant factor was, again, the "Party" factor, accounting for 50 per cent of total variance. Factor II seemed to be an "Ethnic" factor, as candidates with high positive values in respect to this factor were all of Japanese extraction, while those with high negative values on this factor were of Chinese or Hawaiian ancestry, wholly or partly. As in the case of the Fourth District, the third factor to be isolated seemed also to be an "Ethnic" nature, since candidates with relatively high value in respect to this factor were of Caucasian extraction. The relationship between the "Chinese-Hawaiian" category of Factor II and the "Japanese" category of Factor II, together, these two "Ethnic" factors accounted for 39 per cent of total variance. Handling these variance percentages as in the case of the Fourth District, one may conclude that, in the Fifth District, "Party" considerations seemed to outweigh "Ethnic" considerations by a ratio of 1.57 to 1.00. Beyond these three factors, there were two additional factors which appeared. Unfortunately, neither of these factors is easy to label. The last may be dismissed as an unimportant factor, since no candidate had appreciable value in its respect. The fourth factor, however, is of some statistical significance, accounting for 5 per cent of total variance. At the moment, as is occasionally done in factor analytic work, this factor, although apparently a "real" factor, must be left undefined.

Some readers will wonder about individual, "personality" matters in the case of some candidates. While there are undoubtedly some voters who go to the polls armed with considerably detailed information concerning the individual candidates, what evidence is available from the present study suggests that candidate "uniqueness" plays a smaller role than the predominant factors of "Party" and "Ethnic" affiliation. Assuming a reliability coefficient of .90 for the data (this is only an estimate, based on the assumption that the vast majority of voters would vote a second time rather than in the way they voted on the first occasion), one may compute the proportion of overall variance attributable to "Candidate Uniqueness." As one would predict, this figure varies considerably from one candidate to the next. For all candidates this "Candidate Uniqueness" accounts for 30 per cent of total variance in the Fourth District, for 16 per cent of total variance in the Fifth District.

Summary statistics of the study may be found in Tables 1 & 2.

Table 1

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<td>&quot;Party&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Ethnic&quot;</td>
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<td>24%</td>
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<td>2%</td>
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Table 2

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</thead>
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<td>2.31</td>
<td>&quot;Party&quot; / &quot;Ethnic&quot;</td>
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</table>

Table summary for the ballot study.

A. Apportionment of total variance

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<th>Fifth District</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>&quot;Party&quot;</td>
<td>48 %</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ethnic&quot;</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Experience&quot;</td>
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<td>Undescribed 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Uniqueness&quot;</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>&quot;Uniqueness&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumed error</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Assumed error</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCLUSIONS

While the studies reported do not provide all of the answers to the question, "What happened in the 1948 election?" certain conclusions may justifiably be drawn. One is that ethnic considerations do enter into the vote in Hawaii. This will come as no surprise to the social scientist, who is aware of similar phenomena elsewhere, particularly in many mainland United States cities on the Eastern seaboard. Another conclusion is that, as far as the present studies can determine, the chief determinant of the vote in elections on Oahu is, apparently, voter preference for one party rather than the other. Ethnic matters, however, are of considerable importance, and, in a close election, could be decisive.

24
When my father took us to the village for the first time in 1860, there was a seven year “fen” on whale fishing, and it soon became obvious that belief would be hard to break. Several attempts to catch whale were thwarted by sudden peculiar storms. When the whale was in the net, sharks would enter the bag and release the fish, or the weight of the fish alone would snap the net off. Father, who was the chief fisherman, and although they were willing to offer assistance, they were skeptical as to his success, saying that he would never catch any fish.

Lopaka, the best fisherman there and famous for his “good eye” and shrewd wits which could be heard for a distance of three miles, had hired a night fish and whistle for the crew. There were nine men in my father’s crew—all Hawaiians and two Filippines. They expected a boat-house of galvanized iron roofed on the beach and set up living quarters in an abandoned shack. Since we had no home of our own, we stayed on the beach at night or in the homes of friends. In the interior of these homes, countless objects hung from the rafters—quilting boards, horse saddles, garden tools, bunches of bananas, and Chinese pork sausages. Koru momo lamps furnished light at night. Food was preserved by salting and drying. Butter and milk could not keep refrigerated, and so these were bought early in the morning at the store. There were two electric generators in the area, but they were not owned by any of the Hawaiians, who had neither need for electricity nor the means to acquire it.

Lopaka’s whistle sounded one day and the village people ran to the beach. The evening sun was already going down, and there was a little rain. When the catch was in, I kept my own share of headless, smashed, unmarketable fish, and following the example of the rest, I left it in the next. By daylight the catch had been divided, and a small remainder was left for sale. We left Anahola a week later, following a lunch (laua) held for the crew and their success. We then learned that my grandmother had discovered, by inquiring of the community elders, the “key” to “open” the bay, locked by the “jaws”—the first anaule fish caught in a field. She burned the fish in the sand with her head facing seaward, according to instructions, and this observance was supposed to have released my father and his crew from the tides.

My father’s reaction showed the influence of changing religious attitudes. He respected the old Hawaiian beliefs, having spent his childhood years with the ghost dog, Paki, who owned the spring water hole in the area of our family property in Lawai. Paki in the Hawaiian adaptation of the English name of Captain Bligh’s dog, Snoo, on the ship, Elenor, which was involved in the Oahu mutiny in the eighteenth century. Stories associated with Paki are still in circulation. Wahiawa and Laval on Kauai are supposed to belong in the “day.” In the 1830s the McPhee plantation constructed a double water dam to irrigate the cane fields in the Wahiawa Gulch, which belonged to Paki. Lavalors reported the appearance of a dog pawing at the bottom of the lower dam. The Hawaiian warnings of flood were reassured only when the dam broke, and all of Paki’s families were carried away. My father will never believe that these occurrences have no natural explanation, although he understands the adage, a voice that tells a fisherman where to find fish and to see the sun’s fire-works off the Kauai cliffs, lighten the road in a stormy night when his canoe is about to be wrecked on the reef. My father’s attitude, as in Anahola, is matter-of-fact, although he learned all he will ever know of the sea and fishing from old Hawaiian fishermen.

Anahola Revisited

When I went back to Anahola in 1959, the picture of life in the village was still serene, but the effects of military occupation had left their mark. Ho’omaluhia, whose little house we had occupied, had lost his policeman’s job and had spent his last years in a mental hospital. Ku’ulei had sold his grandfather’s only brood of chickens to the soldiers and gone to the city. The taro fields were overgrown with swamp weeds, and the ‘upou fish had been obliterated by the tidal wave. No sight is more disheartening to an old Hawaiian than this kind of loss; and those who remain, therefore, harrow many hostilities toward outsiders who inquire about the history of the locals. If its descendants know anything about it, they wouldn’t be able to reproduce it in the true Hawaiian fashion. It is not from lack of interest or lack of education that they have no ability. Rather, it is expected that when the atmosphere, which is conducive to truth-seeking, disintegrates under the impact of many cultural changes, the corresponding desire to maintain the earlier religious belief also wanes; and although people might tell these same tales and read them in books, their attitude of faith in them declines. It is no longer a dramatic part of their lives.

Anahola received electricity for the first time on December 25, 1956, and putting away its old kerosene lamps, hoisted Christmas trees with lighted balls. A week before this historic event, Lopaka, aged ninety, promised an audience of three Caucasian and myself to record his stories of Ko-welo’s-ula, the kapa‘a (stone inset with mud for fishing) of Anahola, and the spear throw through Mount Kalakaua. He was flattered by the cordial interest shown by me people who know to Hawaiian. When we left, he insisted that we take the gallon of wine, of which he had served us while visiting. On Christmas Day I returned with a tape recorder and spent two hours recording with him alone. He refused to repeat the story of Ko-welo’s-ula and the name of the warrior who swam Mount Kalakaua but agreed to recount his life history. Across the street from Lopaka’s house I was exhorted by the reputed “best” storyteller in the village and went to a neighboring house to record Hawaiian singing. Three drunken women provided the song, “Hali Kalakaua La,” and a sermon on “lose Krio, the second Adam,” which was the only story they could remember. I left with the impression that there was only one surviving old-timer with a memory of old Hawaiian traditions; and Anahola could not claim him as his native son, since Lopaka had been born on Maui.

Family Traditions

The strongest source of Hawaiian influence in our family was my grandmother, who was born in 1895 of Hawaiian-Chinese descent. She taught elementary school on Kauai after graduating from the Kauai Normal School in 1913. In 1914, she married Joseph, a Solomon Kamaka’ai, a minister employed by the Hawaiian Board of Missions on the Central Kauai Church, then in Hanalei, Anahola, Lihue, and Kilauea, she was known as Chong. They met at the Kahului Church where she directed the choir. After my grandmother’s early death, my grandfather continued the written genealogy which he had started. The book is valued as a manuscript, even more priceless than the Hawaiian Bible, and its contents—information about the particular family armast (guardian spirits), meanings of names and conditions under which names were given, dates of birth, marriage, and death, L.K., information protecting and preserving the family identity—are never divulged to anyone not a close relative on pain of death or severe illness.
Romie, in my grandmother, was a house which she owned in Lihue. Tall cypresses, pines, hala, and coconut trees covered a back-yard patch with abandoned taro patches which were cultivated by my grandparents years ago, before pot was manufactured at mills. In an environment such as this, permeated by a feeling of contact with the other way of life, my brothers and sisters and I grew up. Our attitude toward dreams, tales, and Hawaiian traditions was dominated by the presence of sacred relics and stories that accompanied them. We were never bored of the variety of what was told and our belief was further strengthened by a fear of transgressing family laws and traditional customs.

These loyalties were maintained by behavior patterns commonly practiced at home. Rubbish was never swept out of the doors at night, so it meant less work for laundry. No one reached a wish or aspiration before the bowl of poi because the wish might never come true. Lying down while eating was an honor of sickness. Walking at night was prohibited because it aroused spirits of the dead. Cutting hair, trimming fingernails, or shaving at night were also prohibited and left only for the daytime. Discipline was very exacting. We never went to a hospital for medical treatment unless surgery was an absolute necessity or sickness persisted. Lāhakihale, a method of curing illness through prayer, visualization, and stimuli of massage, were practiced as home remedies. The chants are learned and retained by only one member in a family at a time unless strict precautions are observed to prevent the death of another member, since such powers are supernaturally oracular. None of the lāhakihale chants were passed down by my grandmother, now deceased, to any other member of the family for future preservation. In our generation, therefore, this ancient art of cure will be completely lost. Lāhakihale chants are private family property so that chants are not transferable from house to house, nor are the methods of applying lāhakihale over the same. This means that chants accompanying curing ceremonies are probably less current today than are chants which are allowed for public demonstration.

Storytelling

The meager distribution of folk tales today is also a regrettable fact. Hawaiian informants are particular about their tales. My grandmother was a quiet storyteller, yet I remember how she would use herself to recognize the importance of respecting Hawaiian traditions. She refused from giving information to anyone who could not promise to respect her traditions. Most Hawaiian storytellers who are not educated do not trust their own knowledge; this was also true of her. When this paper was in progress and I was researching on certain stories, she distrusted memory and after frequent negative dreams, would not complete it. I was thus able to examine her assistants on certain stories, but she distrusted memory and after frequent negative dreams, she would not complete it. The value and importance of oral narratives which are not recorded is considerable. A very interesting storyteller in Kauai went through an old Hawaiian story of a woman who had the power to read her eyes to Oloema and he felt that she was in this way hereditary. The woman was described fish in a cave while staring her blind husband to death. This was done until a kahuna caught her eye in woods and removed them. When the storyteller was requested to repeat the same information for recording purposes, he hesitated and refused because he had forgotten the woman's name and was afraid that the incomplete information might make me ill.

Storytelling in my home was not limited to any particular time, although evenings and mealtimes were preferable. Some tales were old, especially those that my grandmother had learned during her childhood or while traveling through the islands. Others were peculiarly important in family history, the classics of mythical heroes and gods and goddesses, and those that explained peculiarities in rock formations and other natural phenomena. Dreams often produced good storytelling material that was not traditional. In the same category belonged goddesses that circulated among the family as personal experiences. They illustrated how the story-making process occurs.

In my grandmother's house are two stone relics. One is a woman in a sitting position; her left breast is gone, she is cared for carefully, since she reputedly brought great fortune to her possessed. Because she is associated with the sea, shells are requested from Pi'ilani. My family provided her with manila muffins, and my grandmother frequently smelled the fragrance of the jasminum, while she sat at the seaside picking up. Nōhō, on a visit from Kauai, rejected the story of this stone and insisted. While he was sipping a cup of beer, a woman's hand struck him hard across his face, whereupon he fell on his knees, crawled to the stone and asked forgiveness for his insults, fervently confessing that years ago he had struck his wife across her face in rage and blinned her.

The other stone had no previous tradition. It was found by my sister among other stones in the taro patches near our house. She brought it to my grandmother for no other reason than to prove she had carried it out of the patch by herself. That night, as my grandmother brooded in the parlor, she heard a peculiar noise, as if someone were fumbling something from the porch into the lily pond. The next morning she discovered two little stones in the garden, they had been placed on top of the large stone. She had dreamed during the night that a huge Hawaiian man dressed in a red male reproached her for having removed the huge stone from the taro patch, saying, "I gave the stone to the water.""

What I have said about these two relics shows how incidents are frequent and rapid. Tales occasionally start in this manner: Strange occurrence and supernatural experiences swiftly following each other bear a direct causal relationship. When the incidents are combined in such a way as to be written, the events are characteristically embellished, but the supernatural incidents alone speak for the value of the tale. The storyteller then develops which strengthens an existing belief in spirits, other worlds, the man of sacred objects, the truth of dreams. A popular family tale that developed similarly from a supernatural manifestation is told of Manuel Carvalho, a Portuguese family friend who worked at the Koloa stone-crusher with my father. As he passed our house one day, he saw three men dressed in old clothing, and he stopped, offering them a ride in Koloa in his car. They refused, saying that they preferred walking to riding, thanked him, and promised to meet him there. When he reached Chang Fook Kee restaurant in Koloa fifteen minutes later, the same three men were sitting there, dressed in the same manner. I had promised for the following Monday to accompany a group of similar characters with the same three men had been made. The only explanation available is that there are three skills sitting in the glass case in our dining room. They were found at Ke-o-le-iaa, Koloa, and presented to my uncle by his boy-scout troop. They are the lenses of three who fall in the battle between fights and Kauai chiefs at Makaleha and Ke-o-le-iaa, meaning "de-long-sands."
This is a true story, because the people went to see with their own eyes the place where this shark was raised.

The motif of shark-human transformation in this story is very common in other shark stories which circulate today. The old favorite shark story of kahu, which also contains this motif, tells of a phantom shark man who lived in Waipio Valley, Hawaii. A Puna variant told by my grandmother contains the plot essentials and the basic motif. A man covered his bank with a red hanaula while he worked in the taro patches with his fellows. Three men passed by, and they asked him, "Will you allow us to work with you?" He replied, "Yes, certainly." The men worked with the phantom shark man. At night he would have breakfast, and they were eaten. When they were out of sight, he removed the hanaula and plunged into a stream that emptied into the ocean. The hanaula covered a shark's mouth. While they were fishing, a huge shark attacked one of the party. He "kam" many people in his time until he was caught.

A Waipio Valley variant, told by John Kapa'a of the University Campus, adds the following: "When the streams were deep, the cliffs of Waipio flowed into a fresh water stream emptying into the ocean. Beside the stream was the King's taro patch, eight acres in size. Here the men and women worked daily to increase the abundance of their harvests. Besides the taro fields, near the shore upon which grew gigantic recent trees one hundred and fifty feet tall, was a road where the fisherman passed on their way to the ocean. During the rainy season, all the long roads were transformed easily from one form into another, used to work in the taro fields. He concealed a shark mouth in his bank under a red cloth. He asked innocent passers-by, "Are you going down?" If they replied yes, he went to a cave behind a bank, plunged into the river, slayed his victim, and returned to work in hanaula form. A few young men discovered his undersea cave while swimming and followed it to the taro patch. They devised a trap of tying fiber across the mouth of the cave, captured hanaula, captured hanaula in the net, killed a fire, and burned him."

Christian concepts of God as the benevolent creator and father, of evil and sin, of the treachery of Satan, are frequently incorporated in modern tales. They betray either the recent creating or modifying of tales. A storyteller often derives from his narrative to give occasion minimal sermons on Christian morality. While John Kapa'a was telling the story of Fovence, he digressed on evil in so much that it was difficult at times to follow the drift of the narrative. He told the story with gusto, laughing frequently, especially at points where the craving and influence of haole was mentioned. He mentioned Satan and the devils, hanaula, gardens, hanaula, and entire body. In contrast to my grandmother's orator style of narrating, he was vigorous and dramatic, but he became philosophically interpretive when the more serious implications of the narrative touched him.

An examination of the Fisherman of Waipio story gives an excellent example of religious significance in Hawaiian tales. The motif of human transformation is common, a motif which is closely related to the religious significance of the Hawaiian people. Mary Kawena Pukui, commenting on the second point, said that the intensity of the religious assumptions of the Hawaiians accounted for the tremendous success which Christianity enjoyed in Hawaii. After only thirty years' instruction in religious education and belief, the Hawaiians were disputing their own prophets to the south Pacific.
The written version of my grandmother's second story. The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai, contains the stylistic convention of enumeration that occurs in Fisherman of Mo'omomi. An incident frequently repeats itself three times before the document. In the Mo'omomi story, the fisherman sets his lines three times before the villain dark camouflaged with halo seaweed appears and makes him faint. If one should view this from an analytical point of view, enumeration as such is a device contributing to the length of a narrative. An interesting variation of this technique may be observed in the development of the plot of The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai in which an aspiring student of sorcery is forced to return three times on an errand before his master's request of the victim is granted.

The Pointed-Head Kahuna of Molokai
Kawena Kauiili

The legend of this Kahuna was told to me on Kaaiolani, that he was born in Kaunakakai, and this Kahuna brought terror over all of Molokai. This man knew nothing about brotherhood, and he felt that the important thing was to take the life of this and that spirit.

His place was situated within a house somewhat near the road frequented by everyone either going on foot or riding horseback. This Kahuna stayed within his house with his eyes on all the people passing by—both the aged men, the old women, young folks, little children, and even the babies carried by the mothers, and finished them off with death on the road. Because people were meeting with this lesson so often, they decided to be alert and very quiet every time he came to the place.

There was indeed another old man living at Kalaue who was famed for healing the sick who went to him. His name was Ku.

This Kahuna heard about things concerning this old man, and jealousy and killing men quickly entered his thoughts.

During those days, young folks came to ask him to teach them the business of healing, as he could do it. He gave his approval. To those young folks he learned as his students until their until (a ritual in which the student performed to prove that he had learned sorcery) occurred and feared.

The rule of the until is to get a human body, bring it before the teacher, and kill him. This is the ceremony to be fulfilled by the student in order to graduate. At this occasion, the Kahuna thought of something to do, so he made himself sick by causing himself to become blind with a spider's web. He called one of his pupils to come and asked him, "Will you please go and fetch Ku, the medicine Kahuna living at Kalaue. Tell him to come and heal me because I am weak." The pupil obeyed. He went to the home of Ku to tell him his teacher's desire, but the family at home told him he was not at home.

The teacher for the second time went for him but did not get him.

The teacher for the third time went for him, but the brother-in-law of Ku said, "You won't find Ku here." The young man told him about the weakness of his teacher, and that Ku was the only one who could help him. The brother-in-law had compassion on him and told him, "The only way you'll ever get Ku is to come with a choice pig and sacrifice it to him."
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE CULTURE
M. Nito and Ema S. Hinou

This study was undertaken in a seminar on "Personality Adjustment in a Multi-Cultural Environment" as a means of defining some of the significant values which persons of Japanese ancestry inevitably encounter in the Hawaiian setting. Special attention has been directed to some of the central and basic values of the two cultures which sometimes actively conflict with each other, but which, in other instances, we believe, may readily supplement each other.

Attitudes Toward Nature

Humanity and nature, to the American, are two separate entities. Humanity is part of nature, it is true, but the American conceives of nature as something that is given for use. He always thinks himself as standing apart from nature, viewing it as something other than himself. He alters and uses it for his own benefit. To the Japanese, humanity is an integral part of nature. He tries to fit himself into it, accepting nature as it finds him. Consequently, the Japanese does not have much curiosity about it. He does not try to find out what makes it "tick" because he has never thought of nature as something to be investigated or tampered with. Rather, he becomes one with it in spirit and finds enjoyment and well-being as a part of nature.

What happens when the natural elements play against him? The Japanese tries to avoid this if he can by various superstitions and means. For instance, each village has a huge drum, about five or six feet in diameter, which they beat during times of drought and thus beg the gods to give them rain. Or a person is said to have a fox residing in him. He will go to someone, usually a woman, who is supposed to have powers to drive out the evil fox. One of the most typical and often used expressions of the Japanese is kikumata gusa. This means "there is nothing that one can do about it." Even if there is no rain after they have beat the drums or if they have not beat the drums because they have accepted the fact of rainless days as the way of nature and the crops are ruined, then they resignedly say kikumata gusa. People accept such things stoically and go on planting rice which may be ruined again and bearing children who may become paralyzed in their early age.

The American has a different attitude toward the calamitous workings of nature. He tries to do something about it by controlling the forces of nature. If a flood devastates property and human lives are lost, then the American tries to prevent such "needless" destruction by building dams and dikes, and by reforestation, etc. Medical doctors and scientists are constantly at work trying to find a way to cure and prevent diseases. They have the financial support of millions of their fellow countrymen.

It is interesting to note that there are persons of both races among the Japanese in Hawaii and many people have gone to them, having more faith in them than in regular physicians.

American culture has produced the scientific and remarkable scientific advancements as a result of careful observation of the world about him. The Japanese, on the other hand, does not come to nature to observe but to admire it. He has the aesthetic or the artist's approach in contrast to the American's scientific approach. These two attitudes of mind need not be mutually exclusive. Of course, there are certain things that are easier to observe and analyze than others and certain things that are easier to admire and contemplate with satisfaction than others. But it is possible for one person to assume both attitudes of mind toward the same fact of nature or experience.

The scientific mind selects what can be measured and counted as being of most importance. It investigates things in order to find out what are the characteristics that make them useful or useless.

The artistic mind does not seek analytical or intellectual knowledge. Rather, he tries to get an increasing familiarity with the thing itself by taking a contemplative and emotional attitude toward it. A thing's importance does not lie in its utilitarian value but in being what it is—be it an object of nature or a man-made work of art. The individuality of the object is what interests the artist. He tries to fill his mind with the object in order to remember or to realize more fully its unique qualities. He wants to imprint its image upon his mind, reviving and deepening the impression it first made. An artist in reflection passes from concentrating upon the easy and superficial beauty in deeper and more difficult forms, from the obvious beauty which is evanescent and fleeting to beauty that are enduring and eternal. He realizes the changelessness of things of experience and so tries to immortalize the evanescent, thus making the passing a possession forever. He tries to prevent what is unique from being wholly reabsorbed into the common dust from which it arose.

The American, under the influence of the scientific attitude of mind, has often lost touch with the other method of viewing and living in his universe. It is a pity when one becomes alienated and oblivious to the beauties of nature. We saw all too typical examples of this last year. We had taken a walk into a delightful forest when we suddenly came upon a student sitting by a quiet pond in a restful, meditative mood, we thought, until we approached closer and saw that he was listening to a popular program on his portable radio. What an incongruity! He couldn't hear the songs of the birds and the sweet and cool sounds they made through the tree branches. How could he really enjoy the beauty of the May flowers or enjoy the refreshing pertaining beauty of the Dogwood in full bloom? Did he see the reflections in the water or the blue of the sky above? We doubt that he even noticed the fascinating though destructive work of the tent caterpillars which had attached one tree.

It is soothing, no doubt, to listen to a jazz singer singing the blues or an orchestra playing a symphony in a dark room. But to the Japanese the music should be as relaxing as the view of the snow-capped mountains or the substance of a flower in a bright sunny day. Music should have a spiritual sense to it. We are more conscious of the beauty of nature. When Mount Rainier was first observed by the Chinese, they thought of it as the moon and reflected on the beauty of all nature. It is also a pity when one becomes alienated from the beauty of nature.

There is an enjoyment of life for its own sake, the simple life and an appreciation of one's leisure time. Life has not been to fill with material accumulations and one can find enjoyment from his own inner resources without having to be entertained in the American sense of the word.
The basic conception of Japanese flower arrangement and dwarfed tree culture is to make it look natural—in semblance of the way flowers, plants, trees and shrubs actually grow in their natural habitat. In contrast, the or clumsy. Japanese architecture is very much in vogue just now. One dated. We wish that more people, and especially those who have come in contact with and learned to appreciate the Oriental concept and way of life, would make it a permanent contribution to the field of American architecture. The basic conception here again is to make the house blend in with its natural surroundings. We admit this would be difficult to do otherwise the Americans build houses that stand out as mass-made edifices, gloating mass, and showing invention genius. We suggest showing and enhancing the natural grain of the wood instead of covering it up with paint or paper. Make use of rocks and stones. Let the house be a part of the garden, separated by glass and screen to be seen, but not necessarily let it be built to give this feeling.

We admit that too great emphasis on the artistic attitude of mind has its pitfalls. The artistic attitude can lead to irrationality because of its emotional nature. We are aware of the fact that the Japanese were considered the foremost warriors of Eastern Asia and the samurai was held up as the man of arms, unbreakable his swords, take off his uniform, slip into a loose coat and sit in a room and study for this purpose. Or he might tend the flowers of his garden or all down to write a little poetry in graceful strokes of his brush. The warrior to dress and the lover of beauty, the poet and artist, that Japan is in danger and he joyfully dons his uniform and eagerly rushes off to war.

Attitude Toward Society

The American family consists of members respected as individuals. It is based on the relation between parents and children and on the need of which may lead to cooperation and common interest. American society is not and not for his position. We regard any office or position or even some society. Public service can be performed wherever they do not perform the service expected of them. Even the President of the United States can be impeached and a father can have his child taken away from him if he is judged unfit to be a father.

The American government is the rule of itself by the citizens who make up the total situation. It was plainly stated in the Preamble of our Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it

is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

America has faith in equal and inviolable rights and the right to better one's condition in life. Such ideas are totally unknown to the ordinary Japanese—such ideas as that of all men being created equal, the Creator, unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; government deriving its power from the consent of the governed; and the right of the people to alter or abolish its government and institute a new one. The basic unit in Japan is the family and the social unity in which individuals move is among the members of their own family and their relatives. There is warmth of feeling only toward blood relatives. The larger Japanese society is a conglomeration of classes which are composed of families and each class is represented by the patriarch who is the head of it. Japanese use the word "representative," but its meaning is quite different from that which is used in America. In America one who represents knows the wishes of those whom he represents, voices them, and acts accordingly. In Japan the representative speaks and acts as he sees fit and those whom he represents speak and act in accordance with the definition of their representative. They make his words and acts their own. This accounts for the Japanese mentality which can never make up its own mind. The individual never thinks as an individual. He always belongs to something and when he speaks it is as a member of the total whole to which he belongs, be it his family, his school if a student, or company if a salaried man. When abroad he speaks as a representative of his country and never as an individual. Among the Japanese who are living in foreign countries, they always regard each other as members of a certain Perfection, town, or village.

There is no irrevocable hierarchical order which the Japanese received from Western and this has governed Japan since feudal days. It is called the natural order of society. Americans would question the word "natural." All human relationships are governed by this order:

kinship — Emperor and subject, husband and wife, elder and junior, teacher and pupil,
father and child, husband and wife, elder and junior, teacher and pupil,
father and child, husband and wife, elder and junior, teacher and pupil,

The first of each pair is always considered to be above the second. He is the one who governs and the other is the governed. The only exception is among friends, where there is no distinction. The man above you in the Japanese social scale is not taken as a person when he orders or governs but as a depersonalized symbol of this hierarchical order.

2 Mr. Himeono remembers how mystified he was in Japan when he studied the history of England (from which we derive our ideas of individual rights) and how the English people deplored their kings. He couldn't understand how a people could do such a thing. When he had only his Japanese background it was altogether illogical to him.
The source of cohesion in Japanese society or the basis of social relationships is covered by the five inviolable distinctions which are relationships are in the following compounds:

- things superior and inferior, relations.
- things respected and the despised relations.
- things those who govern and the governed relations.

Again, he who is the first part of each compound word is he who governs, teaches, or commands and he who is the second is represented in the second half of the Japanese language without using either a verbal ending for a person below arbitrary. If he treats his inferiors well then it is regarded that he has acted out of his good grace and not out of a sense of duty. If he does not treat them well there is no condemnation. There is very definite teaching about the duties of the inferior and he is condemned if he does not obey or respect those above him, no matter how unjust or cruel he may be. It is only one way street.

In order to really understand the social institutions of Japan it is necessary to go back into its feudalism. Japan is only three generations from feudalism and it is a known fact that the habits formed under institutions outline the institutions themselves. But Japan was more feudalistic than most other countries and the passing of feudalism has made little change, even allowing for the shorter lapse of time.

The Japanese still live by what centuries of tradition, formal instruction, and experience have taught them. Feudalism is the prime fact in Japan's development, in its contemporary social organization, and its psychology. Why is this so? What was unique about Japan that there has been so little change since the passing of feudalism?

We must give credit to the samurai who guided the country through the transition from the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, following America's forcible introduction into Japan's isolation, to the restoration of the ancient imperial institution to actual power. They saw the danger of a vacuum that the breakdown of one set of traditions and values without submission of another would incur. As far as we can tell from the records of written history, exact respect was shown the Monarchy by appeasement of military dynasties up untill the time of the Meiji Restoration. The present position of the throne is the result of one hundred years efforts to carry a nation across the gulf of time in one single span. They combined the ancient Priest Kingship with a modern constitutional monarchy and substituted the Emperor for the Shogunate. He became the new focal point of loyalty. During the feudal days the Samurai were a superior caste, the professional warriors. The essence of the samurai code and the basic principle of the feudal system was 'loyalty' to a degree not found in any other feudal system. And the Samurai were admired and looked up to by the common people.

With the Restoration the Samurai class was abolished and the common people—farmers, craftsmen, merchants—were elevated to the position where they could exercise the same loyalty shown by the Samurai themselves. Now they had the right to bear arms. The word was the mark of the superior man and this had the exclusive right and privilege of the Daimyo and Samurai. With the Restoration of 1868 universal conscription for all able-bodied men was introduced and everyone was eligible to arm himself and to become one of the nation's highest officials—the Emperor. This gave the masses a social and human dignity that had never existed before. The Samurai code became the code of the masses and they regarded it as the source of national strength. It underlies Japanese education and so we had the Japan we knew until World War II.

Mrs. Himeno recalls her father telling of his grandfather who lived through the Restoration. One of the orders was that all men had to cut off their queues and great-grandfather wept when he had to have his cut. It was at this time that commoners were allowed to see samurais.
Now when we turn to the Americans we find that it is all too easy for him to forget that he is also a responsible individual. He values his needs to be tempered with some of the sense of responsibility and respect independence behind the American who says that he sees nothing to say about the first place to one's parents and family for his birth and care during being in later years to an increasing number of people. The older the previous generations and the social heritage, as well to the community and nation in which he lives.

Respect, to the Americans, means to have a sense of admiration for what the other person is himself and it has little or nothing to do with the emotional attachment—he likes them, loves them, or feels sorry for them. The Japanese person does not have such a capricious guide for his within the same individual the sense of obligation could be combined with warmth of feeling and love toward those, who in the Japanese sense are worthy of such devotion.

Take the problem of marriage. It is causing increasing concern in many circles that the American ratio of divorces to marriages is one to three or four is all too high. Romantic love is considered to be the self of marriage only as an individual's right and not taking into consideration his responsibility to society. Parents, with their years of experience, may not think someone suitable for their child but they usually say, "well, he's the one getting married and if they love each other that is the main thing." But if romantic love is gone, there is nothing to hold the couple together. This is essentially an irresponsible attitude for a member of society to take, and omits the consideration of the other important factors matter for the families involved, which makes for stability. A family takes out of her liabilities, very much is transferred to that of the son's family.

The Americanization of the people of Japanese ancestry frequently finds expression in a failure to show the expected courtesy to have American support in rejecting parental authority and values, whereas and deference will be observed. It is by no means clear, however, that the bonds of duty and obligation to society. Certainly no one can go through exactly how he pleases whenever the impulse arises, and courtesy and respect are controls essential in any functioning society.

On the other hand, a blind acceptance of traditional authority, has equally deleterious consequences. It is sometimes charged that second and third generation Japanese in Hawaii have been so thoroughly indoctrinated to express their own thoughts, that, indeed, there are many who think most self-expression could be encouraged, without necessarily sacrificing respect for the thoughts and expression of others. The child need not rule the parent or in order to obtain adequate self-expression.

Finally, a word about the subject of religious tolerance in Japan. The partial adoption to Westernized religions even after the Restoration of 1868 has not been effective. Actually it was not the Westernization it appeared to be so much as a return to an older feudalism. There is a curious stratification of religions in Japan. Buddhism that came as the revolt against the ancient native Japanese religion. So among the Japanese there exists not a true syncretism of Buddhism and Shintoism but the two religions, one piled on top of the other. The Japanese see no incongruity about this but keep them both. This is the reason for the lack of purity or orthodoxy in the Japanese religious outlook. They do not feel that they must embrace one to the exclusion of the other.

The Christian teaching is that it is the One God and a person must forsake all others. There would be not conflict if a Christian were willing to add Christianity to the layers of religions that he already had. One can imagine what a convert to the Christian religion goes through. He must leave his ancestors' religion as well as that of his parents. He has been brought up within a society in which the family is the basis and he has been thoroughly disciplined in the virtues of submission and has been taught that loyalty is the highest virtue. It requires a great amount of determination and discipline for a Japanese to turn to Christianity. This does account for the small percentage of the total population that have become Christian in Japan. Christian Church workers in Hawaii must take account of this background and not be too shocked when they find their converts have not altogether cut all ties with their former religions.

We have tried to show that there are commensurable elements in both cultures as well as dangers. The most serious handicap confronting a leftist or anyone who is a product of two cultures is a chaotic state of mind. He must somehow resolve conflicting ideas, ideals and aspirations and the first step toward this, is in understanding the background and reasons for such tensions. He must form a new concept of himself, rather taking pride in the critical role which he is called to play. It is especially necessary that he not evade the issues nor try to deceive himself.

The unique role of one who has had the experience of living in two cultures can be that of an interpreter. His bosoms ought to be wider because he sees both points of view. Since the origin of thinking always entails some perplexity, confusion, and doubt, the man on the margin of two cultures is likely to do more thinking than the ordinary person and hence gain an keener intelligence. This conflict of cultures may produce the most truly creative minds of both virtue and vigour as we have known it as a theme of artistic expression and scientific accomplishments.

Owari (The End)
SOME PATTERNS OF MATE SELECTION AMONG NAICHI AND OKINAWANS ON OAHU

George K. Yonemoto

Since there are no legal barriers to inter-racial marriage, selection of mates in Hawaii is largely a matter of personal choice, although the process is influenced by such factors as group or parental conceptions of preferred races and the availability of preferred categories of potential mates. In the period 1940-1949, 25 per cent of the marriages in Hawaii were those that crossed the conventionally designated racial-ethnic lines, and an inspection of the statistics of earlier decades and of the first few years in this decade shows that the rate of inter-racial marriage has been increasing with time. There was great variation, however, in the rates of outmarriage among the diverse racial groups. During the period, the percentage of outmarriage among the bridals ranged from 71 per cent for Hawaiians to 10 per cent for Caucasians; among the grooms the range was from 66 per cent for Hawaiians to 4 per cent for Japanese. While the outmarriage percentage of the Japanese has been increasing over the decades, especially among the grooms, it has been consistently low compared with the other groups. The 17 per cent outmarriage rate for Japanese brides for the 1940-1949 period placed them seventh in a list of eight racial categories. The Japanese grooms ranked last, their 6 per cent outmarriage figure being more than 25 per cent lower than the overall ranked Japanese category.

A number of interrelated factors have been commonly regarded as "responsible" for the low proportion of outmarriages among the Japanese, or for the greater tendency for the Japanese to intermarry compared with other races, to put it in another way. Such influences as large numbers, a balanced sex ratio, and immigrant conceptions of the family system are regarded as having operated to maintain to a considerable degree a sense of common identity and group cohesion so that deviations from group expectations, including the choice of spouses from outside the group, have been kept relatively infrequent.

It would seem of interest to explore Japanese outmarriage rates further by analysis of data in terms of two familiar sub-categories of Japanese in Hawaii—Okinawans and Naichis. Neither the United States Census Bureau nor the Bureau of Social Statistics of the Territory makes such distinction in its population reports, nor do other agencies in the community generally subdivide the Japanese group in this manner. The United States Consulate in Hawaii, however, has maintained separate statistics of Japanese citizens according to predilection of origin, one of the predilections being Okinawa.

Furthermore, within the Japanese group, there seems to be an almost universal awareness of the distinctions between the two categories of Japanese. The Okinawans either came from Okinawa or trace their origin to Okinawa while the Naichis either came from Japan proper (Naichi is literally "home territory") or trace their origin to Japan proper. Among the older Naichis there is awareness of differences in predilection of origin in Japan proper, but these different predilections in Japan proper need to be regarded as parts of a homogeneous entity in contrast with Okinawa prefecture. Some physical differences between members of the two categories are frequently noted. Differences characteristic of each of the two groups also serve as a basis for awareness of differences. Among older Japanese contemporaries, variations in certain cultural practices and in speech habits are additional criteria by which the awareness of distinctions is maintained.

The differential subgroup identification among Naichis and Okinawans has a stratification aspect in Hawaii. Covert conflicts among children and covert feelings of inferiority among adults, based primarily on the "attitude of superiority" assumed by Naichis and the defensive pride of the Okinawans, have been described in a previous issue of this publication. A wartime Office of Strategic Services study speaks of segregation and clearance among the Okinawans and Naichi in Hawaii.

The foregoing discussion suggests that, from one point of view, the two subgroups among the Japanese in Hawaii may be regarded as two distinct ethnic groups rather than higher economic or prestige subcategories of the same ethnic group. They may be regarded as members of the same race or of the ethnic or racial groups to which the population of Hawaii is divided by official agencies. If they are so treated, what patterns of behavior with respect to marriage partner choices would we find among the members of the two subgroups?

The information for this study was obtained from the vital statistics column in the English language section of the Hawaii Times, a bilingual daily newspaper, for the period 1941-1950. The column listed periodically throughout the year, all marriages on Oahu involving persons of Japanese ancestry. Since the newspaper did not provide direct information that would enable distinguishing between Naichi and Okinawan, it was necessary to rely on recognition of name of classifying the listed Japanese brides and grooms into the two categories.

Since neither the number of marriages derived from the newspaper nor the classification of the persons as members of either the Naichi or Okinawan category was completely reliable, it was decided that where statistical tests of significance of percentage differences were made, the .01 level would be regarded as evidence of a significant difference.


3 Okinawan Studies No. 3 (1944)

4 The main guide for classification was Appendix III, "List of Okinawan Names and their Characters," Okinawan Studies No. 3.
### Marriages of Okinawan and Naičhi Japanese

With In-group and Out-group, 1941-1959

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<th>Total</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Non-Japanese Groups</th>
<th>Other Sub-Groups</th>
<th>In-group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naičhi</td>
<td>8,283</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooms</td>
<td>7,417</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawan</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooms</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Either Naičhi or Okinawan, depending on the category named.*

Table 1 summarizes the information on marriages involving Japanese on Oahu as reported by the *Hawaiian Times* for the period 1941-1950. The total number of brides was greater than the number of grooms in both Naičhi and Okinawan categories. The outnumbering of brides over grooms has occurred generally in all ethnic groups that have a balanced sex ratio in the young adult age levels, while the reverse has been true generally in groups such as the Canadians and Filipinos where men of marryable age outnumber women. In the matter of choosing mates from non-Japanese groups, Okinawan brides were highest in percentage, Naičhi brides ranked second, Naičhi grooms third, and Okinawan grooms fourth. Both brides and grooms among the Okinawans were higher in percentage of marriages to Naičhi than Naičhi brides and grooms were in percentage of marriages to Okinawans.

The percentage of in-group marriage was lower for both brides and grooms among Okinawans than among Naičhi. Lind’s data for the Territory for the period 1940-1949 indicate that 11.4 per cent of all marriages were in-group marriages (28.4 per cent overall). If that figure may be used to interpret the information obtained from the newspaper column of vital statistics for Oahu for the period 1941-1950, the Okinawan in-marriage rates (brides, 41.8 per cent; grooms, 32.3 per cent) appear to more nearly resemble the rates of some of the non-Japanese groups than the rates for the Japanese as an entity. The difference between Naičhi and Okinawan does not appear to be as great, however, when only percentages of marriage to non-Japanese are compared.

Attention may finally be called to the fact that ratio of Naičhi brides to Okinawan brides (5.283 to 2,248) is about 2.3 to 1, and the ratio of Naičhi grooms to Okinawan grooms is about 4.3 to 1. Usual estimates⁵ of the

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5. Hawaii’s People, p. 104.

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number of Naičhi and Okinawans in the total population of the Territory, however, place the ratio at about 6 to 1.

The rest of this paper will be devoted to a number of comparisons between the marriage choices of Okinawans and Naičhi and between brides and grooms.

### Marriage to Non-Japanese

The difference between the percentages of marriage of Okinawan brides to non-Japanese (20.5) and of Naičhi brides to non-Japanese (24.4) was found to be statistically significant at the .05 level. This is equivalent to saying that such a difference of 3.9 per cent could have occurred by sheer chance less than once in 1,000 times if there actually was no difference in the tendency to marry non-Japanese between the brides of the two groups. The result lends to support a hypothesis suggested by Romanus Adams in the 1930’s:

> While each racial group, commonly, there is some sort of distinction of status, of descent or of religion and these distinctions are of importance as affecting marriage... There is some evidence of a degree of social disorganization among the (Okinawans) in Hawaii. They do not enjoy the full benefit of membership in Japanese organizations and their behavior tends to follow the pattern by other groups too small to maintain effective organization. It is probable that they marry non-Japanese in higher proportions than do ordinary Japanese of Japan proper.

⁶

Even though statistically significant, however, the difference of 3.9 per cent was not so great as might be expected from a consideration of the reputed status difference and of the difference in numerical size of the two groups.

Contrary to expectations, the percentage of Okinawan males who married non-Japanese was actually lower than that of the Naičhi males. This is probably associated with factors as the ethnic coherence of Okinawan males and the preferences among the women of the non-Japanese group. The difference between 4.6 per cent (Naičhi) and 3.7 per cent (Okinawan) was not significant.

### Marriages of Okinawan to Naičhi and to Non-Japanese

Of the 2,248 Okinawan brides, 21.3 percent married Naičhi grooms. This group was as high as any other percentage when we consider judgments such as the following:

> The general reputation, even aberrance on the part of the Naičhi toward marriage one of their number with an Okinawan comes out again and again. - The marriage

between the two groups are very rare. As at the University of Hawaii, so, in general, in the communities at large the first generation Okinawans and marriage are still, however, not conditioned.

Owing to status distinctions, naturally there is little, if any, intermarriage between the Okinawans and the other Japanese.

On the basis of such estimates of the relationship between Naichi and Okinawan in Hawaii, we might have set up the hypothesis that the marriage of Okinawan brides to non-Japanese grooms occurs more frequently than of the data obtained, since the percentage of marriage to non-Japanese grooms (21.2) is considerably smaller than the percentage of marriage to Naichi grooms, although the difference in favor of Naichi grooms is statistically non-significant.

The percentage of marriage to non-Japanese grooms added to the percentage of marriage to Naichi grooms gives a figure of 43.2 per cent, which represents the outmarriage rate of Okinawan brides for the period under consideration. It is considerably higher than the usual rates for Japanese outmarriages which derive from the conventional summaries of interracial marriage statistics, and it appears to be similar to the relatively common experience of numerically smaller groups in Hawaii.

In group preference is still implied, of course, to the extent that 88.5 per cent of the Okinawan brides chose Okinawan grooms. The proportion of in-group marriages among Okinawan brides is expected to decrease further with continued residence of the group in Hawaii, if the group's experience parallels that of other ethnic groups.

As in the case of the bridges, the 19.5 per cent among Okinawan grooms who married Naichi women represent a proportion higher than any great influence on the selection of marriage mates. Furthermore, the bridges is significantly higher than the 21.2 per cent figure representing marriage to non-Japanese women.

While not as great as the outmarriage rate of the bridges, Okinawan grooms selected nearly a fourth of their wives from outside the Okinawan group. The 16.6 per cent ingroup marriage figure, while lower than the usual in-marriage figures for the composite Japan group, is still a rather high rate for a relatively small group.

Okinawan brides had a higher percentage than Okinawan grooms in both types of outmarriage. To Naichis and to non-Japanese. However, only in the case of marriage to non-Japanese (brides: 20.2 per cent; groom, 9.6 per cent),

8 Okinawan Studies No. 2, p. 75-82, passim.
9 Interracial Marriages in Hawaii, p. 175.
10 Either Okinawan or Naichi made up 79.7 per cent of the choices of grooms among Okinawan brides.

0.7 per cent was the difference statistically significant. It has been noted in other parts of the world that females of the lower status group of a clan, more often marry "up," more frequently than do males of the same group, and conversely, the males of the higher status group marry "down" to a greater extent than the females of that higher status group. The Ohiis, is not fully borne out. Although the 31.2 per cent figure representing marriages to Naichi grooms among Okinawan grooms was greater than the 19.5 per cent figure representing marriage to Naichi grooms among Okinawan grooms, the difference was not statistically significant.

Marriages of Naichis to Okinawans and to Non-Japanese

The percentage of Naichi brides who selected Okinawan husbands (4.0) was much lower than the percentage of Naichi brides who married non-Japanese husbands (16.4). Status difference considerations, including the hypothesized tendency for women not to marry "down," would seem to help explain the infrequent selection of Okinawans for husbands and the relatively great difference between choosing Okinawan husbands and non-Japanese husbands. It is necessary to add, however, that in evaluating the difference of 11.4 per cent, it would be important to take account of the difference in numerical "availability" of potential husbands for Naichi brides as between the Okinawan category and the non-Japanese category. The latter far outnumbers the category of Okinawan men.

Marriages of Okinawan grooms with Okinawan women constituted 4.4 per cent of the total number, whereas marriage with non-Japanese made up 4.6 per cent of their total. While both percentages are quite low, if numerical availability of potential brides from among the various ethnic groups could be taken into account, the figures would suggest a decided preference among Naichi grooms for Okinawan brides as against brides from all the non-Japanese groups combined.

The percentage of in-marriage among Naichi grooms (92.9 per cent) is very high, relatively speaking, as is the percentage of in-marriage among Naichi brides (72.6 per cent). For the period under consideration, we may say that the tendency to inmarry was definitely greater among Naichi than among Okinawans. With respect to marriage within the total Japan group, however, the earlier discussions indicated that grooms of both sub-groups tended to inmarry more than their bride counterparts, Okinawan grooms tended to inmarry more than Okinawan brides, and that Naichi grooms tended to inmarry although non-significantly, more than Naichi brides.

The proportion of Naichi brides who married non-Japanese (15.4 per cent) was three times as great as the proportion of Okinawan grooms who married non-Japanese (5.0 per cent). Even if allowance were to be made for the greater availability of potential non-Japanese mates for the bridges than for the grooms, it seems that the difference would still be significant, "flying up" on the part of Naichi brides suggests itself as a possibly relevant factor.

In the matter of marriage to Okinawan grooms, however, the Naichi grooms' percentage was greater than the bridges' percentage. While both percentages (6.4 and 4.6) are relatively low, the difference was found to be statistically significant. The idea that status differences in a "closed system" of two groups should be manifested to a greater degree among
the males of the ‘higher’ group marrying into the ‘lower’ group appears to be upheld in this instance.

Okinawans and Natchi Interactions Toward Each Other

The percentages of Okinawans, both brides and grooms, who married Natchi were greater than the percentage of their Natchi counterparts who selected Okinawan spouses. The Okinawan percentage for the brides was 9.4 for Okinawans and 4.0 for Natchi. For the grooms, the percentage was 10.3 and 6.4. Do these differences between Okinawans and Natchi for Natchi spouses in the part of Okinawans that the tolerance of Natchi for Okinawan spouses?

The matter of difference in numbers in the two groups seems to be of direct relevance in interpreting these differences in percentages. It was earlier mentioned that for the 100, the ratio was about 3:7 to one Okinawan. If it is reasonable to utilize these ratios in this instance, it is not as great as they appear to be. If the two groups were equal in the other sub-group, the observed differences in percentage would seem to be quite close to the expected differences. Assuming the sex ratio to be approximately equal in both groups, Okinawan women would have about 2.7 times as much opportunity to marry Natchi men as Natchi women would have to marry Okinawan men; and Okinawan men would have about 4.3 times as much opportunity to marry Natchi women as Natchi men would have to marry Okinawan women. The observed percentage differences were in the ratio of about 3 to 1 for the brides and about 2 to 1 for the grooms. This would suggest that there is so great a difference between the two groups with respect to degree of inclination or disinclination about choosing mates from the other group.

Summary and conclusions

There is little in the way of consistent differences in the rate of marriage to non-Japanese between Okinawans and Natchi. The outmarriage rate of Okinawan brides to non-Japanese is significantly greater than the mainly 4 per cent is not as great as the numbers, is not as great as suggested by numerical size, and the 10 per cent is not as great as the numbers. Among the grooms, there is no significant difference in the rate the outmarriage rate of Natchi grooms is slightly greater than that of Okinawan grooms.

An interesting fact is that when the difference between the Okinawan and Natchi when the difference in size of the two subgroups, and hence the difference in the ‘pool’ of potential mates from the other subgroup, is taken into account. Aside from preference, the difference in the ‘pool’ of potential mates from the other subgroup, is taken into account. Aside from preference between Natchi and Okinawan can reasonably be inferred from the data.

Some important differences in marriage rates seem to exist between the two sexes within each of the two subgroups. In both the Natchi and Okinawan groups, the women appear to marry non-Japanese more readily than the males, the difference not being wholly attributable to the differences in the number of potential mates available to the non-Japanese population. In the matter of marrying into the other subgroup, however, there is little difference between the sexes within the Okinawan group, and the difference is the Natchi group between brides and grooms, while statistically significant, is less than 3 per cent.

Even when considered as a separate ethnic group, Okinawans choose the majority of their mates from within their own group. When compared with the Natchi group, however, Okinawans choose spouses from outside the subgroup at a much higher rate. Their rate, especially that of the community of comparable size. The relatively high rate of marrying out of the Okinawan group, however, is due largely to the rate of marriage to Natchi. This is especially true of the grooms, but even among the brides, at least half of the marriages out of the Okinawan group have been with Natchi.

Identification of Okinawans with their ethnic group as a distinct category appears to exist. It is the same with Natchi. The Okinawan group, however, seems to show greater signs of probable decrease in ethnic cohesion. This does not necessarily mean that the group is likely to “disappear” soon as a self-conscious entity by being merged with the wider community of mixed bloods, as appears to be the trend among some other small ethnic groups in the islands. Rather, the Okinawans, insofar as they lose their separate ethnic identity, are more likely to be merged with the Natchi. This tendency is, of course, from one point of view, an accomplished fact. All public institutions regard the Japanese as an ethnic entity, whether Okinawan or Natchi. And most Okinawans and Natchi, if not all, already have a dual ethnic identity, Japanese relative to other ethnic groups and Natchi or Okinawan relative to each other. The growing number of persons of mixed Okinawan and Natchi ancestry is indicative, at the level of biological fusion, of the reduction of cultural differences between the two groups and of affinities and actions based on consciousness of difference in identity.
THE FILIPINO WEDDING: A COMPARISON OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Ludwig C. Moal

Many years ago, arranged marriages were very common in many parts of the world. In Japan, for example, the girl’s or boy’s parents choose the bride-to-be or groom-to-be for their children. In royal or wealthy families, the child’s parents are aware of such arrangements. This is similarly a widespread practice, not only for rich, but for poor families in the Philippines.

The following discussion is written primarily from the viewpoint of the Siamese, with major attention upon the marriage practices as they have existed in the homeland. As a consequence, the account is stated chiefly in the past tense, as having existed in the past in the Philippines, prior to the arrival of the immigrants. It is quite probable that many of these as the standard by which the immigrant generation judge present customs still prevail in the homeland. They are presented here, however, practices in the islands. Incidental attention is given to the changes which have occurred among the immigrants and their children in Hawaii.

When the boy was between the ages of 18 and 20 years, his parents would be very much interested in getting him married. In most cases, the from the same county, a good family friend, or a far-away relative which we unaware of the marriage arrangements being made for her because in most cases, this boy was given much more choice because the parent might not like his own bride.

The term “dansalan” was used when the boy’s parents went for an informal talk at the girl’s house for wedding arrangements. The girl was rarely present during this meeting. When the family was poor, the parents would send a hacksaw to their daughter’s house. The girl’s parents would ask the boy’s parents to give “pay” for his bride. This is still practiced today by some, especially if the girl is the youngest member of the family. There might be objections from the relatives and friends of each party, but when agreement was reached, the boy’s side (i.e., family friends and relatives called “parast”) also furnished all the food. In Hawaii, Filipinos still believe in this custom.


The girl’s wedding gown was called “tangos” which is made of cotton and abaca of any color. The girl was also given a necklace,吊坠, and a golden wedding ring with no diamond stone. Today, Filipinos have adopted the practice of having the girl provide her own wedding gown and shoes. Universal to both the bride and groom was to wear a diamond ring or golden wedding bands for both bride and groom. Whereas the girl in earlier times wore wooden slippers with flats, depending on her choice. The wooden slippers, called “lia”, were sometimes worn in the Philippines for other occasions.

The boy supplied his own wedding shirt called “parutan”, which is similar to the organza. He did not dress as elaborately as the girl, nor did he wear a coat and tie. His pants were also of a bright color which Filipinos fancy.

There was a best man and a maid-of-honor—Amben Bua II (Chap). Literally, they were the father and mother in marriage and usually they were from the same county and very close relatives of both parties. Selections were based on prestige and status so that those of high social standing were often chosen to be attendants. The couple might rely on them for assistance. Today there are added flower girls, a ring bearer, and boutonnieres and corsages which did not exist in earlier days.

A Filipino day party was formerly a four-day affair. There was a pre-wedding party for two nights and a day, and another one right after the wedding ceremony in a nearby church, following the wedding day, another party was held at the girl’s house. This party was something like a “parutan” for the girl because she was leaving her home for a new one with her husband. If a wedding was to take place on Sunday, the actual party started on Friday night. Wine, made in their homes, was served along with roast pig, fish, and chicken as main dishes. There were also many vegetables like taro and yams together with fruits, a favorite of many Filipinos and foreigners (golf). The party was not limited to invited guests. A number of the guests’ friends “invited themselves.” The party continued all day and night on Saturday at the boy’s residence. On Sunday morning, after the wedding ceremony was over, continued celebrations resumed at the boy’s home. On Monday, the “parutan” party was at the girl’s place.

After the wedding ceremony at the church, the bride and groom along with others, would go to the boy’s house for the “parutan” party. The boy took place. Usually the receiving was accompanied by music by a Darse string orchestra, who played Filipino love songs to signify happiness for the newlyweds. Today, there are loud horn sounds as the couple passes in a car after the wedding ceremony.

When the couple arrived at the boy’s house, each of them was given a lighted candle which was held in front of them as they entered into the house. They then kneaded the candle and the candle was placed in front of an altar. Prayers led by an older female member of the boy or girl’s family followed. This is a very important tradition that is still carried out today. Rice throwing was considered less important in those days. The newlyweds would give the couple the blessings and happiness which were needed. Sometimes, the newlyweds would fall on the floor at the time this ceremony was not a part of our family culture, and I remember that when we were just about to start the party, the groom’s father danced. Much to our amusement, the
If both parents were well-to-do, they would provide a house for the couple. However, if they were poor, the couple would live with the boy’s parents. Today, it depends on the couple. Some prefer to stay with the girl’s parents, others, with the boy’s parents and there are some who wish to live apart from either parent.

By way of conclusion, one may say that even though arranged marriages are not very common today, the parents still believe that their child should accept the parents’ choice of a marriage partner. The father-child relationship is very important. The boy-child may marry his daughter’s going steady with a boy of a different nationality and this may even threaten the boy’s love affair. I have found, however, that when this happens and the boy and girl get married without the consent of either parent, the marriage turns out well, cordial relationships with the parents are re-established and, “everyone lives happily ever after.”

Finally, parents tend to be more understanding and tolerant now, perhaps because education is more widespread and mixed marriages are more common. Though weddings still tend to be rather elaborate and formal, some have been in private weddings today. Few of the traditional customs still persist among the “Americanized Filipinos.”

In the Philippines there used to be many other Filipino dances which were performed while the bride and groom were being congratulated. The younger people now had their chance of showing their talents by singing or dancing. Usually the songs portrayed love stories and situations in time of courtship.

While rejoicing was going on, the candle was watched by an older member of the girl or the boy’s family. It was believed that the candle under one of the couple would die earlier. The wedding couple would turn out, if the flame of both candles was straight, their marriage would be a happy and strong one.
The Transition from Japanese Hospital to Kuakini Hospital

Nancy M. Hockema

Kuakini Hospital presents an interesting aspect of the changing social scene in Hawaii. To the casual observer, it is the former Japa
descent ethnic or "racial" atmosphere still prevalent and a newcomer
race with uglification and even disdain. In spite of the dominant Japanese
in the forces of the white American society. In these ranks, we may even
The very names—Japanese hospital and Kuakini hospital—symbolize the contradiction cultural orientation of this one institution during the past two
time as well as in name a reflection of the Japanese community in Hawaii,
At the time of Kuakini Hospital, the hospital has been one of cultural transformation—of confusion and 
interracial development into an institution capable of serving Hawaii's cosmopolitan society.

The Period of the Japanese Hospital

In the year 1860, following the bubonic plague and the terrifying
"Cholera fire," many Japanese were left homeless and destitute. The
clothing, and medical care. This incident served as the impetus for the
primary purpose was to serve the Japanese people and to remain unwaver-
Japan's Japanese for some forty odd years.

To those unfamiliar with the Oriental concept of nursing and hospitali
testinalize, this institution serves as a baffling contrast indeed. In the urbanized communities where police-like settlements exist, this clearly
resemblance of the nurses indicates that both oral and written communi
communication were understood in Japanese. Since the nursing care was regulated by Japanese standards, nurses were either trained in Japan or trained at
requirements of the Japanese Hospital in the traditional Japanese manner. Entrants
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primary purpose was to serve the Japanese people and to remain unwaver-
Japan's Japanese for some forty odd years.

A dominant note of this period was authoritarian ordination. One
never questioned the superiors. This situation prevented the acceptance
American standards of nursing, but operating within this instant insti
nurses managed to attain dignity and status within their own ethnic
community and rise to positions of prominence.

A sense of financial well-being seemed to exist at this time. It
was, for instance, possible to operate the kitchen at a substantial profit. This
was possible because the old world regime nurses washed their own
dishes after each meal. This gesture reflects in many ways the old
values of the Kuakini Hospital. In the dining room each
general operating in the old Kuakini Hospital. In the dining room each
employee had his own little high stand containing a teak or other
bowl, and a pair of ladle (cherry). As the employee entered the
dining room, they went to their baskets for their bowls and chopsticks
Then they were finished, each individual carried his dishes back to
the sink, rinsed his bowl and chopsticks, and placed them back in his
respective basket to drain. This procedure may strike us as curious
but seemed quite satisfactory to the in-group. It simplified the work for
the kitchen crew and kept the expenses at a minimum.

In nursing, we see the same Oriental system at work, found according
to the observation of a Red Cross Nursing Consultant in Japan shortly after
the end of World War II to be continued in Japanese hospitals. In the effort
of the Americans to restructure the nursing of post-war Japan, they were
confronted with the same traditional practices. The goal was that nursing
would become more doctor-centered than patient-centered. This concept involved
the principles that nurses were primarily there to assist the doctors and to
perform more difficult procedures only, consequently nursing care
practicing personal needs of the patients was delegated to family members.
This was described by the American observers in Japan as "going the
doctor rather than the patient." The practice may have reflected early
German practice, which had greatly influenced the development of medicine
in Japan. It of course also emphasized the high status of the doctor. A
similar practice existed at the Japanese hospital. Family members were
provided cots in patients' rooms and remained for twenty-four hours to
provide for the needs of the sick. In Japan, even cooking in the rooms was
permitted, but this was not done here. Families were, however, permitted to
remain in the patient's room for several weeks.

The American observers observed the caregivers to be somewhat
too emotional. Some nurses recalling the early situation say, "Oh, we never
carried burdens." Occasionally the idea may still crop up, "Let the family
do it." The American practice of deferring to superiors seems to have
prevailed. Gift presentation as a form of respect until the end of the year to any superior was a
commonly accepted practice. It was supposed to signify your gratitude
for consideration. A gift of a certain amount of money was usually
acquired as a token of respect. These gifts were accepted with
appreciation. Just as authority from above was not questioned, it was considered an obligation to accept
this privilege as natural. In Japan, it was customary to give gifts to the
superiors, and express it, and were in no way considered "gratitude.
In fact, some would say that this practice was necessary to be done
by the inferiors who have their way around.

There are many other things like communal baths, tea parties for
doctors and nurses, accepting your pay with a respectful bow, that paint a picturesque scene of postwar Japan in Hawaii.
Perhaps the most significant occurrence towards the end of this chapter of the old Japanese Hospital was the last expansion of the hospital in 1339. This indicated the feeling of political allegiance to Japan at that time. The Japanese Benevolent Society issued a publication in Japanese and English to express its appreciation to the Emperor and the nurses for their services. They stressed the need for expansion, and the new building was designed to accommodate the increasing number of Japanese patients. Faced with this challenge, the nurses and doctors worked tirelessly to ensure that the hospital continued to provide quality care.

Kokisho Hospital, a Period of Transformation

The impact of the Second World War markedly altered the institutional picture. Records reveal that the hospital changed its name to the Kokisho Hospital in 1942. Prior to this, nurses from the United States had already begun to work in the hospital. However, their influence had been relatively slight in contrast to the over-powering events in 1941.

The Second World War resulted in half the hospital being taken over by the United States Army as a medical unit. The initial occupation of the hospital by the United States Army had something akin to the martial occupation of eastern soil. Gradually, however, the military control was relaxed and the hospital’s role expanded to serve a broader community. The approach of understanding and tolerance possessed by the American military and civilian leaders at that time is indeed remarkable. A complete reorganization of the existing organization was unexpected but the urgency of the moment was apparent.

A rapid change took place after this. American medical and nursing practices, as well as their training, began to influence the hospital. Americans came to take control, and the hospital began to reflect their values.

The end of the war and a return to normal conditions naturally found some of the old sentiments cropping out anew, particularly among older persons. There was some hope that the hospital could again become “tractable for Japanese only.” But on the whole, the new order was accepted, with belated emphasis on race. Traditions and cultures change slowly and the Japanese imprint at Kokisho cannot be erased.

In contrast to the 1948 building fund campaign to which the Japanese Imperial family contributed the largest sum, we find that in 1935 the hospital received a generous donation from the U.S. government. Indeed, the golden anniversary of 1935 is a very small sum as compared to the Federal grant in 1932.

The recognition accorded by the University of Hawaii to the Hospital as a clinical field for the training of nursing students also helps to re-enforce the modern trend. Finally, the strict enforcement of the laws of the Territory, including sanitary and building

56
I soon found out. We had to hurry to buy some shoes and things before the stores closed and so we rushed downtown. It was on the bus that I had my first real look at the people of Hawaii.

"Good Evening," I wondered. "Where are the Hawaiians? To gods, could there have been a mistake - they've landed in China, or is it Japan? What on earth are all these Orientals doing here?" And downtown it was more of the same. Orientals everywhere, some sailors, soldiers, and an odd assortment of people whose racial connections I couldn't identify.

And the city! What was this busy bustling crowded city doing on Hawaii? What were those peculiar things those women were wearing? By the end of my first day in Hawaii I went to bed feeling terribly confused, bewildered, and a little betrayed. I knew that I was going to have to discover the real Hawaii in much the same way Captain Cook had discovered it - starting from zero.

The next day, however, I clung to the one concept of Hawaii I felt could not be a false one, and that was concerning the Friendliness of the people (no longer "natives"). Surely the reputation Hawaii had achieved on the mainland for this quality must have had a basis in fact. By the end of my second day in Hawaii this notion had proved to be, if anything, more simple than the rest. Already that morning my husband had learned to leave on an extended cruise and the children and I were to spend our first weeks here alone. When I went to hang out my wash I met another woman hanging hers very close by, when I glanced at my direction I said, "Good morning, we just moved in." And I must say, I don't own anything that anyone but I find the simple courtesies pleasant and not the least compromising, so I was both surprised and embarrassed when this lady instantly lifted her eyes from mine, turned and without a word went into her house.

During the entire trip I there we never exchanged a word and in fact she demonstrated an active dislike in such instances as when my children would call here to come and play and I would hear her tell her two, "You stay here." I met with similar if not as extreme reactions from the rest of my neighbors. Some would nod or smile briefly if I greeted them, and would let our children play together, but they were definitely wary and reserved.

Because my baby was due soon I was fairly confined to the house, and since the neighborhood was a crowded one, house was house, I sometimes felt our apartment was an island of its own. There were no Haolos closer than two streets away as far as I could tell, and the first time I became conscious that I was looking for another Haole face I felt a sort of sadness that it had come to that.

On the weekends I began to hope for letters of interesting things to do. There was the Hula Festival at Kapoia Park, a museum on Kaliki Street - there were things. Relying solely on a city map and the bus drivers I groped my way with the children to these places. And of course there were seemingly endless series of journeys to Tripler Hospital for check-ups. These were a horror because there was no one to lead the children with, and those children were not allowed into the maternity waiting room they sometimes had to sit as long as two hours by themselves in the outer room. I wonder now at my stupidity in not asking the Navy Relief or someone else for help in this problem. Frequently I saw or met near other women who were surely service wives too, but I couldn't
being myself to strike up an acquaintance. In view of my condition and my husband's absence I thought it would be best if I were trying to gain sympathy or impose myself on them. Or perhaps it was stubborn pride.

It was the usual round of tedious confessions that my deepening disappointment and obvious stage of pregnancy and since my younger child still had to be lifted in and out of these three always seemed to be someone who wanted that it was these two that kept me from feeling completely humiliated.

However, when my husband returned and we found out we were eligible for transient housing at Pearl Harbor, it was with relief that I moved up to be back with what I had then come to think of as "my own kind." I might add that we lost most of the deposits on the place in town in payment for damages that were there when we moved in.

At the time it seemed wonderful; once again to have neighbors who smiled easily and who would drop in to talk and talk and talk. My baby was born almost immediately after the move and the first months were spent at home and life settled into a routine of going to the beach, shopping, or attending whatever local event interested us. Always in the company of other Navy people, or just the family.

Having discussed my town experience with other Navy wives I came to realize that it had simply been bad fortune that we had found our apartment where we did. Had I lived perhaps only five streets or so in another neighborhood a service family moves into make all the difference. In court that catered to service people, or in the town in which the people in the area were friendly, these became the exception.

By the time two years had passed I had gotten into a sort of rut about my life and place in Hawaii and I believe it was fairly typical of the Navy wives I have no acquaintance with any officer-wives. That thought went something like this: "Hawaii is an interesting experience; but Navy people are considered; that's all. the climate is bearable, but it would be better in the country." Then there were more than that; few people lived in the area and the real clothing made it economical to clothe children as well as themselves. So, too, did many of us have by experience that the next place may be so much worse.

What was my thoughts on the "race factor" by then? Well, I had then looked at the Hawaian children in my neighborhood. Then I had the baby, the only one I have ever been around who has not had any trouble at all. I suspect this was more an impression than actual information.

I had become aware of the size of the Oriental population, especially the Japanese. At first I couldn't tell Japanese from Chinese, but after many cases I ran, and of course the names have come to make a difference. My relations with the local people, of whatever background, were really no better, all. I went into stores to buy things and it was no different from buying things from any people anywhere else. This was the only contact I had with local people and because there are so many Navy people they get a feeling that they've only wanted here because of the money they spend. Although it is not uncommon to hear Navy people say they don't want or need friends among the "locals." I often think this is a type of "segregated" attitude, because those who do find "outside" friends are invariably pleased and show-off about it, and I suspect are avoided by those who have had no such luck.

Through various sources--I'm not even sure which--I had the impression that there was not much love lost between the different nations in the islands. The Chinese we supposed to dislike the Japanese. The Koreans, and in vice versa, and neither of them were supposed to like the Japanese. And at the same time, seemed, from reading the newspaper, that someone was always noting how well everyone got along. In Hawaii mixed together, without even noticing the mutual dislike.

Personally, I was puzzled at the foreign language broadcasts on the major radio stations. On the Oakland one finds them on the lesser stations. I didn't think it was a smart idea to feature such foreign language programs so prominently because this was America and these things should rate only a small back seat here. I attributed it to just such "goings on," because I find myself stuttering over words at times, and blame it on bilingual surroundings in my childhood.

One thing that puzzled me from the beginning was to hear Portuguese people distinguished from Hula people. To me Portuguese are Hula. Another strange thing, and a little funny too, was to notice in the society sections of the papers that the descendants of the early missionaries seemed to take a great pride in this. It seemed as if in Hawaii to be the Hula descendant of a missionary counts as much toward blue-bloodedness as being connected with the Mayflower does in Boston. And this is peculiar to me, because where I was raised, miscegenation, even the dead ones, were rather looked down on in class status.

By the beginning of my third year in Hawaii I began to feel a restlessness to get out of the narrow life we were living. We couldn't look forward to the diversions of the long streets that had been so much of a help visit us. We covered Cuba pretty thoroughly, that is, as much as non-residents can ever cover a place, and we had spent a week on the island of Hawaii. Now we had come to a kind of dead-end. At about the time most Navy families who had not left the island had left, we were beginning another three year term of shore duty. The constant companionship of only other Navy wives was becoming wearing, and all the things we said and did seemed to have been said and done over and over before. I liked politics, local and national, and had trouble finding women who were interested in discussing these things. I had not found anyone who could enjoy going to the symphony with me, and although certainly means of this was in any sense tragic, still, unless not knowing people who shared my interests or who couldn't care a damn about some of the things I was doing, whether. Unhappily there are many in Navy folklore who have these interests, but I have done it was all children, clothes, husbands, and the Navy. An occasional violent headline or petty neighborhood gossip provided the only novelty. I began to feel a sense
of usefulness, to feel that I should be getting more out of life, and in turn should be contributing more to it.

Then, too, I became uneasy at some of the conversations I was often a part of. I found myself tuting in pretty cynical and constant complaining. I didn't seem to have half the vitality I had when I had arrived in Hawaii. It all hadn't reached my consciousness all at once of course. It was a gradual awareness that I didn't like the "me" I was becoming.

One day I saw a picture in the newspaper of a woman with four children who was graduating from the University Teacher's College. I had left school soon after the eighth grade because of emotional difficulties after my parents' divorce and I had always regretted my lack of a formal education even though I had learned a lot through reading. The idea began to grow and grow that I wanted to go to high school and to college, and perhaps become a teacher myself. When my husband retired from the Navy it could be ideal for me to work so that he could get started in another interest, and if I taught I could still spend summers with the children. I put my idea to my husband, who knew how dissatisfied I had become, and he agreed that I should try. Naturally there were all sorts of obstacles to be worked out but I thought I could take care of them as they arose. High school had to be finished first and so I went to one of the Adult Education centers to register and attend night sessions. The counselor there said I might not have to go through all the courses if I could demonstrate that I already knew something about them, and he gave me the California Achievement Test to find out which courses I needed to enroll in. When I had finished he said he wanted to give me one other exam; and now I enjoy telling people I went to high school in four hours because after the second exam, which turned out to be a General Educational Development test, I was told I needed bother about high school. They would give me a diploma immediately, and I could go right over to the University for the entrance exam. I was delighted and very proud of my diploma, but had a suspicion that high school standards must have been lowered since "my day."

I took the University exam right away and was off on my new career. In my two years at the University I have received far more in the way of an education than my record of courses might indicate. My two older children were by then in school, but I had to make arrangements for the youngest, then a little past two years. I found a wonderful nursery school for him in town, where I could drop him off on my way, and at various times he has been the only Haole child of thirty or more children. The teachers were my first real contact with local women and I liked them very much. They knew how to handle my boy wisely and with every day that passed he became more affectionate toward them. . . .

Through going to the University I have met many people outside of the University and these meetings have invariably been pleasant ones.

On the campus, at first I felt a little strange and out of place. First day in class it was obvious that no one would sit in the seat on either side of me until there was no choice left. But these were freshman classes and I believed the age factor made a difference. It never occurred to me at the time that being a Haole had anything to do with it, although since then this has been suggested to me by other Haoles. In any case, I didn't let any of the stand-offishness get me down and didn't push things in my class relationships. I sometimes found myself pushing the instructors though, and I suppose I fulfill every qualification of "Haole big mouth."

But I felt I couldn't sit quietly while an instructor would innocently or otherwise state what was purely opinion on his part as if it were fact.

As the months passed and I came to feel at home, life on campus became very pleasant. It was a wonderful change from the Navy life. I felt healthier and happier. Homework and schoolwork adjusted nicely and I relapsed myself to doing both adequately rather than trying to be perfect at one of the expense of the other.

It seemed to me that when my freshman classmates realized that I not only didn't hate but was perfectly content to take them or lose them on their own terms I made friends. I often wished they would spend up more in class to make things more interesting but the majority seemed to prefer just listening, and perhaps this is wise. Yet I sensed that behind those frequently bland faces in class there were decided opinions on this or that and I would have enjoyed hearing them.

When I first arrived in Hawaii, interracial marriage seemed just as wrong to me as it does to most Haoles today; however, after my association with the girls of other races on campus I now wonder what all the fuss is about. Taken as individuals these girls are not very different from girls anywhere else and their children, whether from a mixed marriage or not, would be no more nor less than any children anywhere. I cannot say that I have decided that all interracial marriages are good, but taking it on the basis of individuals, my stand has certainly been modified.

The one outstanding general fact that has stuck with me after these years in Hawaii is that the Territory is really by far more up-to-date and Americanized than most Haoles are aware of. Perhaps in the first impression it seems as if Hawaii over-emphasizes the culture of other nationalities but the longer one stays the more apparent it becomes that these things are really only background material. And running through everything like a core, is the American way of doing things.

In general, I like my new picture of Hawaii far better than the one I had when I arrived. Less romantic perhaps, but surely more alive, more vital, more interesting. I do think the race situation here would serve as an even better example to the world if the publicity people who consistently point with pride would do a little less pontificating. Quiet pride is so much more becoming than the noisy kind, and actually it is the not the people themselves who make the noise.

In any event, it all comes down to this: The faces may look different, some of the things that go on may seem foreign to a Haole, and even some of the language is foreign; but this is certainly America and anyone who can't see it just isn't looking.
RACE RELATIONS IN THE U. S. ARMY

Chia H. Kimura

Negro-White Relations

Racial integration appears to have gone further in the Army than in civilian life. A bus terminal in Florida caught my attention with its large signs, conspicuously placed, directing colored people to use the separate entrances, ticket windows, and waiting and rest rooms provided especially for them. Elsewhere, various restaurants, hotels, beaches, and parks were "off-limits" to Negroes. To be sure, Florida was not alone in requiring and enforcing racial segregation.

The Army presented a completely different picture. Here both white and Negro seemed rather well contented with integration. Both frequented the same service club, base theatre, post exchange and chapel. During off-duty hours, Negroes driving into town picked up hitch-hiking white soldiers, and vice versa. Indeed, once a Negro had been placed in an integrated unit, he generally became a part of the informal group and acquired buddies, both Negro and white.

Usually, the white soldier arrived at the post filled with all kinds of race prejudices derived from his earliest childhood. He came into the Army possessed with certain myths—that Negroes were generally good-for-nothing s. o. b. s., that they easily became quarrelsome and violent, always ready for an argument and fight, and that they were thieves, trouble makers, and back-stabbers to be avoided as much as possible. Because of these attitudes, the white soldier magnified his grievances and placed them on a racial basis. Yet the white soldier had to work and live beside the Negro by military order, no matter how strongly he might have felt about colored people. As a result, he got to know the Negro personally and gradually changed his antagonistic feeling. The white soldier found he could work side by side with a Negro soldier and might even accept him as a fellow member of a primary group.

In some cases, white soldiers from the deep South became close buddies with Negro soldiers, with very warm and closely personal relations between them. When I was stationed at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, there were in my barracks two soldiers who were the best of friends—a Mississippi white and a Georgia Negro. Together they went to the service club, base theatre and post exchange. They told each other about their hometowns, sweethearts and other personal experiences. This Mississippi white and Georgia Negro even wrote to their families back home about this friendship.

At Brooke Army Hospital in San Antonio, Texas, segregation and discrimination were practically non-existent. Negroes mixed well with whites. Parties were given regardless of skin color, and to my knowledge, very little discord ever occurred. Whether it was watching television, playing cards, browsing in the library, or carrying on a lively ball-session, the Negro seemed to be accepted as a sexual equal. I never heard of a white patient objecting to sleeping next to a Negro or eating with him in the mess hall. Such was the case also at an Air Force hospital in Florida.

There was an apparent eagerness in which some whites and some Negroes tended to stick to their particular ethnic group. This tendency did not necessarily indicate friction along racial lines, but illustrated rather that "birds of a feather stick together." A Negro associated more freely with other Negroes, since in such a group he found the greatest emotional comfort or security and assurances that he would be accepted on the same social plane. I noted that some Negroes seemed reserved andintroverted in white company but were quite convivial and affable among other Negroes.

Although both white and Negro attended the service club socials, they usually did not mix much—there a group of Negro soldiers and Negro girls, there a group of white soldiers and white girls, but seldom a group of whites and Negroes.

Oriental-White Relations

As a Japanese girl, I associated freely and easily with whites, as much as or even more than with other Orientals. I found no social barriers to hurdle. Whites treated me to drinks, cigarettes, movies and meals. I went sightseeing, hiking and swimming with them. We talked intimately. We attended chapel services together. I could go on intimately listing such instances. In such relations it seemed to me that an Oriental's character and personality, rather than his racial background, determined the degree of his acceptance by Orientals.

Probably my best buddy in the service was two whites. Our cultural backgrounds were dissimilar, so that what actually cemented the friendship bonds was the freedom of communication between us. These two whites and I were attending the auto-technical school at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. We went to classes together, studied and discoed together, and slept in the same barracks. When our courses was completed, all three of us were sent to the same base in California. After several months there we were sent to our separate ways—two to Alaska, the other to Oregon, and I to Florida—thus terminating our active friendship. Certainly, we had made no conscious effort to select each other for friends. Participation in a common endeavor had attracted us together. We had attended the same classes and had worked diligently. Moreover, we had felt comfortable in

1 This article consists of the impressions derived from eight months of military duty [1944-1945] in the South (Virginia, Florida and Texas), when the author was able to observe race relations at work on various military posts and to converse with many persons of different ethnic groups.

2 Such a situation occurs daily on the University of Hawaii campus, where Hulao tend to associate more with Hulaos, and Orientals with Orientals; therefore, social exclusion is not confined solely to the Negroes.
each other’s company, talking easily and freely. Skin color certainly did
not disrupt this friendship.3

One different aspect of race relations was that Orientals, in most
cases from Hawaii, tended to form a closely-knit group. Whites were not
excluded in this intimacy, and I can well understand why. The Orientals
were lonely because their homes were far away and because they comprised
a minority. White company did not offer them much because of differing
cultural backgrounds. In the all-Oriental group, members talked the
same “lingo,” shared common sentiments, and discussed common ex-
erience. Such a situation could so easily have been misinterpreted by
other ethnic groups as being pure Oriental snobbery.

Another aspect was the social stress generated by the loneliness of
Japanese-Americans isolated from Hawaii. As these Japanese brooded
over how wonderful Hawaii was and how happy they would be if they
were home and free from all restrictions, they missed Japanese food, their loneliness
increased. Each affected the other and was in turn
the full meaning of their loneliness and could not understand why Japanese.
When weekends arrived, these Japanese eagerly sought the Japanese sections
of the nearby cities and had a fine time being among Japanese again and
eating Japanese food and hearing Japanese music. All these things reminded
them of home and for a while alleviated their loneliness. However, once
they returned to their barracks and resumed their military duties among the
“foreign whites,” their loneliness reappeared.

The brighter aspect of the picture was that Orientals earnestly
tried to “outlive” the other racial groups in the performance of
military duties. They made every effort to polish their boots the brightest,
to take baths and to change clothes more often, and to make their barrack
worthier to others, that they did count and in fact were important to the
their yellowish-brown associates in this friendly competition of “saving
face.”

3 I should mention here that the three cadres who selected
me as a squad leader during basic training in California were
whites.

NEW HAWAIIANA
Books and Reports of Sociological Interest
Northland I. Hermann

The last year or two have seen the publication of a number of books
and studies containing materials of interest to the student of the sociology
of Hawaii. The purpose of this discussion is to bring these to the attention of
the student of ethnology and to attempt briefly to state how they contribute
to our understanding.

Andrew W. Laid (editor), Race Relations in World Perspective and
Malayan Commissions. Race Issues in the World Press, both published in 1954
by the University of Hawaii Press are part of the harvest of the world race
relations conference held on the campus in the summer of 1954.

The Laid book is a collection of most of the papers prepared in advance
by the scholars invited to the conference. These are of course world-wide in scope. Two, however, deal with certain aspects of Hawaii: Andrew W. Laid,
“Occupation and Race on Certain Frontiers,” and Bernhard I. Hermann,
“Rigidity and Fluidity in Race Relations.” Laid’s paper develops a com-
parison between the way race relations in the changing occupational structure
of Hawaii and Malaysia, both of them conceived as plantation frontiers.
Hermann’s paper is concerned with what European expansion does to non-
Western populations, and was Hawaii as a case history.

The Combes book is a brief 144-page summary of the four-week
conference and its papers and reports, prepared by one of the participants,
at that time in charge of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council of Honolulu.
Unfortunately it lacks an index. This reviewer spotted the following
reference to Hawaii:
Page 12 reference to race and occupation.
68-76 summary of the summary on race relations presented orally to the conference.
132 adherence of the ideology of racial integration as
against groups practicing it.
133 suggested research on racial integration in government.

Andrew W. Laid, Hawaii’s People (Honolulu: University of Hawaii
Press, 1953) is a brief book of just over a hundred pages written with
the purpose of bringing up-to-date a similar but even briefer work by Romanzo
Adams, which came out in two editions twenty-five years ago and has long
been out of print. The title The People of Hawaii when juxtaposed in Laid’s
suggests the transition from many peoples to one.

The five chapters tell, largely in statistical terms, who they are—
racial, sex, and age composition of the population through the years; where
they live—by islands and local communities; how they live—by occupation;
and what they are becoming—by education, citizenship, political party,
political participation, birth, death, and interracial marriages rates.

Certain statistics available to Adams are now no longer obtainable
because in the last two decades racial statistics have gradually been elim-
nated, and that Laid was not able to give recent data on voters by race, assessed
value of personal property by race, school enrollment by race.
Laid also did not go into indices of social disorganization, which Adams had
included.
In spite of the brevity of the work, Lind manages to pack a good deal of ethnological analysis into the text and in that sense the book is a brief introduction to the sociology of modern Hawai'i. His brings together concisely many of his understandings of Hawai'i developed at greater length in his other writings, but one point which he makes strongly and I don't remember coming across before. It was suggested by Adams that U.S. census practice about racial classification when applied to Hawai'i in 1890 did not fit the local situation and had to be abandoned or modified in subsequent censuses. Lind, however, suggests that the islandwide practice introduced an emphasis on biological conceptions of race for the first time. Previous to that time, the prevalent conception had been one which classified people culturally or by national origin. Today our most widely used classification of the peoples retains this island-wide practice in its handling of Caucasians. Otherwise the earlier local practice is the one in vogue, except the example of persons of mixed blood where the two principles are compromised. I personally feel that it was inadvisable for some classifications including all Hawaiians, by whatever name, to emerge to construct the Hawaiian and immigrant nationalities.

The distinction is somewhat similar to that between the Americans-English, say in New England, and the Irish west contrasted with the European immigrant nationality groups here, and the biological conceptions are not very great in either situation.

The members of the department of sociology and the Romanzo Adana Social Research Laboratory occasionally do research in hospital studies on a contractual basis. Two recent ones are deserving of attention.

Lee H. Brooks, C. K. Chang, with Jessica P. Heiner as consultant, prepared a Survey of Conditions and Needs Basis to Planning a New Jail for the City of Honolulu for the Board of Supervisors. Appearing in 1956, this mimeographed volume runs to 88 pages. The survey was interested in data which would contribute to the intelligent planning of a new jail. Major emphasis was on a study of a sample of the jail population over the previous ten-year period. Among the salient findings were that the top offense, accounting for 37.8 per cent of the 720 offenders in the sample, was for drunkenness. Traffic violations came second with 18.4 per cent.

The jail population sample was 85 per cent male, and 40 per cent between 18 and 29 years of age, with traffic offenses as their most frequent offense. Seventy per cent were single, divorced, or widowed.

"Caucasians comprised the largest single racial group in jail, 30 per cent." Hawaiians were just below, and Filipinos third, and all these groups, with the Pacific Islanders and Japanese were over-represented in prison population as against under-representation of the part of the Japanese and Chinese.

Seventy-six inmates were interviewed, and have the following additional facts become apparent: 5 were of 10 were employed, only 5 of 10 had some skilled trade; only 5 of 10 owned their homes, 5 of 10 come from areas of Honolulu characterized by sub-standard housing; less than 50 per cent reported being in the labor force, and only 5 of 10 attended church in the preceding year, although 5 of 10 were Christians of various denominations.

Other materials presented were maximum and minimum jail occupancy over the period, views of the judiciary on the effect of a new jail on their sentencing practice, an estimate of future population of Oahu—655,000 in 1976, and suggestions for desirable facilities based on these data and on specifications of island jails.

Douglas S. Yamamura, Functions and Role Conceptions of Nursing Service Personnel is another mimeographed volume issued in 1951, 148 pages long. This study was done for the Territorial Commission on Nursing Education and Nursing Service under the auspices of the Romanzo Adana Social Research Laboratory. Conducted at six of Oahu's hospitals, involving 301 nurses, it was preceded by a pilot study at Leahi Hospital.

The study is in two parts. The first analyzes the nursing functions performed at the hospitals and functions actually performed these functions by major areas—medical, administrative, personal services, clerical, housekeeping, educational—and the opinions of the nurses as to what class of functioning should carry out the functions. In general, high agreement was found among the various classes of nurse, supervisory, general duty, and practical, as to which class should do which type of function. The opinions also correspond with the practice.

The second and in many ways more interesting part of the study deals with job satisfaction. Using a scale developed to a point of statistical reliability and validity by Birdick on the mainland, Yamamura attempted to measure where the score satisfied, unsatisfied, and indifferent. (1) the general community attitudes towards nursing; (2) the attitude of her primary group (friends and family) toward nursing; (3) the attitude of her work group towards her, peers, and subordinates; (4) the hospital; and (5) the job and its functions. He found that while these all played a role, "the most highly significant general factors were the nurse's approval of the hospital for which she works, her approval of the attitude of her superiors towards her, and her attitudes towards the functions she performs." These findings, Yamamura points out, are in line with the emphasis of Milton Roys and his successors studying industry, namely that people at work respond to social as much as to monetary incentives.

Yamamura makes concrete suggestions, both for improvements in hospital practice and for further research, for he regards his study as exploratory.

One of the intriguing findings, not particularly emphasized, is that Hawaii nurses receive higher wages for the same job satisfaction than Ohio nurses studied by Birdick. This naturally leads to questions as to whether Hawaii itself is the cause of the aspects of job satisfaction. This in turn leads to questions as to differences between "local" and "mainland" success working in Hawaii.

Many of the Mayo-inspired studies were addressed to the problem of turnover, as one of the symptoms of worker unrest and dissatisfaction. That the turnover of nurses in Hawa'i is high seems to conflict the findings on the Birdick scale and would certainly suggest an important problem for further research. The Bonner study perhaps plays a role in the salary scales for nurses in Hawaii are below those in many mainland states.

These questions which come to my mind did not come within the scope of Yamamura's very clearly defined research. The work is conception and execution is a model of workmanship.

The reviewer's book of readings, collected from the first fourteen volumes of Social Forces in Hawaii came out in September of 1956 under the title, Community Forces in Hawaii. Running to 366 pages, its sixty articles are arranged in the chronological order of their appearance. An
The importation of the Yankee culture had inevitably begun the destruction of the Hawaiian community. Ironically, free ownership of the land, intended to revitalize the dying community, had given it the death stroke.

It is dangerous to tamper with any part of a culture. Smith is thus perfectly aware of the difficulties growing out of culture contact. Thus he gives his positive appreciation of the work of the missionaries:

"From the moment when the Hawaiians cast away their own labor system, their culture was doomed, and many worse things could have happened to it than to have it come under the influence of a group who in all sincerity had the interest of the Hawaiians at heart. It is idle, perhaps, to wonder how the job might have been better done. Surely if the whalers and traders had been given a free hand, the result would have been disastrous." (p. 287)

Kahilena Dickensoe Mellen. The Gods Depart, A Fable of the Hawaiian Kingdom (New York: Hastings House, 1964). This is the third volume in a series in which Mellen is giving the dramatic "Hawaiian side of the story" of Hawaii, beginning with the great Kamehameha. This volume deals with the second half of the reign of Kamehameha III and with the reigns of the last two Kamehamehas, the period from 1832 to 1873.

While the book is the outgrowth and only of wide reading of primary as well as secondary sources but also of direct interviews with Hawaiian informants, it is not documented in the conventional manner of historical and sociological scholars.

The author presents feelingly the conception that the foreigners, and particularly "the missionary party," (including, as she says, non-missionaries and excluding some missionaries) undermined the warm and happy Hawaiian way of life, and worked unceasingly for the introduction of the stiff Puritan way of life for their own enrichment, and for the annihilation of the Islands to America—all at the expense of the welfare of the Hawaiians.

The thesis that the ways of native people are destroyed by the impact of Western civilization is of course widely accepted. The Meline presentation, however, is as thorough this process, which has occurred throughout the world during the last four centuries, could have been prevented in Hawaii. To the reviewer the amazing thing about Hawaii is rather that, in spite of the weakness of most folk societies under the impact of Western commercial and industrial civilization, the Hawaiians have not succumbed. They have never in the strict sense been a "dependent" people. In the new Hawaiian culture, which is now building in the islands, the Hawaiian component will be marked and certainly much stronger than the American Indian in North American culture. As a people the Hawaiians have not only survived, they are today the fastest growing in the local population. If "God's" stands for the Hawaiian either, it could be argued that the gods never did depart.

appendix gives a complete list of Social Process articles through Volume XIX, and of the authors whose articles appear in the book, in alphabetical order. An index is provided.

O. A. Buchell, The Return of Lono (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1910), a novel by a University of Hawaii bacteriologist, is of real interest because it gives us such a vivid picture of the events which connect prehistoric Hawaii with historic Hawaii. The novel is based on contemporary accounts, such as The Journal of Captain Cook, and the novelist's art is used in the portrayal of the characters and of the dramatic and tragic conflict between them. Using this conflict as well as the inevitable misunderstandings between the native Hawaiians and the Europeans, he tries to account for Captain Cook's death.

We will never be able completely to reconstruct early Hawaiian life, but here is a reconstruction that tells us pleasantly about the gods, chiefs, priests, and commoners and about the way of life of ancient Hawaii.

Bradford Smith. Yank in Paradise: the New England impact on Hawaii (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1958) fills a long-felt gap in the social history of Hawaii. It is an objective account of the influence of the New England missionaries on Hawaii. While the text itself omits footnote reference numbers, bibliographical notes for each chapter are appended at the back, and it is clear that the work is based on sound principles of scholarship. Only a few minor errors of fact have crept in, an amazing accomplishment for a man who did most of his research and writing in period, when he was in charge of psychological warfare operations for the Office of War Information. He has written his other book of sociological interest with material on Hawaii. Americans from Japan, published in 1948.

After devoting the first four chapters to the arrival of the Congregational missionaries and the establishment of the mission in 1820, the next twenty-two chapters give essentially a year-by-year account of the activities of the missionaries, ending with 1854, when the mission had several connections with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which had sent them out and supported them until then. The last chapter, regrettably entitled, "Did they do good—or well?" in summary fashion brings the story down to the present.

While the book has aroused some controversy, on the part of a few persons who 'write letters to the editor claim he has maimed the Hawaiian character, the work of this noted and well-respected writer in the understanding of the Hawaiian way of life by the inevitable forces which the discovery of the Islands unleashed, and of which the missionaries were carriers, as well describes the whole complex of ideas they stood for and sought to implant in the Hawaiian: the religion of Jesus Christ, the redeemer of all men, notions which strike us moderns as narrow tied by the missionaries to their religion; and such features of civilization as introduction of literacy, education, and principles for which the missionaries often fought quite stubbornly. For King Kamehameha III to give up the feudal land system and substitute for it private ownership. Smith writes on page 287: