

# Hawaii's People

FOURTH EDITION

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The University Press of Hawaii  
Honolulu

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Manufactured in the United States of America  
*first edition, 1955*  
*second edition, 1957, 1961*  
*third edition, 1967*  
*fourth edition, 1980*

**Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data**

Lind Andrew William, 1901-  
Hawaii's people.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Hawaii—Population. 2. Hawaii—Social conditions. 3. Hawaii—Race relations. I. Title.

HB3525.H3L5 1980 304.6'09969 80-10764  
ISBN 0-8248-0704-9

*Dedicated to the memory of*  
ROMANZO COLFAX ADAMS  
pioneer sociologist in Hawaii



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## Preface

More than half a century has passed since the first publication of Romanzo Adams' *The Peoples of Hawaii*. This slim volume was designed primarily to furnish social scientists and administrators gathered for an international conference in Honolulu during the summer of 1925 with "information, mainly of a statistical nature, relating to the racial situation in Hawaii." Members of that conference testified to the immediate usefulness of the small volume of forty-one pages, but it and a revised edition published in 1933 proved of even greater utility during succeeding years to residents of Hawaii and to scholars seeking an accurate and nontechnical account of the process by which the many peoples of Hawaii were becoming one people.

Nearly thirty years later, another international conference of social scientists and administrators was held in Honolulu around the theme of "Race Relations in World Perspective." This occasion presented an even greater need for an informative account of Hawaii's experience with its diverse populations. Honolulu was selected as the site for a conference with such a global concern partly because of the special interest of students of race and ethnic relations in what had happened to the diverse peoples brought together in this mid-Pacific outpost over the preceding 150 years.

Much of the data compiled in the present study was presented in one way or another to the 1954 conferees, who were from widely scattered parts of the world. The first edition of this volume sought, therefore, to parallel in some respects and to bring up to date Adams' study in 1925, on the assumption that such an analysis would be no less useful thirty or forty years later. Notable developments that have occurred in the intervening years, especially those associated with the wars in the Pacific, Korea, and Southeast Asia, and Hawaii's Statehood, have altered the social

situation in the Islands and the relationship among the ethnic groups so profoundly as to justify a shift in the title of the study from *The Peoples of Hawaii* to *Hawaii's People*.

Publication in 1953 of the results of the 1950 decennial census made available a full century of pertinent and reliable statistical data relating to the peoples who made up Hawaii's racial melange. Few regions in the world can afford such adequate census detail on population changes over a long period of racial contact and interaction. Only a small portion of these materials has been utilized in the present study, but it reflects the rich possibilities for further analysis.

The threatening nature of racial confrontations in many parts of the world, and not least in the continental United States, gives added significance to a reevaluation of the Hawaiian scene in the late 1970s. The intensification of racial conflicts in so many areas of the world since World War II tends to create an even greater aura of stability and calm about the Hawaiian experience. The relative absence in these islands of the violent expressions of animosities found elsewhere leads unwary observers to the unwarranted assumption that Hawaii possesses some peculiar magic that might be exported to exorcise the evils of racism elsewhere.

However inaccurate and misleading such assumptions may be, Hawaii's handling of race relations seldom fails to capture the attention of visitors to the Islands, regardless of whether they approve or disapprove of what they see. Quite understandably, sophisticated observers from critical areas of racial confrontation, including some participants in the 1954 conference, are frankly skeptical about the Hawaiian experiment and admit to seeking the flaws that "must be there."

Data from later local and United States census reports provide the basis for further testing of the generalization of the earlier edition of this study. Hawaii's achievement of Statehood in 1959 not only intensified the general pressures of life from the continental United States, but also led in 1960 to the introduction of Mainland conceptions of color and race into census-taking practices in Hawaii. These definitions were at serious variance with Island traditions of classifying people; consequently the value of the decennial census as a source of necessary social research data was greatly reduced, and, in certain critical areas, virtually destroyed. Fortunately various Island substitutes have evolved.



It is not the purpose of this study to support any evaluative analysis of the Hawaiian experience—either favorable or unfavorable. Rather, an attempt has been made to bring together in a readily comprehensible form some of the more important elements that limit, reflect, and measure the interaction among the peoples of Hawaii. Neither is there any assumption that generalizations that may be valid in these Islands can be applied to the solution of problems of race relations in other areas of the world. Obviously, the way in which the peoples in Hawaii have come to be here and have learned to live with one another cannot be dissociated from the entire social and economic complex in Hawaii's particular setting.

On the other hand, many of the same principles of human interaction that govern the relations among ethnic groups in Hawaii may be assumed to have universal validity, although their application in specific situations requires procedures more involved than the simple statistical reporting largely used in the present study. I am preparing for publication elsewhere the results of a more penetrating analysis of the Hawaiian experience.

The author is especially indebted to Robert Schmitt, Hawaii State Statistician, for assistance in providing current information needed in this revision. As in the past, Katherine Niles Lind has given generous moral support and editorial assistance.



# Introduction

Adaptation to the shifting moods of nature was a constant requirement for the survival of the earliest Polynesian settlers in Hawaii. Experimentation and a readiness to change continued to be dominant themes in the economic and social life of the islands even after their discovery by Captain James Cook in 1778.

For centuries the vast oceanic distances separating Hawaii from its neighbors, and the barren and volcanic nature of a large part of the limited land area, compelled the natives to utilize to the fullest the meager natural resources available. These limitations of mid-oceanic isolation and severely restricted land area for agriculture as well as for settlement have not been eliminated, despite the benefits of modern agricultural and industrial technology and supersonic air travel. New complications in the modern world owing to fluctuations in market demands for plantation crops, recurring threats to world peace, and unpredictable variations in fashions and recreational tastes among the masses demand even greater adaptability than the threats of warfare, droughts, and other hazards of nature in the pre-European era. Hawaii's economic and social history of the past two centuries can, therefore, be told largely in terms of the persistent search for more effective means of supporting human life and of capitalizing on its limited land and sea resources within the context of a rapidly changing world community.

## Geographic and Historic Influences

Hawaii's location more than two thousand miles from its nearest continental neighbors unquestionably contributed to the relatively late settlement of the Islands, estimated now to have occurred first

in the tenth century A.D. That the islands should have been discovered at all by the peoples of the Pacific, considering their miniature vessels, the vast distances involved, and the lack of any prior knowledge of the existence of such lands, is still one of the unsolved mysteries of this largest of the world's oceans. It is all the more impressive considering how very late in the history of explorations of the world by the Europeans, with their large ships and more advanced knowledge of navigation, the modern discovery of Hawaii actually occurred.

The British search for a Northwest Passage from their colonies on the Pacific to the Atlantic was the occasion for the third voyage of Captain James Cook into the unknown central Pacific, in the course of which the Hawaiian Islands were accidentally encountered. So completely lost in the vastness of the Pacific did Hawaii seem to be that the idea of claiming the Islands for his sovereign evidently did not occur to Cook; he returned to Hawaii late in the fall of 1778 chiefly for the purpose of wintering in a milder climate and of replenishing his ships with supplies of fresh fruit, vegetables, water, and fuel, which were so readily accessible there. Even knowledge of the larger land areas in Hawaii—revealed during Cook's return visit and transmitted to the Western world the following year—did not sufficiently tempt any of the land-hungry nations of Europe to claim the islands. Eight years elapsed before another foreign ship even ventured to visit them.

By virtue of the infinitesimal size of the land masses, which Cook named the Sandwich Islands in honor of his sponsor, and their isolation from the rest of the world, the Hawaiians were spared the fate of peoples in areas more conveniently situated for subjugation by one or another of the great imperial powers of the West. Had Captain Cook or any of the other European or American explorers and traders who visited Hawaii during the early years of Western contact conceived of Hawaii as offering much more than a desirable port of call for rest and replenishment on the long trek across the Pacific, the history of social relations in these islands would have taken quite a different course.

### *Trade and Missions*

The fact that Hawaii figured so prominently in the minds of Westerners as an outpost in the Pacific fur trade rather than for colonial exploits was probably the single most critical factor in effecting

the relatively peaceful and friendly relationships among the peoples of Hawaii, compared with those in areas where colonialism and the use of Western military force prevailed. The one serious breach in the peaceful relations between Captain Cook and the natives of Hawaii, ending in the death of the famous explorer, was the climax of a series of minor demonstrations of armed force and high-handedness by the crews of the *Discovery* and the *Resolution*, and fortunately even this tragic incident did not result in reprisals against the Islanders.

Subsequent visits from other British, American, Austrian, French, Russian, and Spanish explorers and traders further confirmed the tradition of equalitarian and peaceful relations established with Captain Cook. An occasional act of violence, such as the slaying of four crew members of Captain George Vancouver's supply ship in 1792, the wanton slaughter of more than a hundred defenseless natives by an American trading captain in retaliation for the theft of his small boats, or the temporary seizure of the Islands by an overzealous British admiral in 1843, threatened but could not destroy the friendly relations between the Polynesians and the foreign visitors.

During most of the seventy years of contact prior to 1850, the values governing the relations between the *kanaka* (native) and the *haole* (foreigner) were those of the marketplace, characterized by the free and impersonal exchange of goods and services, independent of color prejudice or cultural values. Each people had skills or goods that the other might desire, and neither group could afford to be disrespectful or obnoxious toward the other. The Westerner, if he wished to remain in the Islands, had to honor the customs and practices of the Hawaiians in their own country, and, similarly, the natives would not abuse the foreigners whose goods and services they wished to enjoy. Moral and ethnic tolerance was, in Hawaii as elsewhere, at least in part a by-product of the marketplace.

A second set of circumstances conducive to effective working relations between the Westerners and the natives emanated from the missionary movement beginning in 1820 with the arrival of seven married couples comprising the first company of New England Congregationalists. The Christian missionaries have been credited by some observers with establishing in Hawaii the tradition of equality and tolerance in human relations, and unques-

tionably their influence helped to stabilize this trend and to give it doctrinal support. It is not commonly recognized that the missionaries came to Hawaii in the wake of and, to some degree, by the consent of the traders. Despite the bitter struggle between some of the traders and the missionaries for influence over the natives, these two groups of foreigners had very much in common and each drew support from the other. The missionaries, like the traders, were under obligation to the native rulers for their presence and well-being in the Islands, and neither their collective interests nor professed doctrines permitted active discrimination.

Nurtured in a rigidly puritanical culture, the Protestant missionaries could hardly be expected to accept the indulgent and naturalistic practices of the natives, and missionary wives in particular sought to isolate their children from the contaminating influence of the Hawaiians. On the other hand, the religious faith the missionaries came to propagate assumed the inherent value of all men in the sight of their God, and a common claim to humane treatment. They could continue to be the relentless foes of "the iniquity and the scum of the ages," as they tended to conceive of native customs, and still insist upon the redemptive possibilities of those who indulged in those practices.

Ambivalent though their sentiments might have been toward native culture and the natives as persons, the Protestant missionaries in Hawaii during the greater part of the nineteenth century were strong supporters of the political independence of the Islands and of equalitarian relationships between Hawaiians and foreigners. Following the lead of William Richards, one of the early missionaries who in 1838 entered the employ of the Hawaiian king as adviser on matters of state, the missionaries accepted important posts in the cabinet and loyally protected the interests of the native sovereign against the economic claims of Westerners and the political encroachments of foreign nations.

The Roman Catholic Church, whose presence dates from 1828, was less critical than the Protestant of native cultural idiosyncracies and was also more receptive toward interracial marriages, particularly when these involved Catholics. The outlook of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, introduced in Hawaii for the first time in 1848 and enjoying wide support among Hawaiians because of its view of them as one of the ten lost tribes of Israel, was possibly even more morally restrictive than that of the

Protestants. But the Mormons, like their Protestant and Catholic predecessors, taught the doctrine of human brotherhood regardless of race.

### *Plantations and Race Relations*

A third set of values introduced into Hawaii during the middle of the nineteenth century, through plantation agriculture, threatened for a time to undermine the established pattern of human relationships. The plantation is, of course, first and foremost an economic institution, designed to obtain maximum crop returns from idle or less effectively cultivated land on the frontier, but it also acquires a political and moral character through the imposition of necessary control over its labor force. In a region of "open resources," such as Hawaii, where the natives could readily satisfy their limited economic needs without subjecting themselves to the long hours of taxing labor demanded under the new economy, the planters were compelled to seek their workers outside the Islands.

A whole series of previously untested ventures in induced immigration sponsored by the Hawaiian government and the emerging plantation interests, beginning at the middle of the last century and continuing over a period of nearly a hundred years, markedly altered the racial complexion of Hawaii's population and set the stage for an unprecedented experiment in race relation. Peoples of sharply contrasting ethnic and racial origins—Portuguese, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Japanese, Micronesians, Melanesians, Polynesians, Germans, Koreans, Russians, and Filipinos, among others—were imported in varying numbers to supply laborers for the expanding plantations of Hawaii with little thought to the complex processes of ethnic interaction which were thereby initiated.

Thus, in Hawaii, as in many other regions of the world, the demands of a plantation frontier for a substantial supply of disciplined labor was responsible for the re-peopling of the Islands by foreigners. Although tragically reduced in numbers by Western diseases from about 300,000 at the time of discovery to 84,000 in 1850, the Hawaiians obviously could have provided sufficient workers for the developing plantation enterprises had they been so disposed. There was, however, little reason for the Hawaiians to offer themselves as plantation laborers under the onerous and confining conditions that prevailed—long hours of hard labor under driving rain and hot tropical sun—when all their personal needs

could be quite adequately and much more pleasantly satisfied at home. The foreigners who sought to gain a fortune from the unused agricultural lands of Hawaii had no choice but to seek their workers from regions outside the Islands, thus laying the foundations for the racial melange that now constitutes Hawaii's population.

Toward the beginning of the plantation era, at the time of the 1850 census, Hawaii's total population was reported as 84,165, of whom 82,035 were supposedly pure Hawaiians. The other 2,130 persons were largely adventurers from all parts of the globe—American and French missionaries, traders and seamen from such widely separated regions as Africa, China, South America, the United States, Scandinavia, the Philippines, and Asia Minor—and somewhat over 500 persons of mixed Hawaiian ancestry. The European and American planters, despairing of recruiting from among the natives the type of "willing and industrious" workers they required, turned first to China, which might easily have served as an inexhaustible reservoir for their future demands. The need for effective labor control, however, dictated a policy of drawing the workers from a number of different sources, and after a few years of experimentation with a predominantly Chinese labor force, the Hawaii planters were careful to avoid dependence upon workers from any one ethnic group.

Over a time span of nearly a century from the middle of the nineteenth century, the planters of Hawaii, with some encouragement from the government, assisted in the recruitment of more than 400,000 persons from the four corners of the earth as plantation workers with their dependents. In their initial role as unskilled laborers, the immigrants were regarded as draft animals, and their recognition as normal human beings ordinarily occurred only after months or years of contact. Involved considerations, including the costs of recruiting and transporting the workers, their labor efficiency and tractability, and matters of political expediency were determining factors in the particular selection of the ethnic types, distributed roughly in the following numbers: 180,000 from Japan proper and Okinawa, 125,000 from the Tagalog, Visayan, and Ilocos provinces of the Philippines, 46,000 South Chinese, 17,500 Portuguese from the Azores and the Madeira Islands, 8,000 Koreans, 6,000 Puerto Ricans, 8,000 Spaniards, 1,300 Germans and Galicians, 2,500 Islanders from widely sepa-



rated areas in the Pacific, 2,000 Russians, and numerous other groups in smaller numbers.

The fact that Hawaii could attract immigrants in such numbers and from such varied areas was perhaps more a consequence of the adverse economic conditions in the workers' countries of origin than of the superior financial inducements or working conditions that Hawaii's plantations had to offer. Despite the disillusionment of long hours of monotonous and physically exhausting labor at meager wages, large numbers of these labor recruits continued to find greater economic opportunities and living attractions in Hawaii than in their homelands, and with their Island-born children they still constituted well over half of Hawaii's population.

It was, in brief, through the plantations that the first clearly defined pattern of stratification by race was introduced into Hawaii. During most of the sixty-year period prior to World War II, when sugar and pineapple production dominated Hawaii's economic life, a fairly distinct barrier of social distances separated the proprietary whites from the large mass of nonwhite laborers on the plantations, and a further isolation of the other ethnic groups at the lower levels of the plantation occupational pyramid also emerged.

That the social hierarchy within the plantation communities of Hawaii never attained the rigidity of a caste structure, as on similar frontiers elsewhere in the world, is largely a consequence of the strong competition of the well-established trading and commercial centers of Hawaii, to which a dissatisfied plantation worker could escape. Moreover, as the Hawaiian economy shifted from one in which labor was scarce to one in which it was relatively plentiful, the necessity of maintaining a rigid system of control through ethnic barriers also tended to decline. Under modern conditions of a highly mechanized economy, which requires far less unskilled labor, the earlier labor controls can be relaxed, and workers, regardless of ethnic origin, may be permitted to advance into occupational positions on the basis of individual merit.

#### *Political and Military Forces*

Still another set of influences affecting the class and ethnic structure of the Islands was introduced by American political and military forces from the middle of the nineteenth century onward.

American commercial interests in the Islands, desirous of safeguarding their own investments and of securing special legal advantages by Hawaii's incorporation into the American commonwealth, had openly agitated for annexation as early as 1850. Like other foreign nationals in Hawaii, American residents had even earlier sought the intervention of foreign gunboats to enforce their claims against Hawaiian chiefs and royalty. However, although Americans and other foreigners, operating openly or behind the scenes, had significantly influenced the policies of the Hawaiian Kingdom during most of the century, it was not until 1893 that even the trappings of native control were finally abandoned.

The transfer of sovereignty to the United States in 1898 was naturally deplored by many Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians as a public confession that the native people could not manage their own affairs. The bill introduced in the United States Congress providing a charter and constitution for Hawaii in December 1898 restricted citizenship to "all white persons, including Portuguese and persons of African descent, and all persons descended from the Hawaiian race on either the paternal or maternal side, who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii immediately prior to the transfer of sovereignty thereof to the United States." As it was finally signed into law by President McKinley in April 1900, the Organic Act contained the same phraseology but omitted any reference to race, nationality, or descent, and it provided for the application of the American constitutional guarantees of equality before the law regardless of racial ancestry.

On the other hand, federal legislation supported by mainland racial attitudes excluded from citizenship and participation in the political life of the Territory large numbers of residents of Oriental ancestry. It was not until after World War II that a major shift in the nation's conception of itself on the world scene brought the laws that significantly reduced this form of racial discrimination. National sentiments adverse to the equalitarian racial practices in the Islands contributed to the retention of Hawaii in a subordinate political status for nearly sixty years, although objective criteria would have justified the granting of Statehood several decades earlier.

The direct impact of the armed forces upon the social structure in Hawaii was not particularly noticeable until after 1920, at which time there were fewer than 4,000 military personnel in the

Islands. The threat of war and the mounting military preparations, culminating in the four years of actual warfare in which Hawaii was the focal point of American military strategy in the Pacific, introduced almost overnight a new defense population, surpassing in numbers the permanent residents of the Islands.

Faced with an Island population that in physical appearance and in many of their practices was largely unfamiliar, the newly arrived servicemen and defense workers during World War II were prone to regard most of the residents with suspicion, applying to any non-Caucasian such invidious terms as "gook," "nigger," "slant-eyes," or "yellow-belly." Quite understandably the non-Caucasian Islanders responded in like fashion with "white-trash" or "damn *haole*." Moreover, the tendency of the enlisted men to cross ethnic lines in their search for feminine companionship, and thus to invade the local preserves, inevitably evoked the resentment, sometimes violent, of Island males. Even under the less competitive conditions since the war, when the number of military personnel has been greatly reduced and their wives and children have been permitted to come to Hawaii, such animosities have persisted and threaten to some degree the relative calm of the Islands.

At the time of the 1970 census, 7.2 percent of Hawaii's total population were in the military services, and together with their dependents, they constituted 15.2 percent of the total. With military expenditures in Hawaii surpassing in recent years the income from all agricultural sources, and constituting the largest single source of Island income, it might be expected that military conceptions of rank, as applied also to the racial complexity of Hawaii's population, would be more widely observed in the larger Island community. Insofar as the military and civilian population have been able to intermingle, however, the preponderant influence has been toward the preservation of the Island pattern of race relations; outside the military reservations, the newcomers have found it desirable "when in Hawaii to do as the Hawaiians do."

The purely protective function of the military forces, however, demands a certain degree of isolation from the civilian community, and some insensibility to its peculiar cultural and racial values inevitably follows. The residential segregation in self-sufficient military communities, consisting entirely of persons whose local ties are of such brief duration (a few years at most), greatly re-

duces the likelihood of their acquiring any considerable first-hand acquaintance with Island ethnic groups or cultures, much less with the relationships and attitudes among them.

Military involvement with civilian affairs and race relations reached its most critical stage in the years immediately preceding and during World War II, particularly as more than a third of the resident population of the Islands were identified racially with the enemy. Undoubtedly the most unique aspect affecting race relations of this complicated chapter in Hawaii's wartime experience was the striking contrast between the treatment accorded persons of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast of the United States and in Hawaii by the military authorities. Although all persons born of the Yamato race, whether in the United States or in Japan, suffered from suspicion, in Hawaii the military authorities dealt with the Japanese residents more nearly in accordance with Island sentiments and expectations. In the far less critically situated western states, on the other hand, the entire Japanese population was assumed to be potentially, if not actively, hostile to the United States, and was forcibly removed to crudely constructed and poorly provided evacuation centers, or concentration camps.

The overwhelming majority of the Japanese in Hawaii, however, the immigrant generation as well as their Island-born children, gave incontestible evidence of devotion to the land of their adoption or American birth when they had the assurance of confidence and trust by civilian and military authorities. In January 1943, acting on recommendations from high-ranking military and local community leaders (persons who had, presumably, assimilated Island attitudes on race relations), the War Department announced that 1,500 Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii would be permitted to volunteer in a special combat unit to serve on an active front. Within a month of this announcement, more than six times that quota of Island Nisei had applied for the right to bear arms, and their subsequent record of bravery and devotion "beyond the call of duty" led to the characterization of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, consisting chiefly of Nisei from Hawaii, as "probably the most decorated unit in United States military history." Whatever the adverse consequences of martial law and military rule in Hawaii during the war may have been, it must be conceded that the resolution of the perplexing Japanese dilemma was handled by the military authorities in the Islands with far

greater acuity and regard for American professions of decency and justice than was evident in the less vulnerable situation in the continental United States.

During the four years of World War II, Hawaii was unquestionably subjected to a wider and more severe range of potential crises than any comparable area of the nation—the result of continuing confrontation with such large numbers of military and defense personnel completely unfamiliar with Hawaii's peculiar ethnic melange. Once the war was over, however, the older plantation economy was able to regain something of its earlier dominance, but the relations among the ethnic groups had already begun to be governed increasingly by the free atmosphere and competition of the urban centers.

### *Tourism*

What had already begun before the war as an inconspicuous trickle of middle- and upper-class sightseers chiefly from the West Coast changed within another decade after the war into a widening stream of visitors from all strata and sections of American society. From a limited 15,000 visitors in 1946, the annual flow of tourists swelled to 109,000 in 1955 and to nearly 700,000 ten years later, by which time the tourist industry had already surpassed both sugar and pineapples in providing direct income to the state. Unlike the plantation and other agricultural enterprises, however, the major objective of the tourist movement is to entertain, divert, and indulge the creature comforts of visitors, whose funds, brought from outside, are expected to compensate for the services that the residents provide.

The growth of tourism in Hawaii, as in many other parts of the world at about the same time, was precipitated to a considerable degree by the increasing perfection and declining costs of air travel following World War II, together with the mounting affluence throughout much of the Western world. Increasingly large numbers of people were in the market for the excitement of strange places and new scenes, and Hawaii obviously had much to offer. Her admission as the Fiftieth State of the Union also gave special further impetus to the visitor influx.

The phenomenal spurt in tourism, however, has occurred since the mid-sixties, both in the number of visitors brought to the Islands and the impact they have had on the relationships among

people within the state. Between 1965 and 1970, tourist arrivals increased from 687,000 to 1,747,000, and by 1977 the number of visitors had expanded further to 3,433,000, or well over three times the total resident population of the Islands. By 1976 the expenditures of visitors added to the direct income of the state an amount exceeding the combined value of the sales of sugar and pineapple and expenditures for defense. It is, of course, much too early to assess the net effect on Island race relations of the annual influx of such large numbers of outsiders; but the burden of providing even the basic physical necessities of water, food, shelter, and transportation in islands with such limited natural resources has already strained Hawaii's traditional disposition to hospitality.

Like the military, the tourist arrives in Hawaii bearing the racial attitudes and prejudices of the home community. But to a greater degree than the military, the tourist is consciously seeking new experience and, not infrequently, at least temporary escape from the standards of family and friends. In the search for adventure and stimulation, therefore, the tourist is also amenable to change and may discard with surprising ease his earlier prejudices as being inappropriate in the new environment. The contacts of tourists with Island residents, though fleeting, sometimes lead to long-lasting friendships across ethnic lines, although under different circumstances such contacts would merely confirm and reinforce the disdainful attitudes toward the unfamiliar.

An increasing proportion of visitors from foreign countries since 1960 has modified, though only slightly, the impact of tourism on Island race relations. The publicity associated with Statehood brought the Islands to the attention of a wide audience, with the result that the proportion of tourists from foreign countries increased from 20 percent in 1960 to 31.1 percent in 1976, most noticeably from Japan. The introduction in the 1960s of visitors from the English-speaking countries around the Pacific—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—was little different in its effect on the Islands than the coming of the very much larger numbers from the other states of this country.

The sudden appearance in the 1970s of even larger companies of tourists from Japan, organized in group formations and conspicuous by their distinctive speech, physical appearance, and mannerisms, caught the attention and concern of Islanders almost

as much as the strong presence of Caucasian visitors. Especially in the context of exaggerated reports, at about the same time, of mammoth investments of capital from Japan in Hawaii's land, hotels, and other enterprises, it was perhaps inevitable that the outworn myth of a "Yellow Peril" should have reappeared in a new guise among mainlanders and even among some Islanders. Despite the ill-usage to which tourists are always somewhat vulnerable and from which the Japanese have certainly not been immune, the flow of these visitors increased from 5 percent of all tourists in 1960 to 13.6 percent, or 440,000, in 1976.

### *Statehood and Ethnicity*

In many respects the most significant set of influences that affected the character of relations among the ethnic groups in Hawaii after World War II were those associated with Statehood. The enactment by Congress on 12 March 1959 of the bill authorizing the admission of the Territory of Hawaii as the Fiftieth State of the Union appeared to stimulate almost immediately people all around the world to consider seriously a trip to the mid-Pacific. The appeal of these little known but romantically imagined islands, together with the publicity attending Statehood, were sufficient to release the flood of tourists and prospective residents that inundated Hawaii in the succeeding decades.

The U.S. census reported a startling increase of 50 percent among Caucasians between 1960 and 1970, in contrast with a gain of only 21.5 percent of the total population during the same period. Part of this discrepancy is a consequence of the shift in the definitions of the various ethnic groups by the census, but even allowing for this the increase in the proportion of Caucasians is still exceptionally high. During much of the same period a total of more than 158,000 civilians, chiefly Caucasians, arrived from the U.S. mainland as "intended residents of Hawaii," and an additional 34,668 immigrants arrived from abroad. Obviously not all of the nearly 200,000 civilian immigrants remained permanently, but the addition, even on a temporary basis, of so large a number of "intended residents" to a population of less than 750,000 was bound to magnify substantially the problems of adjustment in a community of great ethnic diversity.

The immigrants to Hawaii following Statehood arrived, on the whole, with no greater appreciation of the subtleties of interper-

sonal relations in a multiracial setting, and with expectations of what Hawaii could provide no more realistic than those among the migrants to these Islands following Annexation at the end of the nineteenth century. Discovering, as they soon did, that opportunities to earn a livelihood were severely limited and that the fund of hospitality among Islanders was not inexhaustible, a number of the newcomers had doubts as to the validity of the alleged "aloha spirit." A few became bitter enough to express their hostility in overt affronts, especially toward members of ethnic groups whose ways and facial expressions they had not yet learned to comprehend.

Quite understandably, local residents, especially children and young people of all ethnic backgrounds, who are themselves "quite at home" in their Island setting, may seem indifferent or apathetic, if not positively resentful, toward apparent intruders from outside.

The polarization of attitudes between newcomers and residents, characteristic of most communities where extensive in-migration suddenly occurs, has acquired an exaggerated racial coloration in Hawaii after Statehood, owing to the large influx of certain specific groups, notably Caucasians, and, less markedly, Filipinos, Koreans, and Samoans. Outbursts of irritation and hostility among the "locals" toward "outsiders," of whatever ethnic background, have occurred with greater frequency since 1965, with evidence from the public media that each of the major immigrant groups has conceived of itself as the innocent victim of racial antipathy, sometimes from within its own ethnic fold. Much of such aggression, however, is clearly a consequence of a sudden intrusion of new elements into a local situation and is likely to diminish in frequency as Islanders become further accustomed to such invasions, or as the extent of immigration declines. It must be noted that the underlying bases of this tension are economic and cultural in nature, and the ethnic or racial manifestations may be only coincidental adjuncts.

An equally impressive shift in the climate of Hawaii's race relations following Statehood was the sudden and widespread growth of interest in ethnicity per se. This development is all the more striking since it represents the very opposite of the dominant theme in public pronouncements throughout the greater part of the twentieth century. The commonly noted tendency among im-



migrant groups to cling to their own language, culture, and unswerving lineage had been vigorously criticized by administrators, editors, and educators as a serious threat to the ultimate goal of a unified American community, which should emerge from these many disparate elements.

When, therefore, in the late 1960s, persons from among certain ethnic groups began publicly insisting on the propriety and positive value of the retention or revival of their diverse cultural traditions and practices, it seemed quite probable that these ideas had been borrowed from comparable movements, widely publicized a few years earlier in the continental United States.

Paradoxically, this tendency to stress the primacy of their cultural heritage as a possession uniquely their own has made its appearance most strikingly among native Hawaiians. They, of all the ethnic groups in Hawaii, had earned the reputation of being the most outgoing and most disposed to sharing their substance and spirit with others, leading ethnologists early in the twentieth century to declare that already Hawaiian culture had been reduced to a "merest wreck" of its pre-Western state. A substantial number of Hawaiians, chiefly of mixed racial ancestry, by the mid-1970s had become highly conscious of alleged injustices suffered by their aboriginal progenitors during the nineteenth century. They have registered claims against the federal government, comparable to those by American Indian and Eskimo groups on the mainland, for reparations for wrongs done to the Hawaiians at the time of the 1893 Revolution and the 1898 Annexation.

A less militant manifestation of ethnic consciousness has appeared among the more recent immigrant groups and also among other Hawaiians in what some of their members have called an "ethnic renaissance"—namely, a concerted effort to revive an understanding of and appreciation for neglected cultural practices, which once had been meaningful stimulants for the group. Sometimes it merely takes the form of "activism," a gesture of protest against some incident that has seemed to demean the group, and an effort to reassert its dignity and respected identity.

Obviously the presence of numerous contrasting and competing cultural traditions could have as divisive an influence on the Islands at the close of the twentieth century as it appeared to have at the beginning. There is, however, at this later period, a broader tolerance of cultural diversity, and even a positive appreciation

among the business and administrative elite of its contribution to the tourist appeal of the Islands, as long as the competition for separate recognition and privilege does not become abrasive. It is impossible to predict with accuracy how firmly rooted this latest movement toward ethnic diversity will become in the face of the impersonal forces operating in Island society seeking to undermine it.

### Shifting Human Frontiers

Contrary to the usual impressions among visitors to Hawaii and many residents, the Island pattern of social organization is far from simple. The influence of each of the social forces enumerated—the center of trade, the Christian mission, the plantation, the military establishment, the tourist center—is never unitary or exclusive. Each affects the others and is in turn influenced by them. In addition to the factors already outlined, a number of important variables serve to increase the complexity of the Island scene.

The peculiar selection of population types that has occurred in Hawaii provides the first and perhaps most important modifying influence upon the local social scene. Beginning with the specialized branch of Polynesians native to the Islands at the time of discovery by Europeans, Hawaii has attracted a unique combination of Occidental and Oriental peoples which, in terms of the proportions and circumstances involved, is duplicated nowhere else in the world. The significance of this selection becomes more apparent when one considers the probable effect on Hawaiian history if British or Russian traders instead of Yankee merchants had become dominant in the Islands, or if African or European labor markets had been more extensively tapped than those of Asia. Equally striking has been the effect upon Hawaii's economic and social life of the introduction of a predominantly male population from China, Korea, and the Philippines in contrast to the more normal sex proportions among the immigrants from Japan and Portugal. Such considerations will be elaborated on in the second chapter of this study.

The effects of mid-oceanic isolation on Hawaii's political destiny have already been briefly outlined. The further consequences of insularity within the Islands will be explored in chapter 3. It is fairly obvious, for example, that the more fertile and agricultural-

ly productive sections of the major islands had been largely preempted by sugar and pineapple plantations prior to World War II. Major changes since then in the world markets of such crops and rising labor costs in Hawaii have resulted in the "phasing out" of large areas of plantation crops and the diversion of these lands, sometimes to ranching or other agricultural crops, but more frequently to urban, tourist, or even military uses. The island of Oahu is, of course, the outstanding example of this latter trend; 93 percent of its total population was classified by the U.S. census in 1970 as urban.

Some of the more remote and less arable lands on all the islands still provide a haven for Hawaiians who choose to live where they can pursue the native subsistence style of living. Thus, Kahoolawe, smallest of the eight major islands—dry, barren, completely uninhabited for many years except by wild goats, and devoid of any human use since 1941 except as a bombing target for the U.S. Navy—became the special object of concern for a sizeable group of Hawaiian activists beginning in 1976. For them this "Island of Dust," as it had come to be known to Westerners, was a symbol of their lost ethnic identity, for the restoration of which they were willing to risk their lives and civil status.

The desire of wealthy tourists to find seclusion in shelters apart from the masses led in the 1960s and 1970s to the creation of lavish resort communities in the more remote sections on all six of the major islands, while the younger and frequently indigent transients built their own make-shift communes or "hide-outs" in even more isolated areas, like Kalalau Valley on Kauai or the abandoned coffee fields in Kona, Hawaii. Such exclusiveness, however, whether ethnically or class-consciously based, cannot succeed very long, considering Hawaii's limited facilities.

The more suitable oceanic harbors in the various islands, including Honolulu, Hilo, Wailuku, and Lihue, as well as other crossroads of transportation, are the natural areas of concentration for the rising middle class from all ethnic backgrounds. They provide the atmosphere for freer experimentation in human relations than is possible elsewhere in the Islands. The city has always been a haven for those who cannot adjust readily to the more rigid patterns of economic and racial stratification in the rural areas. Here also occurs the curious development of voluntary racial ghettos, or "camps" as they are more commonly called in Hawaii, where the immigrant can hear his native tongue, see familiar

faces, and feel the friendly touch of those who understand. But it is also in the city where avenues of contact across ethnic lines are most open and free and where the breakdown of ethnic controls also proceeds most rapidly.

A remote island, and especially an extended group of small islands, always places severe limits on the economic and occupational prospects of its residents. On the other hand, the Hawaiian Islands have been a land of opportunity far beyond that of the densely populated homelands from which the majority of its immigrants came. The effect of opening Hawaii to the world channels of trade has been to increase greatly the economic wealth of the Islands, and, as a consequence, a greatly expanded population has found adequate means of livelihood. Furthermore, the economic opportunities have not been confined to the bottom rungs of the economic ladder for the large number of unskilled workers imported by the plantations. Although many of the labor immigrants have preferred to return to their native communities to spend their later years, others have found in Hawaii the means to a higher plane of living and vocational and social satisfactions denied them in their native lands. Some of the quantitative data to support this theory will be told in greater detail in chapter 4.

Another area of social adjustment in which all of Hawaii's people have become involved to a greater or lesser degree is commonly referred to by sociologists as assimilation. As a consequence of living together within a common economic region and engaging in the limited interaction which that fact entails, people of diverse cultural and racial antecedents inevitably come to acquire certain common practices and outlooks on life. The barriers created by aversion toward the strikingly different in other cultures, and by the strong loyalties to the traditional values of the ancestral homeland, gradually lose their influence even on the immigrants, and more so on their children. The process of building a new set of values appropriate to the Island scene is naturally one which requires above all else time—generations—to accomplish. But there are also other essentials for assimilation, including attitudes of adaptability and acceptance, and a social situation conducive to free interchange among the groups involved. In these respects there are bound to be important differentials in the speed and effectiveness of the process. Some of the more obvious evidence of this process and of the conditions under which it takes place will be outlined in chapter 5.

## Who Are They?

Change has been a dominant characteristic of almost every aspect of Island life throughout the period since the middle of the last century, but it is especially apparent in the ethnic character and complexion of Hawaii's people. Hawaii, whose declining population in 1850 was still predominantly Polynesian in composition, rapidly acquired sizeable additions of people from various parts of Asia, the South and Western Pacific, the Atlantic Ocean area, and the Caribbean, as well as the continental United States. As recently as 1935, Romanzo Adams<sup>1</sup> could accurately write about Hawaii as a land of many peoples, and the conception still remains that a colorful variation in racial types and in cultural survivals continues to be Hawaii's most distinctive social attribute and one of its major charms for visitors. On the other hand, a fusion of racial types and a blending of cultures within what was popularly, although inappropriately, called "the Hawaiian melting pot" had become increasingly apparent and represented the trend in which Adams was chiefly interested.

### The Native Hawaiians

The available evidence indicates that the inhabitants of these islands at the time of their discovery by Westerners were a healthy, viable folk, whose ancestors might have first arrived from their south Pacific home islands at least a thousand years earlier. The natural resources of both land and sea were probably being cultivated to the maximum limits permitted by a stone-age technology. Prior to the coming of the white man, Hawaii was clearly a region of closed resources, where cultivable land was at a premium and population was limited only by the available supply of food.

Like most of the isolated islands in the Pacific following contact with the West, Hawaii by the middle of the nineteenth century had suffered a tragic decline in its native population. Assuming, on the basis of the best available knowledge, that Hawaii's indigenous population could not have been in excess of 300,000 at the time of Captain Cook's visit in 1778, a devastating loss of human life occurred within the ensuing seventy-five years. The first complete official census of the Islands in 1853 reported a total of 71,019 native Hawaiians, or less than a quarter of the pre-European figure. Small wonder that the missionaries were fearful lest the native population become extinct before the close of the century, and that they were encouraged to labor even harder in the Lord's vineyard so as to "seize as many as possible of the burning brands before they were consumed in the eternal fires." Missionary reports to their American sponsors assumed at times the fatalistic outlook toward a people doomed by God—that "the waning of the people admonishes us to do all in our power to prepare them for a speedy removal from earthly scenes."

The factors responsible for the abnormally high death rates and the correspondingly low birth rates which must have prevailed during the first half of the nineteenth century in Hawaii have been discussed at considerable length elsewhere<sup>2</sup> and need not be elaborated on further here. The data from which to compute vital rates for this period are not available. But it was obvious to the most casual observer that the Hawaiians at that time were "a dying people"—the victims of Western diseases to which they had not yet developed an immunity. On the basis of a careful reworking of missionary counts conducted in 1823 and in 1836, Romanzo Adams indicates that the number of native Hawaiians could have declined, from an excess of deaths over births, a staggering 20 percent in approximately thirteen years. During the four years between the missionary censuses of 1832 and 1836, there was an even more alarming decline from 124,449 to 107,954, or 13.2 percent, which, if it had continued unabated, would have brought about the extinction of the Hawaiians within a generation. An average annual decline of 2 percent continued during the next seventeen years, bringing the native population down to a figure of 71,019 by 1853.<sup>3</sup>

The downward trend continued for another fifty years, although at a somewhat reduced rate. Between 1853 and 1896, the total Hawaiian population, including those of mixed ancestry,

dropped still further to 39,504, or an annual average of slightly more than 1 percent. During part of this period, particularly from 1860 to 1872, the rate of decline continued at about 2 percent annually, and it was not until after 1890 that the native Hawaiian population became somewhat stabilized. The lowest level in this downward trend was reached shortly after 1900, although a significant reversal was not apparent until the second decade of the present century.

What happened to the native population during the first half of the twentieth century was just as dramatic as the awful decimation that occurred during the whole of the previous century. Not only was the downward trend effectively halted, but a neo-Hawaiian group began to establish itself as the most rapidly growing people within the Islands. It is true that this rejuvenated racial stock contains a slowly diminishing remnant of the pure Hawaiians, destined in time to disappear entirely; but the Polynesian stamp and influence is very definitely marked upon those *keiki o ka aina*—children of the land—who are known as Hawaiians.

Beginning with the census of 1920, there is evidence of a distinct increase in the population of Hawaiian ancestry, although this obviously would not be true were it not for the Island practice of classifying all persons with any Hawaiian ancestry as members of that group. A slight increase of 3,203 or 8.3 percent between 1910 and 1920 was followed by a 21.8 percent rise in population during the following decade, a growth of 26.4 percent between 1930 and 1940, and an even more striking increase of 33.9 percent between 1940 and 1950.

The striking reversal in the population trend among the indigenous Hawaiians is attributable to several major factors, which we can only mention briefly here. The establishment of a program of Western preventive medicine, symbolized by the founding of a board of health in 1851, had an increasing effect during the last half of the nineteenth century in reducing deaths from the epidemic diseases that took such a harrowing toll during the first half of the century. At the same time the native Hawaiians were slowly learning the value of Western medicine and were changing their mode of life accordingly. Some immunity to the diseases introduced from the West was also being built up among the natives during the same period.

Another factor in the deliverance of the Hawaiian race was the growing intermarriage of the natives with the numerous ethnic

groups that were attracted to the Islands. As early as 1853, nearly a thousand persons, or slightly more than 1 percent of the total population, were listed in the census as “Hapahaole” or “Part Native.” By the close of the century, the number of persons of mixed Hawaiian ancestry recorded by the census had increased to nearly ten thousand, and they constituted more than a quarter of all the Hawaiians in the Islands. Even before 1930, the Part Hawaiians had exceeded the “pure” Hawaiians in numbers, and since that time, among all those who claim to be Hawaiians, the ratio of Part Hawaiians has naturally increased to the extent that according to the 1960 census they represented 89 percent of the total. In the 1975 enumeration by the Board of Health, only 5 percent of those who claimed to be Hawaiians would speak of themselves as being pure Hawaiians, that is, with no known foreign ancestors.

Evidence of the transformation of the Hawaiians from the “dying race” so commonly depicted during the nineteenth century to the Islands’ most rapidly expanding race appears in the striking increase of 77 percent in their numbers within a span of twenty-five years—from 86,090, as reported in the 1950 U.S. census, to 153,074 as revealed by the Hawaii health survey in 1975. In addition, considerable numbers had migrated to the U.S. mainland during that period, the 1970 census reporting that 28 percent of all persons listed as Hawaiians in the entire country were actually residing outside of the Islands.

### **Immigrant Peoples—The Changing Definitions**

Hawaii’s reputation as a laboratory in human relations dates chiefly from the second half of the nineteenth century, when large-scale immigration to meet plantation labor demands began. In 1853, the foreign population of 2,119 persons was largely concentrated in the half-dozen trading centers scattered over the various islands, and it was as varied in racial composition as the communities around the world at which the visiting trading and whaling vessels might previously have stopped. Some thirty-three different countries or regions, including the United States, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Turkey, Brazil, Africa, China, Australasia, and the Philippines, were separately listed in the census as contributing to the cosmopolitan population of the Islands.



It is significant that the foreigners in Hawaii around 1850 were classified according to the cultural groups to which they belonged. They were apparently known as Americans, British, French, Chinese, and Hawaiians or natives, and were not classified in racial terms, such as white, yellow, and brown. This practice has continued to a degree down to the present day and symbolizes the traditional Hawaiian attitude of indifference to race. Indeed, it was not until after Annexation that mainland conceptions of race were partially introduced in the census practices of Hawaii.

Differences in language, food habits, dress, and moral values could hardly be disregarded in the case of foreigners drawn from widely varied parts of the earth. The early immigrants from China, with their prominent queues and black pantaloons, their strange language and peculiar modes of living, were bound to stand out strikingly from the natives and the Europeans, and some type of differentiation was inevitable as long as the alien practices persisted. So each of the immigrant groups—Norwegians, Germans, Portuguese, Japanese, Koreans, or Puerto Ricans—were known by their own cultural or national label as long as they continued to observe habits of eating, dressing, speaking, housing themselves, or worshipping that definitely marked them off from the rest of the population.

A considerable number of the cultural or national groups from northwestern Europe and from America already possessed a common body of customs and were sufficiently alike in appearance to be regarded as a single group. This unity of Europeans and Americans who settled in Hawaii was further emphasized by the fact that many of them were skilled artisans, professionals, or tradesmen and hence enjoyed positions of prestige and affluence within the emerging economy of the Islands.

The widely used Hawaiian word *haole* was originally a purely classificatory term applied to all foreigners to differentiate them from the natives. As the white skin of all the outsiders at that time was their most obvious differentiating trait, the term came to acquire a color connotation; but it is quite clear that the whiteness of the skin did not carry any invidious class significance whatsoever at the outset of contacts between the natives and the foreigners. However, as some of these foreigners, chiefly British and American, gained positions of power and prestige in the Hawaiian community, the word *haole* also became identified with superior

status and privilege.<sup>4</sup> White skin-color alone did not confer *haole* status on the Portuguese, Spanish, or even German and Norwegian immigrants brought to Hawaii as ordinary plantation workers until they had emerged from the unskilled labor category and had moved into middle- or upper-class positions.

The superior status associated with the term *haole* did not remain constant, of course, any more than did the inferior role of the later immigrant groups hold firm over the years. Depending on a considerable number of shifting social circumstances, the collective definitions or stereotypes of these white-skinned migrants to Hawaii have varied from time to time from terms of respect, good will, and affection to those reflecting condescension, arrogance, and outright venality; but similar shifts have occurred in the attributes assigned to later immigrant groups as their fortunes have fluctuated.

Race, in the traditional Western sense of a large grouping of human beings distinguished from others by identifiable and biologically inherited physical traits, scarcely functioned at all among the great mass of Hawaii's people during most of the nineteenth century. National origin, or nationality, was the classificatory device used instead of race in most of the eight censuses conducted during the second half of the century. A footnote in the 1853 census report, reflecting the prevailing lack of race consciousness, states that nineteen Negroes were included among the foreigners resident in Honolulu, but no attempt was made to differentiate them from the rest of the population. Similarly, at a later date when the number of Hawaiian-born children of foreigners became large enough to necessitate a separate census category, no distinction was made among them on the basis of race or ancestry. Children of Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Micronesian, or English parentage were all included within a common classification. The nearest approximation to a conventional designation of race in biological terms appeared in the use of the term "half-caste" for persons of mixed Hawaiian ancestry in the censuses from 1866 to 1890.

#### *Hawaiian and American Definitions*

The collapse of the native monarchy and mounting American influence during the period of the Republic, climaxed in 1898 with the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, brought an in-

creased awareness of racial practices on the American mainland and some tendency to emulate them. Thus, in the first population census taken after Annexation, mainland racial definitions were applied to Hawaii's people, resulting in the combining of Haoles and Portuguese, as well as several thousand light-complexioned Part Hawaiians, under the imported term of Caucasians. This practice was modified in 1910 to take account of local distinctions between Haoles and the plantation-imported Portuguese and Spanish. The biologically tinged racial term Caucasian was retained, however, as a permanent acquisition from the mainland and was subsequently taken over by the Territorial Bureau of Vital Statistics in its intercensal estimates of population. Persons of European or American ancestry enjoying Haole status were classified separately under the anomalous designation of Other Caucasians. Another curious consequence of the introduction of American racial terminology was the inclusion of immigrants from Puerto Rico as a separate category under Caucasians, although persons from the continental United States with any Negro admixture were placed in a category new for Hawaii—that of Negro. It is also likely that mainland conceptions of race were chiefly responsible for the new distinction between two types of Part Hawaiians, subsequently known as Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians.

During the first half of the present century, Hawaii has vacillated somewhat in the terminology applied to its people—sometimes accepting the imported implication of biologically inherited differences between its immigrant peoples, but more commonly adhering to the Island assumption that these observed differences are culturally acquired and may also disappear. The terms usually applied, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese, Spanish, Samoan, and Puerto Rican, refer to the country of origin, and, like the dress of the immigrant, may be relinquished for a Hawaiian or Western one. Thus, in conformity with Island expectations and practice,<sup>5</sup> the earlier division among Portuguese, Spanish, and Other Caucasians was officially abandoned in 1940, and, at the same time, the Asiatic-Hawaiians and the Caucasian-Hawaiians were combined into a single group of Part Hawaiians.

Official agencies, such as the Honolulu Police Department and the State departments of Social Services, Health, and Education, have followed different variants of the two principles mentioned

above. The Police Department, for example, during a long period before and after World War II, differentiated between Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians, while also taking account of Portuguese and Spanish, as well as the other more commonly recognized immigrant groups—Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans. For many years, the Department of Public Instruction kept its records of the school children of the Territory in terms of “racial ancestry,” specifying at various times separate categories for Anglo-Saxons, and Americans in place of Haoles or Other Caucasians. A growing sentiment that racial designations are inconsistent with the democratic professions of the American public school system was responsible in 1945 for the complete abandonment of public reporting of school enrollment by race, although effective personnel work has apparently necessitated keeping a record of the racial ancestry of each child. Much the same policy has been followed in recent years by the Department of Social Services and Housing with respect to its clients.

Certain other agencies, including some of the public institutions for correction and treatment, have found it advantageous to differentiate among the numerous types of mixed-bloods that have come into being, especially during the twentieth century. The ludicrous extremes to which an excessive interest in race, biologically defined, can force one in Hawaii is reflected in the report of one agency that a few years ago listed 169 different racial groups in its constituency, including such combinations as Portuguese-Caucasian-Negro-Puerto Rican, Chinese-Hawaiian-Japanese-Norwegian, Filipino-Puerto Rican-Spanish, and Filipino-Hawaiian-Japanese-Puerto Rican-Portuguese. An exhaustive study of the 48,655 recorded births in Hawaii between 1948 and 1958 revealed that a total of 524 different racial combinations had actually emerged.<sup>9</sup>

It was to forestall such statistical anomalies that the United States Census Bureau and the Territorial Bureau of Vital Statistics adopted certain principles regarding the classification of persons of mixed ancestry. Thus, any person of mixed racial ancestry, known to have any Hawaiian or Part Hawaiian forebear, no matter how remote, was to be classified as Part Hawaiian. A second principle specified that any person of mixed Caucasian and non-Caucasian ancestry (other than Hawaiian) should be classified in the group of his non-Caucasian parent, if recognized in Hawaii. Thus, the child of a Caucasian father and a Japanese mother was

to be designated as Japanese.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of a third principle, the child of two different non-Caucasian and non-Hawaiian parents was classified according to the race of the father. These rules, although useful in sorting people into convenient statistical groups, are obviously quite arbitrary, and under conditions of extensive crossing of racial lines can result in great confusion.

During the early period of immigrant settlement in Hawaii, including the last half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the present century, there was relatively little crossing of the conventional race lines, except with the Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians. As a consequence, the census figures provided a reasonably accurate reflection of the numerical size and character of each of the racial (immigrant) groups. The Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians still play a very prominent part in the amalgamative process in the Islands, but a growing tendency to disregard racial considerations in marriage during the period since World War II naturally raised doubts as to the adequacy of the census returns on race. A request was therefore submitted to the Census Bureau to introduce a new question in the 1950 enumeration, designed to discover the extent of racial crossing in the Islands. The rationale behind this proposal was stated as follows:

A change in census practice so as to take account of the mounting population of mixed ancestry—both those with some Hawaiian blood and those with no known Hawaiian blood—would serve to increase the accuracy of our population reporting and it would moreover be more nearly in conformity with local sentiment regarding race relations. Public sentiment has, in general, been sympathetic to intermarriage and the conception of Hawaii as “a melting pot of the races” finds public support. It is a source of local pride that Hawaii’s many immigrant stocks are gradually losing their separate identity and are becoming “one people” and any system of reporting which would more accurately reflect this process of Americanization is likely to be favorably received in Hawaii.

Barring unforeseen developments, within another generation Hawaii’s population will be predominantly of mixed racial ancestry and the time has already come when the census enumeration should provide an accurate measure of this trend. The year 1950 provides a natural point of transition between the first half of the century when attention was still focused primarily upon the immigrant stocks and the second half of the century when the emphasis will be chiefly upon the fusion of these stocks into a common Amer-

ican whole. The proposals for the 1950 census of population would yield accurate information as to the passing of the immigrant stocks and the growth of a new population which is neither Asiatic nor European but peculiarly Hawaiian and American.<sup>8</sup>

The added questions on racial mixture yielded less impressive results than had been anticipated. The predominance of mixed bloods among the Hawaiians was clearly substantiated, and there is some reason to believe, as Romanzo Adams pointed out, that "Part-Hawaiians, especially the darker complexioned ones, frequently are ignorant of their possession of non-Hawaiian blood or they think that their little non-Hawaiian blood is of no practical importance, and so they claim to be full blooded Hawaiians."<sup>9</sup> Adams estimated that in 1930 the number of pure Hawaiians was 12,856, which would make the figure of 12,206 in 1950 seem unduly high.

It is reasonable to assume that similar errors in classification, though to a lesser degree, may appear in the data on other groups reported in table 1, but the ratios of mixed ancestry conform roughly with what one would expect on the basis of records of interracial marriage and births. Unfortunately comparable data are not available for later censuses, but if these figures are even moderately accurate, they leave little doubt as to the legitimate place for racial statistics in the case of the larger groups for some years to come.

The granting of statehood in 1959 resulted in the arbitrary application to Hawaii, beginning with the census of 1960, of the same rules of racial classification that were used in the continental United States. Thus the alien conception of race as identified with color was introduced into all of the 1960 and subsequent census

TABLE 1  
*Race Mixture in Hawaii, 1950 Census*

	Total	Unmixed	Mixed	
			Number	Percent
Hawaiian	86,091	12,206	73,885	85.8
Caucasian	114,793	114,793	—	—
Chinese	32,376	29,501	2,875	8.9
Filipino	61,071	53,391	7,680	12.6
Japanese	184,611	180,521	4,090	2.2
Other Races	20,852	15,160	5,692	27.3
TOTAL	499,794	405,572	94,222	18.9

reports on Hawaii. Actually the Bureau of the Census, as early as 1950, had adopted a conception of race as "derived from that which is commonly accepted by the general public. It does not, therefore reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock and most categories obviously refer to nationalities."<sup>10</sup> Despite this concession to popular understanding, repeated in both the 1960 and 1970 census reports, the findings with respect to race were presented as if the dominant consideration in Hawaii were the same color distinction as on the mainland. Consequently the two primary racial categories published in the Hawaii reports were "White" and "Nonwhite" in 1960 and "White" and "Negro and other races" in 1970.

In subjecting the 1960 and 1970 census data to the mainland "color" definitions of race, Hawaii was provided with a great mass of meaningless and useless information relating to "Non-whites" and to "Negro and other races," while being deprived of potentially valuable data bearing on the separate ethnic groups. Severely limited evidence relating to the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in 1960, and with regard to Koreans and Hawaiians in addition to these three groups in 1970, could be gleaned from separate census reports for the entire United States, but the lack of details on these groups, comparable to those in earlier reports, was a serious loss, as noted in later portions of this book. A further deficiency of the U.S. census reporting on the racial composition of Hawaii's population, making realistic comparisons with earlier population data impossible, was a consequence of the change in 1970 of the census rules governing the classification of persons of mixed racial parentage. With a large proportion of the inhabitants tracing their ancestry to several different races, Hawaii's population statistics are subject to conflicting outcomes, depending on where these elements are placed. Wholly improbable trends appear when the 1970 census figures, especially for the Hawaiians and Whites (Caucasians), and to a lesser degree for the Filipinos and Chinese, are set opposite those for 1960 or earlier.

A substantial alternative for the inadequacies of the U.S. census data has appeared since 1970 in the findings of the Hawaii Health Surveillance Program. Random sampling of households, except barracks and institutions, on all six major islands provides information comparable to that of the U.S. census, while using racial categories and interpretations more nearly in accord with Island

conceptions and practices. This survey, as indicated in table 2, does take some account of the increasing interbreeding of Hawaii's people, a development to which the U.S. census is unable to give separate attention in its reports on the Islands. The Hawaii survey also recognizes and provides demographic information on the Samoans, one of the more recent immigrant groups, as well as the Koreans and Puerto Ricans who had been dropped from separate census consideration since 1950. Because of its flexibility and independence of mainland definitions, the Hawaii health survey could likewise include smaller but crucial ethnic groups, such as refugees from Southeast Asia as their separate role in Hawaii's life becomes clearly recognizable.

Hawaii cannot avoid acceptance of certain mainland definitions of race and race relations as reflected in the provisions of civil rights legislation since 1964. In order to benefit from federal assistance, the Hawaii Department of Education, for example, has been compelled to reinstitute a system of racial designations for both students and professional personnel, including among others the mainland color terms of black and white. Similar specifications have been invoked on all other public agencies and private employers under contract with the federal government.

Despite these pressures from outside the Islands to characterize and classify Hawaii's people in biologically conceived groupings or races, the ethnic aggregates of which Islanders actually take account are conceived primarily in terms of the social and cultural

TABLE 2  
*Population by Ethnic Stock, 1970, 1977*

	1970		1977	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hawaiian	7,697	1.0	9,449	1.1
Part Hawaiian	125,224	16.2	136,443	15.9
Caucasian	255,437	33.0	236,585	27.5
Chinese	29,966	4.0	41,630	4.8
Japanese	207,379	26.8	223,173	25.9
Korean	7,201	0.9	10,136	1.2
Filipino	61,240	7.99	91,399	10.7
Puerto Rican	4,110	0.5	4,695	0.5
Samoan	5,846	0.8	5,648	0.7
Negro	5,925	0.8	7,890	0.9
Non-Hawn Mixed	60,770	7.8	84,644	9.8
Other	2,837	0.4	8,632	1.0
TOTAL	773,632	100.0	860,325	100.0



traits that distinguish each from the others. Peculiar physiological qualities they may possess operate in a secondary role as a means of classifying Island people racially. In a community with so many blending hues and intermediate shades represented, skin color loses much of its capacity for separating populations into distinct racial groups. The obvious differences in dress, speech, and mannerisms of newly arrived immigrant groups stand out more prominently as identifying marks, but these may also be discarded more easily as newcomers begin to feel at home. Hence, Hawaii's races come and go much more readily than in the continental United States; they come into being as new groups with distinctive traits arrive, but they may also disappear as people cease to recognize in them their earlier, distinct character.

### Immigrant Peoples—The Changing Facts

It is against such a background of “unorthodox” and changing conceptions of race that the various immigrant groups were introduced into Hawaii. The Chinese, the first of the numerous ethnic types to be brought in as plantation workers, constituted the main source of labor supply during the last half of the nineteenth century. The numbers involved were relatively small until the late 1870s, when the rapid influx of Chinese began to seriously alarm even some of the planters who were fearful lest they create a labor monopoly to threaten the entire plantation system. The unexpected arrival early in 1883 of a steamship from Hong Kong loaded with Chinese for Hawaii, followed immediately by three more shiploads and reports of others on the way, stirred even *The Planters' Monthly* to fear an “oversupply of this class of immigrants” and consequent loss of control over labor in general.

Coming as they have without women, and under no contracts, save such as binds them helplessly to Chinese organizations, and passing unchecked into our community, is certainly startling. If five thousand come in this noiseless manner, and are not restricted, twenty thousand or more may come. . . . If some . . . plan can be carried out, and only so many Chinese be admitted as we need for laborers, and they be accompanied with their wives, and serve under contracts, and at the termination of their contracts be compelled to return to China unless they enter into new contracts, we

would not view Chinese immigration with alarm, but with satisfaction.<sup>11</sup>

The census of 1884, revealing that the "Celestials" constituted 22.6 percent of the entire population of the Islands and 50.2 percent of the foreigners, helped to shift public attention and support to other groups, such as the Portuguese and Japanese, as potential laborers and replenishers of Hawaii's population.

Owing to the tendency on the part of many of the unmarried immigrants to return to their homeland after the completion of their plantation contracts, the Chinese population actually declined by approximately 1,500 between 1884 and 1890, but another period of extensive immigration during the 1890s resulted in an increase of 9,000 persons, mostly men, before 1900. According to the best estimates, a total of more than 46,000 Chinese were brought to Hawaii as laborers, chiefly between 1876 and 1885 and between 1890 and 1897; and yet only 21,674 persons, including children born in Hawaii, were enumerated in the census of 1910. With the aid of the Hawaii-born children, the Chinese population increased slowly during the succeeding years from 21,674 in 1910 to nearly twice that number in 1977, although their proportion of the total population of the Islands declined from 11.3 percent to 4.8 percent during the same period of time.

The next major ethnic group to be imported to Hawaii as laborers were physiologically much more closely akin to the planters who brought them to Hawaii, but like the Chinese they were also thought of and treated as a separate racial group as long as they remained on the plantation. Recruited chiefly between 1878 and 1887 from the Azores and Madeira Islands, the 17,500 Portuguese immigrants were seen by the planters as a desirable supplement to the Chinese laborers, and by the government as effective rebuilders of the declining Hawaiian population. Not only did the Portuguese come to Hawaii with a larger proportion of women than the Chinese, but, partly as a consequence, they were also more disposed to remain as permanent settlers. Characterized by the early promoters of the immigration as a peasant people, whose "education and ideas of comfort and social requirements are just low enough to make them contented with the lot of an isolated settler and its attendant privations,"<sup>12</sup> the Portuguese were widely acclaimed as likely to solve Hawaii's population problem. In con-

trast to the womenless Chinese, the Portuguese reproduced rapidly. Although the total number of Chinese imported to Hawaii was more than twice the number of Portuguese immigrants, by 1910 the Portuguese population had exceeded the Chinese.

Despite the very high cost of bringing the Portuguese to Hawaii because of the long trip around Cape Horn and the additional expense of recruiting women and children,<sup>13</sup> the planters and the government of Hawaii continued to experiment with Portuguese immigration during the 1890s and the first two decades of the twentieth century. Approximately one quarter of the total Portuguese immigration occurred between 1906 and 1913,<sup>14</sup> although a considerable number of them were later lost to California.

Owing to the similarities in appearance and culture between the Portuguese and the other Europeans and Americans in Hawaii, there was a distinct disposition for the former to identify with the higher economic and social status of the latter insofar as that was possible. By moving from the plantation to the city, and through intermarriage, it was possible for many of the Portuguese to lose their separate identity as a racial group. Although in the census of 1930, there were still 27,588 persons or 7.5 percent of the total population listed as Portuguese, it was decided, probably prematurely, to incorporate that group in the 1940 census with the Other Caucasians, as is noted in table 3.

The story of Japanese immigration parallels that of the Portuguese in many respects, including the expectation that they would serve to revive the "dying native population." An emissary of the Hawaiian king, seeking to open negotiations with the Japanese government for the importation of laborers to Hawaii, was authorized to state that "His Majesty believes that the Japanese and Hawaiians spring from one cognate race and . . . he hopes our peoples will more and more be brought closer together in a common brotherhood."<sup>15</sup> This belief, however, was apparently not shared by the Japanese. The initial attempt to induce them to migrate to Hawaii in 1868 was carried out in defiance of orders from the government of Japan, with the result that only 148 persons of an expected 350 left the country and no further immigration occurred until 1885.

Following the signing of a convention between Japan and Hawaii in 1886, Japanese peasants began to migrate to the Islands in large numbers for work on the plantations. Thus, although only

TABLE 3  
Population by Race, 1853–1960

	1853	1860	1866	1872 <sup>b</sup>	1878 <sup>b</sup>	1884 <sup>b</sup>	1890 <sup>b</sup>	1896 <sup>b</sup>	1900 <sup>b</sup>	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
	Number														
Hawaiian	70,036	65,647	57,125	49,044	44,088	40,014	34,436	31,019	29,799	26,041	23,723	22,636	14,375	12,245	10,502
Part Hawaiian	983	1,337 <sup>a</sup>	1,640	2,487	3,420	4,218	6,186	8,485	9,857	12,506	18,027	28,224	49,935	73,845	91,597
Caucasian	1,687	1,900 <sup>b</sup>	2,400 <sup>a</sup>	2,944	3,748	16,579	18,939	22,438	26,819	39,158 <sup>c</sup>	49,140 <sup>d</sup>	73,702 <sup>d</sup>	103,791 <sup>d</sup>	114,793 <sup>d</sup>	202,230 <sup>e</sup>
Portuguese	87	85 <sup>a</sup>	90	424	486	9,967	12,719	15,191	18,272	22,301	27,002	27,588			
Other Caucasian	1,600	1,815	2,310	2,520	3,262	6,612	6,220	7,247	8,547	14,867	19,708	44,895			
Chinese	364	816	1,306	2,038	6,045	18,254	16,752	21,616	25,767	21,674	23,507	27,179	28,774	32,376	38,119
Japanese						116	12,610	24,407	61,111	79,675	109,274	139,631	157,905	184,598	203,876
Korean										4,533	4,950	6,461	6,851	7,030	
Filipino	5									2,361	21,031	63,052	52,569	61,062	68,641
Puerto Rican										4,890	5,602	6,671	8,296	9,551	
Negro									233	695	348	563	255	2,651	4,943
All Other	62	100 <sup>a</sup>	488	384	684	1,397	1,067	1,055	415	376	310	217	579	1,618	12,864 <sup>f</sup>
TOTAL	73,137	69,800	62,959	56,897	57,985	80,578	89,990	109,020	154,001	191,909	255,912	368,336	423,330	499,769	632,772
	Percent of total														
Hawaiian	95.8	94.0	90.7	86.2	76.0	49.7	38.2	28.4	19.3	13.6	9.3	6.1	3.4	2.5	1.7
Part Hawaiian	1.3	1.9	2.6	4.4	5.9	5.2	6.9	7.8	5.1	6.5	7.0	7.7	11.8	14.8	14.5
Caucasian	2.3	2.7	3.8	5.2	6.5	20.6	21.0	20.6	17.3	20.4	19.2	20.0	23.0	23.0	32.0
Portuguese	.1	.1	.1	.7	.8	12.3	14.1	13.9	11.9	11.6	10.6	7.5			
Other Caucasian	2.2	2.6	3.7	4.5	5.7	8.3	6.9	6.7	5.4	7.7	7.7	12.2			
Chinese	.5	1.2	2.0	3.6	10.4	22.6	18.6	19.8	16.7	11.3	9.2	7.4	6.8	6.5	6.0
Japanese						.1	14.0	22.3	39.7	41.5	42.7	37.9	37.3	36.9	32.2
Korean										2.4	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.4	
Filipino										1.2	8.2	17.1	12.4	12.2	10.8
Puerto Rican										2.5	2.2	1.8	2.0	1.9	
Negro									.2	.4	.1	.2	.1	.5	.8
All Other	.1	.1	.8	.7	1.2	1.7	1.2	1.0	.3	.2	.1	.1	.1	.3	2.0

<sup>a</sup>Estimate.

<sup>b</sup>Based on Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933), pp. 8–9.

<sup>c</sup>Includes Spanish, not separately listed.

<sup>d</sup>Includes Spanish and Portuguese, n.s.l.

<sup>e</sup>Includes Spanish, Portuguese, and Puerto Ricans, n.s.l.

<sup>f</sup>Includes Koreans, Samoans, Micronesians, n.s.l.

116 were listed in the census of 1884, the number of Japanese had increased to 12,610 six years later and to 61,111 in 1900. Despite some irritation with the restraints imposed by the Japanese government upon their control of the workers, the planters were evidently pleased with the laborers they had obtained during the first few years of the movement. *The Planters' Monthly* in 1889 reported enthusiastically upon the very small charge of \$66.79 for passage money and care in Honolulu per employee, "all of which is refunded to the employer, so that the actual cost is nothing except the wages paid. No laborers have ever been introduced here on such easy terms. And what is still better, the Japanese readily learn the English language and habits, and make good house, farm, and plantation servants . . . and they are provident and thrifty."<sup>16</sup> This cordiality on the part of both the planters and the general public declined markedly as it became evident that the Japanese might constitute as much of a labor and population threat as the Chinese had a decade earlier. By 1896 the Japanese made up 22.4 percent of the entire population, and by the turn of the century, nearly 40 percent were Japanese.

Despite a growing atmosphere of hostility to further immigration, Japanese laborers, nearly 110,000 within a single decade, were brought into the Territory after Annexation,<sup>17</sup> and women and children continued to arrive until the passage of the Exclusion Act in 1924. With Japanese population strength reaching a peak in 1920, when they constituted 42.7 percent of the total, it was not surprising that myths of a "yellow menace" should also have appeared during this period. With the virtual cessation of further immigration from Japan following the 1924 Exclusion Act, the proportion of Japanese in the total population began to decline, dropping to 37.9 percent in 1930 and to 32.2 percent at the time of the 1960 census. According to the Hawaii Health Surveillance Survey, the proportion of Japanese of supposedly unmixed ancestry dropped to 25.9 percent of the total population of the state in 1977.

Several of the smaller ethnic groups were introduced in the decade following Annexation, partly as foils to the large Japanese population. Nearly 6,000 Puerto Ricans arrived chiefly in 1901, about 8,000 Koreans in 1904 and 1905, while an equal number of Spaniards were recruited in the years 1907 to 1913. So great was the emigration of the Spaniards to California that there were never

more than 2,430 recorded by the census (in 1920), and since 1930 they have ceased to figure at all as a separate group in the census.

The Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, remained and reproduced within the Islands, their numbers nearly doubling between 1910 and 1950. Although separate designation of Puerto Ricans by the U.S. census ceased in 1950 and a limited exodus to the wider employment opportunities on the mainland has occurred since then, it is doubtful if the size of their community in Hawaii could be much less in the late 1970s than it was in 1950.<sup>18</sup> The Korean immigrants and their children also remained chiefly in Hawaii, but until 1950 their population increased much less rapidly than the Puerto Rican population. A considerable addition to the Korean community from the Orient has occurred since the passage of the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act, bringing their estimated population in 1976 to an all-time high of 10,941, of whom well over a third were born in Korea.

The Filipinos were the last of the major ethnic groups to enter the Territory, nearly 120,000 being imported as plantation laborers during the period from 1907 to 1931. A supplementary importation of about 6,000 male workers and some 3,000 women and children occurred in July 1946 to ease the plantation labor shortage created by World War II. By the time the Filipinos appeared on the Hawaiian scene, it was no longer necessary to justify the importation on the grounds of solving a population problem. The disastrous effects of the 1909 strike gave the planters good reason to seek relief from the near monopoly of plantation labor by the Japanese. Economic considerations were foremost in the recruiting of Filipino immigration as suggested by the extreme disproportion of males to females among the immigrants, which exceeded four to one during most of the period, and which ran as high as nineteen to one during the years from 1924 to 1930.

The proportion of Filipinos to the total population of the Islands reached a peak of 17.1 percent in 1930; and owing to the extensive movement of single men back to the Philippines or to California, the number of Filipinos remaining in Hawaii declined by 11,000 in the decade 1930 to 1940. From 1940 on, the Filipinos have steadily increased numerically, despite some continuing loss to the U.S. mainland. In addition to a striking excess of births over deaths, there has been a considerable migration from the Philippines—9,100 in 1946 to supply Hawaii with plan-

tation labor, and a massive flow of siblings and relatives of earlier arrivals, some 33,000 within the first decade following the liberalization of American immigration laws in 1965. According to the 1976 Hawaii health survey, Filipinos constituted 13.3 percent of Hawaii's entire population, based on U.S. census definitions and including all persons of mixed Filipino ancestry, although only 10.2 percent of the Islands' total were of unmixed Filipino ancestry.

Despite its minimal impact on the permanent character of Hawaii's population, still another series of labor-recruiting experiments deserves at least passing mention in this account. The belief that natives drawn from islands in the Pacific might serve a dual function, both as laborers and as "re-invigorators of the Hawaiian stock," motivated attempts as early as 1859 to enlist people from islands as distant and widely separated as the Marquesas, the Solomons, and the Gilberts. These ventures did not prove particularly successful in that during the extended period of intensive recruitment (1868-1884) only 2,500 islanders were induced to come, and most of them insisted on being returned to their home islands once their contracts had been completed.

Workers from an opposite quarter of the globe included some 600 Norwegians in 1881, but they were even more vigorous than the South Sea islanders in their complaints regarding plantation life, which they abandoned as quickly as possible for more attractive openings in the towns or in America. The 1,300 peasants recruited from northwestern Germany between 1881 and 1887, on the other hand, made a reasonably satisfactory adjustment to the living conditions they encountered on the plantations, especially those owned or operated by Germans. Less successful labor-recruiting ventures brought 370 Galicians (Austrians) in 1898, nearly 200 Negroes from Louisiana and Alabama in 1901, and even 114 white Americans from California and New York between 1898 and 1909. One of the least promising areas of the world from which to entice workers for Hawaii's plantations was Russia, and yet a total of 2,400 Russians, including members of the Molokan religious sect, were introduced between 1906 and 1912.

The positions of power and prestige enjoyed by most of the Haoles almost from the arrival of Captain Cook have accorded them, at least until the outbreak of World War II, a markedly dif-

ferent experience in Hawaii from that of the other immigrant groups thus far considered. Whether as early tradesmen, who could supply the natives with the foreign artifacts they eagerly sought, or as missionaries, who taught and advised on all matters relating to the new way of life, or as planters and promoters of the new economy, throughout the first century and a half of contact, the Haoles expected and, for the most part, received a status superior to that of most natives and of all the immigrant labor groups. The proportion of the population who could occupy such positions of influence and prestige was necessarily limited, and no large numbers of Haoles were reported in the censuses throughout the nineteenth century. During most of the period of rapid plantation development (1876–1930), the Haoles or Other Caucasians, as they were classified in the U.S. census reports after Annexation, did not keep pace with the rest of the population, dropping from 8.3 in 1884 to 5.4 percent in 1900. Even in the two succeeding decades there was only a slight increase in the proportion of Haoles, and it was not until Hawaii began to figure prominently as a military and tourist frontier that their numbers and proportion of the total population rose markedly. Although U.S. census figures have not been available since 1930, the Haole proportion had risen to 12.2 percent at that time and by 1960, it was probably close to 25 percent.

Unfortunately the U.S. census classification of 38.8 percent of Hawaii's population in 1970 as belonging to the White race was quite confusing and misleading by including in that category all Puerto Ricans and an unknown proportion of persons of mixed Caucasian ancestry. The findings of the Hawaii Health Surveillance surveys indicating Caucasian presence in Hawaii's population of 33.0 percent in 1970 and 27.5 percent in 1977 more nearly approximate the real situation.

Among the people who have come to public attention for the first time as a distinct ethnic group since 1950, the emigrants from Samoa stand out most prominently. Mormon missionaries were responsible for the migration of a few converts to participate in rites at the recently completed temple at Laie in 1919, and by 1930 a small community of 125 Samoans was in existence there. The major migration of Samoans to Hawaii, however, occurred after the close of the war in the Pacific, beginning in 1951 and 1952 when the U.S. Navy transferred 1,300 Samoans, chiefly Navy personnel



and dependents, to Pearl Harbor. The flow of Samoans since 1950 has been largely motivated by economic considerations, in which Hawaii has frequently served as an intermediate stop on the way to supposedly greater opportunities on the mainland. Because of the fluid nature of the Samoan community in Hawaii, the population here has sometimes been estimated as being as high as 15,000, but the Hawaii health survey data showing less than 6,000 persons in 1970 and 1977 (table 2) more nearly reflects the size of the permanent community.

Peoples from the war-torn countries of Indo-China constitute the most recent group of immigrants to arrive in Hawaii, although they were still too few in 1977 to be recognized as a separate ethnic group in Island population surveys. American military involvement in Vietnam from 1962 to 1974 was chiefly responsible for the emigration from that part of the world to Hawaii, first of the wives and children of Island servicemen and civilians married to Southeast Asians, and later, since 1974, of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Data with regard to the Indo-Chinese population in Hawaii are necessarily vague and unpredictable, subject as they are to the fortunes of war in Southeast Asia and the uncertain appeal of the American mainland, but estimates by knowledgeable informants in 1979 range from a minimum of 2,000 to a maximum of 4,000.

#### *Age and Sex*

The long and frequently dangerous voyages involved in the early migrations to Hawaii quite naturally drew most heavily upon the young and vigorous rather than the aged and decrepit, and in most groups it was the males rather than the females who did the pioneering. The permanence and the survival of the groups are determined, however, by a different set of factors than those which initiate the migrations. It is a frequently overlooked truism that only women of certain ages bear children, and the extent of their presence in a population is a critical factor in determining the survival of the group.

Moreover, the existence of any large number of single adult males without the presence of a corresponding female population is bound to have profound consequences on the moral tone of the community. This is as true of the plantation camps or military installations of Hawaii as it is of the pioneer mining, lumbering, or

fishing communities of the American West, Alaska, or South Africa. The notion that there is neither God nor law on the frontier is doubtless an exaggeration, but neither God nor law can be as readily recognized there as in the community with a more normal age and sex distribution.

Especially in the period since the rapid expansion of plantation enterprise and of extensive immigration, Hawaii's population has shown a considerable excess of men over women and an essentially youthful appearance. Even in 1853 there was a fairly pronounced sex differential in the total population of 113 males to every 100 females. As one would expect, this differential was most apparent among the immigrant groups, with 447 males to every 100 females. The excess of 9.5 males to every 100 females among the native Hawaiians is probably attributable to the practice of female infanticide, which still persisted to some degree and which continued to manifest itself in census returns until after the turn of the century. The maximum sex differential among the natives appears to have been reached about 1884 with a ratio of 116.2 males per 100 females, and an equal proportion between the sexes was not reached until 1930.

One of the most effective devices for reflecting changes in both the age and sex distributions of any population is the simple graph known as the population pyramid, the left half of which indicates the age distribution of the males, while the right represents the females. The population of a region unaffected by migration tends to assume the form of an isosceles triangle, with approximately equal proportions of males and females on the left and right sides respectively, and a gradual decline in numbers according to age from the base to the vertex. In a stationary population, losses through death in the upper age levels are balanced by births at the base of the pyramid. For indicating the changing age and sex structure of the major ethnic groups of the Islands, population pyramids for 1920 and 1960 are presented in figure 1.

The combined Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian pyramids most nearly approximate a normal distribution, with, however, a decidedly broad base in 1920 and a slightly broader one in 1960. The median age of 16 years for the Hawaiian males was lower than that for any other major ethnic group in Hawaii in 1960, and only the Filipino women had as low a median age as that of the Hawaiian females (16.8 years). Unlike the pattern shown by most of the

other peoples of Hawaii, there is no evidence in the Hawaiian population pyramid of any disposition during the first half of the twentieth century to restrict births as a means of attaining a higher plane of living.

The Chinese provide perhaps the most striking example of a group whose immigrant population abnormalities have largely disappeared. In 1920 more than 36 percent of the Chinese in Hawaii were middle-aged and elderly men, between the ages of 35 and 64, the remnants of the immigration that had ceased more than twenty years earlier. By 1960 this remnant had all but disappeared, with only a slight excess of males over the age of 80.

The figure for Filipino distribution in 1920, on the other hand, reflects an ethnic group still at the peak of its immigrant experience, with more than half of its entire population (56 percent) young male adults in the years 20 to 34, for whom there was only one Filipino woman of comparable age to every seven men. Forty years later the abnormal apportionment of age and sex classes among the Filipinos, although less pronounced, was still strikingly high, especially in the middle and older age levels. A full 25 percent of the Filipino population in 1960 were men between the ages of 45 and 65, while the ratio between the sexes at this level was still seven men to every woman.

Something of this discrepancy, suggestive of corresponding social problems, is revealed in the striking contrast between the median age in 1960 of all Filipino males (37.3 years) and of all Filipino females (17.2 years). With age and sex disparities as great as these, compelling most of the middle-aged and elderly men to forego normal sex and family relations within their own ethnic group during the greater part of their adult life, it was not surprising that Filipino rates in crimes of violence and passion, sex delinquencies, and certain forms of mental breakdown ran above average for the Islands. The persistence of serious age and sex disproportions was noted until well after the 1970 census, when one quarter of all Filipino males were recorded as 55 years of age or older, and there was a ratio of 458 men to every 100 women of the same age range.

Because the Japanese immigrants who came to Hawaii were more generously provided with women than either Chinese or the Filipinos, the disproportions in their sex ratios have never been so apparent. At the peak of the plantation era, in 1920, the immigrant Japanese were largely in the 30-to-54-year age bracket,

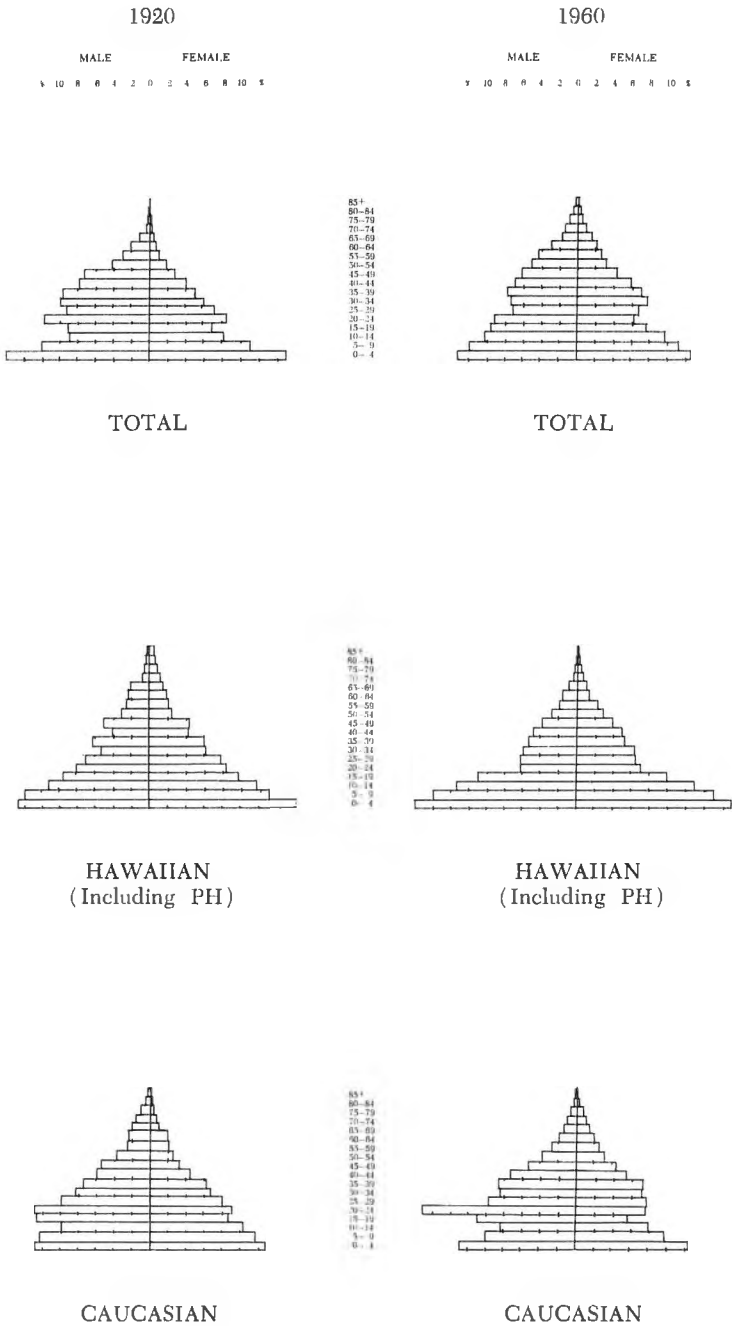
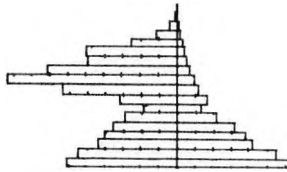


FIGURE 1. Age and Sex Pyramids

1920

MALE FEMALE

1 10 8 6 4 2 0 2 4 6 8 10 11

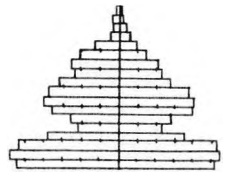


CHINESE

1960

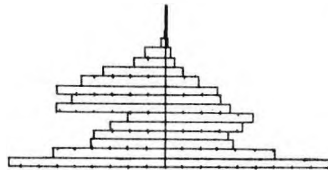
MALE FEMALE

1 10 8 6 4 2 0 2 4 6 8 10 11

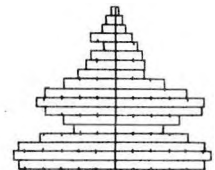


CHINESE

85+  
80-84  
75-79  
70-74  
65-69  
60-64  
55-59  
50-54  
45-49  
40-44  
35-39  
30-34  
25-29  
20-24  
15-19  
5-9  
0-4

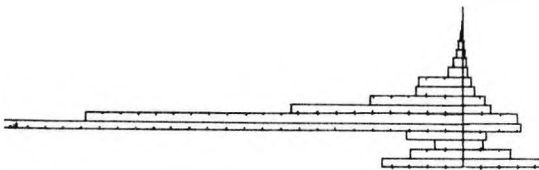


JAPANESE

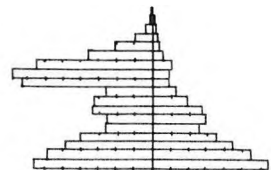


JAPANESE

85+  
80-84  
75-79  
70-74  
65-69  
60-64  
55-59  
50-54  
45-49  
40-44  
35-39  
30-34  
25-29  
20-24  
15-19  
10-14  
5-9  
0-4



FILIPINO



FILIPINO

85+  
80-84  
75-79  
70-74  
65-69  
60-64  
55-59  
50-54  
45-49  
40-44  
35-39  
30-34  
25-29  
20-24  
15-19  
10-14  
5-9  
0-4

among whom the males rarely exceeded the females by more than two to one. By 1960 only a few of the immigrant generation remained in the age class of 70 years and over, among whom there was still some evidence of an excess of males over females.

The obvious similarity in the 1960 population pyramids of the Chinese and the Japanese is largely a consequence of the common experience of these two immigrant groups in their struggle to attain a higher plane of living during the preceding forty years. This was reflected in their limitation of births prior to 1940 and the consequent underrepresentation of persons aged 20 to 34. The effects of the post-war baby-boom and of indulging in larger families, made possible by the greater financial affluence during the 1950s, appear in the broadened base of children born since the war. The continuing disposition of both Japanese and Chinese to limit births as a partial safeguard against inflation was apparent in 1960 and again in 1970 when the proportion of children under the age of five was less than in the next older age bracket. Data obtained in the 1970 census indicate that the Koreans, like the Japanese and Chinese, had gone through a cycle of declining births prior to World War II, of expanding births following the war, and still later, of a trend to limit family size under pressures of inflation and competition for upward mobility.

Neither the Filipinos nor the Hawaiians, on the other hand, gave evidence in their 1960 population pyramids of having responded to such economic inducements to restrict family size, either before World War II or during the recessions following the war. By the time of the 1970 census, however, it was becoming evident that both of these groups were also reacting to rising living costs and Western status expectations by limiting the number of their children.

The population pyramids for the Caucasians are somewhat less revealing than the others owing to the composite character of this group. The combination of the Portuguese and Other Caucasian groups tends to disguise somewhat the real situation. The Portuguese group alone had an age and sex distribution in 1920 strikingly similar to that of the combined Hawaiian population—an equal ratio between the sexes and a disproportionately high ratio of children. The Other Caucasians had a very narrow base and a high proportion of males in the late teens, the twenties, thirties, and extending into the forties. The excess of males over females in

the early years of maturity, amounting to approximately three males to every female in 1920, was a consequence of the growing military frontier in Hawaii, and it became even more acute in 1930 and 1940. Even in the pyramid for the combined Caucasian group in 1960, the presence of more than twice as many men as women between the ages of 15 and 24 is a clear reminder that Hawaii is still a military frontier. The overproportions of males at all other ages under 65 probably reflects the influence of a combination of military, plantation, and commercial frontiers in Hawaii.

## Where Do They Live?

### A Land of Many Islands

Equally as important as the fact that Hawaii's people live some two thousand miles from their nearest continental neighbors is the fact of their separation from one another on the eight major Hawaiian islands, as well as on the far more numerous land "islands" created by high mountains, steep palis, and deep valleys. Hawaii is not a flat plain over which the population might flow in one contiguous and homogeneous mass. Hawaii is, by its volcanic character, a host of little islands, each of which might provide the home for a separate and distinct cultural world. Not only every island, as Robert E. Park observed, but every major subdivision within the eight islands of the group may enclose

not merely another community but a different world, each with its own local traditions and way of life, and each more or less self-sufficing and complete in itself. Possibly these differences are not actually as great as they seem but the effect of isolation, which life on an island imposes, is to intensify personal intimacies, and by so doing promotes the growth of local customs in response to local conditions. Insularity, in short, encourages individuality and in this sense, it is true that one cannot tell what will happen on an island.<sup>1</sup>

Park's description of the Island scene is particularly appropriate for the pre-European and frontier periods of Hawaiian history, but it is also valid to a considerable degree even at the present time.

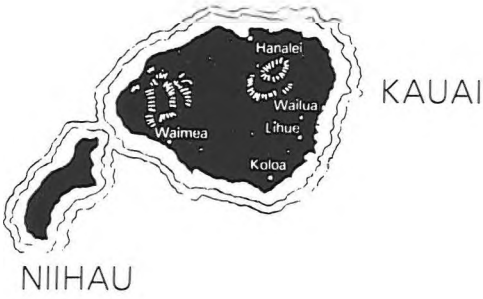
The shifting population of Hawaii has been scattered over eight major islands that make up a land mass of only 6,447 square miles—roughly equal to the area of the state of New Jersey. Seven of the eight islands strewn along a four-hundred-mile arc have been continuously inhabited since prehistoric times. The five largest—Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, and Molokai—have always had pop-



ulations in excess of a thousand each during the period for which we have accurate information. The sixth and seventh in size—Lanai and Niihau, with land areas of 140 and 73 square miles respectively—have supported populations of only a few hundred each during most of the two hundred years since 1778. It was not until 1922, when a pineapple plantation was established, that Lanai's population of 185 residents suddenly multiplied to 2,356, as reported in the 1930 census, about where it has remained ever since.

Kahoolawe, the smallest inhabited island of only 45 square miles, although dry, barren, and commonly noted in the present century for its dust storms, was believed by the missionaries in the 1830s to have been populated by as many as eighty natives. In official censuses since 1850, however, the highest number of inhabitants was reported as three in 1920, and popular awareness of the island during the last quarter of this century seems to focus chiefly on the question of whether Kahoolawe should continue to function exclusively as a target for U.S. Navy bombing practice or be restored as a ceremonial symbol of prehistoric Hawaiian culture.

The populations supported by these different land masses have varied greatly under both native and Western lifestyles. Thus Hawaii, the largest and geologically the youngest of the islands, had not, even by 1970, regained the population it had at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Vast areas of the Big Island's 4,038 square miles—considerably larger than Puerto Rico, with its more than two and a half million inhabitants—have always been uninhabited. The extensive lava wastes and huge mountain domes rising almost 14,000 feet above sea level divide the island into at least six major districts, which were sometimes the bases of separate kingdoms during the pre-European era. The drop in population of the island from 45,792<sup>2</sup> reported in the first missionary census (1831–1832) to a low of 16,001 in 1872 left large areas uninhabited, but even the maximum population recorded in modern times would give the island a density of only 15.7 persons per square mile as compared with 120 for the entire state and 50.5 for the entire United States in 1970. The downward trend in population from 73,325 in 1930 to 63,468 in 1970 has since been reversed by the growth of tourism, but because of the volcanic character of the island there are still large unpopulated areas. Vast sections of potentially arable land remain unoccupied, their development a challenge to human ingenuity for years to come.



PACIFIC  
OCEAN

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

N



MOLOKAI



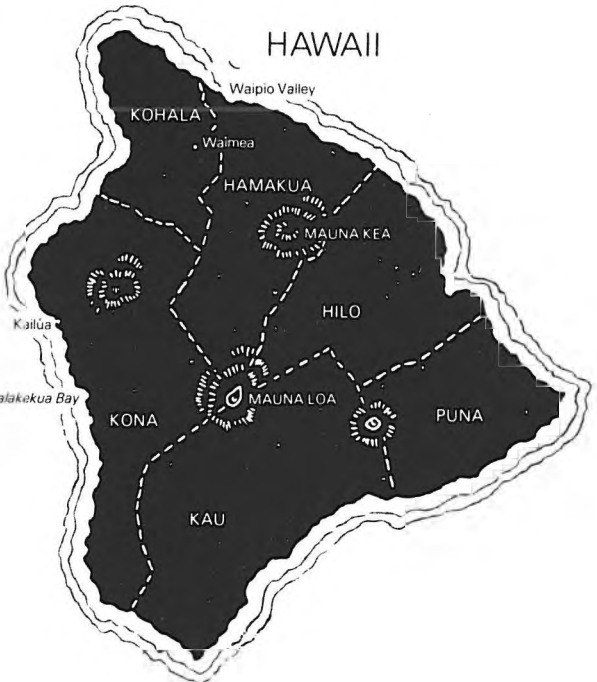
LANAI



KAHOOLAWE



MAUI



With the exception of Oahu, the other larger islands of the group—Maui, Lanai, Molokai, and Kauai—have followed much the same pattern of population change as Hawaii. Their inhabitants have been supported almost wholly by the land, and the numbers have therefore fluctuated according to the changing balance between man and his sources of livelihood. During the first century of contact with the Western world, because of the numerous new diseases brought by the Europeans, the native population declined on all the islands, first very rapidly and then more slowly. The rise of the plantations, and the subsequent introduction of other peoples from outside reversed the downward trend in population. This occurred on all the islands at about the same time, just after the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 went into effect.

Then, as a consequence of the expanding plantation economy, the population of all the islands increased rapidly over a period of more than fifty years. The four major islands on which the plantation economy was concentrated—Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai—increased in population more rapidly during the fifty years following 1878 than they had declined during the previous forty-five years. After 1930, as Hawaii's economy gradually shifted away from the sugar and pineapple plantations and became increasingly centered in the commercial, military, and administrative activities on Oahu, the population on the other major islands actually declined during three decades. Tourism has been the principal factor in reversing the downward trend since 1960.

Oahu alone has continued to increase steadily in population for more than a hundred years. Chiefly because of its central position with reference to the other islands and the excellence of its Honolulu and Pearl harbors, Oahu attracted visitors and settlers primarily engaged in trade. Even in 1853, Honolulu district had a disproportionate share of the population of the Islands—11,455, compared with 7,748 in the entire Hilo and Puna districts on Hawaii, Honolulu's closest competitors. By 1872, Oahu had outstripped all the other islands, and by the early 1920s more than half of the residents of the entire Territory lived on Oahu. Honolulu's function as the administrative center for the plantation enterprises and as the political capital of the Islands was chiefly responsible for the striking growth in Oahu's population prior to 1930. (See table 4.) Since then the number of residents on Oahu has continued to increase with equal rapidity, chiefly as a conse-



quence of its military and commercial functions in the Pacific. It comes as something of a shock to those who have thought of Hawaii as a subtropical agricultural region to discover that in 1970 close to 82 percent of the residents were located on one island with less than 10 percent of the total land area, and that well over half (57.5 percent) of the residents of the state lived in the city of Honolulu or adjacent urbanized areas. In every census since 1853 Oahu has led all the neighboring islands in population density.

It is not commonly recognized that the major agricultural enterprises in Hawaii have become highly industrialized and that, to a far greater degree than in most other plantation frontiers of the world, the persons engaged in cultivating and processing such crops as sugarcane and pineapples in Hawaii live within the orbit of the city and enjoy whatever material and cultural advantages it has to offer.<sup>3</sup> Thus, more than four-fifths (83.1 percent) of the residents of the Islands in 1970 were classified by the census as urban, in contrast with 73.5 percent of the residents of the continental United States as a whole. While in 1920, 22 of today's 50 states had a higher proportion of inhabitants in urban centers, in 1970 only five—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and California—had predominantly urban populations.

In contrast with the clearly defined population trends in the plantation areas before 1930 and the strong cityward movement on Oahu, the population of a number of remote districts on all the islands has remained relatively stable for the greater part of the past century. These are the areas where native culture has retained its strongest hold. The most notable of such areas is the island of Niihau, on whose 73 square miles barely two hundred persons, on the average, have found a livelihood for the past hundred years. Since 1872 the island has continued to report about the same number of residents—slightly below 200 in most of the census periods, dropping to a low of 136 in 1930 and increasing to 254 in 1960. Molokai has also retained very much of the native quality of life, despite extended plantation experiments in both sugar and pineapples. In the late 1970s tourism probably constitutes a more serious threat to the rural stability of the "Lonely Island."

Fifteen of the forty-four geographical subdivisions of the Islands identified in the 1970 census were communities of less than a thousand inhabitants. Included in these clearly rural areas were

Kohala, North Kona, North Hilo, Keaau, Paaulo, and Kalapana on the Big Island, Haiku, Hana, Waihee, and Sprecklesville on Maui, Hanalei on Kauai, Niihau, and West Molokai. There will be even fewer such areas in 1980 and 1990.

### **The Habitat of the Hawaiians**

As one would expect, Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiians have survived most in areas where Western civilization has penetrated least. Thus, census reports from 1853 to 1960 reveal that the islands and districts least suitable for plantation agriculture or other Western uses remained havens for native Hawaiians. As late as 1880 the native population was still dominant in every island district from Puna to Niihau. In 1853 the two remote islands of Lanai and Niihau, with 600 and 790 Hawaiians, respectively, had not a single foreigner or Part Hawaiian resident. Of the larger islands, Hawaii, with its great lava wastelands and mountain domes, had been affected least by foreign contacts, and only 1.1 percent of its population was non-Hawaiian. The three districts of Puna, Kau, and South Kona, on the southern half of the island noted for the large area of barren lava flows, supported a native population of 8,040, but only 45 foreigners. Nearly a third of the 17,330 natives on the neighboring island of Maui were residents of isolated Hana, to which only 10 of the 244 foreigners on the island had been attracted.

In 1853, the largest number of foreigners had settled on the islands of Oahu and Kauai, but there were also isolated districts in both, where native culture was able to survive to a considerable degree. Although the population of Honolulu district was one-tenth foreign, across the Pali were two districts of 4,054 natives, with only 1 percent foreigners. In the Waimea district of Kauai—remote from the major ports—were 30 percent of the native population and only 7 percent of the foreign population of the entire island.

The expansion of the plantations during the last half of the nineteenth century considerably reduced the area within which the Hawaiians could maintain some numerical and cultural dominance, but the lonely islands of Niihau, Lanai, and Molokai re-

mained relatively free of foreign influence until well after Annexation. In 1930 there were seventeen remote districts in which the Hawaiians constituted more than 50 percent of the population. These were

the dry and rocky portions of Kau, Puna, and the deep valley of Waipio (on Hawaii), the wild sections of Hana, Maui, portions of Lanai and Molokai where industrial methods of agriculture have not succeeded, the leper settlement, and Niihau, the island of mystery . . . the places of refuge for some 4,400, or nearly one-fifth, of the native Polynesians. Scores of smaller valleys and isolated districts scattered over the Islands—too small or too barren to attract any numbers of the foreign population and therefore too insignificant to appear as separate enumeration districts—provide havens for a few families of the old Hawaiians.

The old fish and poi economy, with its accompaniment of tutelary deities, tabus, religion and magic, still persists in modified form within many of these isolated communities. A small plot of taro and access to the sea and the mountains are apparently all that is required for the satisfaction of their material wants. The wage from an occasional day's work on the government road enables them to purchase the necessary supplies which the old economy cannot now provide. Except in Molokai, where sequestration of lepers has brought a disproportionately large number of natives, no governmental paternalism has occasioned this racial segregation in Hawaii. The natives themselves have found these rural havens where the economy of life to which they are best adapted can survive.<sup>4</sup>

That the situation had not been seriously altered by 1950 is reflected in the reports of ten census tracts in which the Hawaiians constituted more than 50 percent of the residents, and of eight additional tracts in which they were the largest racial group. These centers of Hawaiian concentration were in the economically retarded and remote sections of Kohala, Kona, Kalapana, and Kau on the Big Island, of Hana and Waihee on Maui, of East Molokai, of Koolauloa on Oahu, and the island of Niihau. As recently as 1970 there were still seven Hawaiian enclaves sufficiently large to be conspicuous in the census-tract returns for each of the islands of Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Niihau, and there were many more too limited in numbers to figure in the census reports.

Included within these areas are, first of all, the small quasi-



subsistence communities such as Kalapana, Milolii, Hookena, Honaunau, Napoopoo, Waipio, Keanae, and Pukoo, where small numbers of Hawaiians continue to derive much of their livelihood from fishing and agriculture as their ancestors did. Their incomes, however, are supplemented by the sale of fish or taro, or by working occasionally on county roads or for tourists and movie promoters. The numbers involved in such communities are necessarily small, probably not exceeding two thousand in the aggregate, but suggest, nevertheless, areas of special interest to social scientists.

A second rural community in which Hawaiians predominate are the cattle ranches situated in the remote, mountainous and least suitable agricultural lands. Kamuela and the outlying portions of Kona on Hawaii, Hana on Maui, and the island of Niihau come immediately to mind as areas in which Hawaiian cowboys and ranch-hands predominate, although numerous other smaller communities in which ranching is conducted in conjunction with small-scale agriculture or the plantations exist on all the islands. There is, incidentally, considerable similarity in the paternalistic structures of both the ranch and the early plantation—with, however, a greater degree of freedom of action and movement in the former, which appeals to Hawaiians.

More important, however, in the total experience of the natives is the gradual absorption of the Hawaiians into the evolving Island community. Each new census suggests that a larger proportion has been drawn into the orbit of the commercial economy centered in the port towns and cities.

From among native villages scattered along the coastline, where the early trading and exploring vessels obtained food and refreshment, Honolulu emerged as the dominant center. The harbor first came to the attention of the Westerners in 1794, but the natives had clearly made use of the rich lands and fishing grounds much earlier. The possibilities of gainful exchange at this site soon attracted *haole* traders and natives alike, so that by 1821 an estimated 3,000 had concentrated in a "straggling village." Ten years later the first missionary census reported a village of "5,522 inhabitants, including 180 foreigners."<sup>5</sup>

The Hawaiian censuses from 1853 to 1896 do not separate the population of Honolulu city from the district (Maunaloa to Moanalua), but it appears that as the century progressed, the

Honolulu district consistently drew a higher proportion of the total Hawaiian population of the Islands. Thus, between 1853 and 1900, the ratio of Hawaiians residing in Honolulu increased from 14.5 to 28.9 percent. The same pull of the city continued during the first half of the twentieth century, so that in 1950 just under half (48.9 percent) of the reported 86,090 Hawaiians in the total population actually lived in Honolulu. The tendency of Part Hawaiians to be residents of the city in higher proportions than full-blooded natives (table 5) is consistent with the experience of peoples in other parts of the world.<sup>6</sup>

It might appear from the decline between 1950 and 1960 in the proportion of Hawaiians living in Honolulu that the earlier trend toward the city had been reversed. The explanation, of course, lies in the fact that the whole island of Oahu had become the City and County of Honolulu, as reflected in its designation by the U.S. census as the Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area; and, while Hawaiians have continued to be attracted by the city, they have preferred to live in its peripheral sections. Thus, Oahu's share of all Hawaiians in the Islands has increased slowly but steadily from 59.9 percent in 1940 to 75.3 percent in 1970, while the ratio of those living within the city proper decreased from 48.9 percent in 1950 to 35.9 percent in 1970. Districts along Oahu's seacoast, such as Waimanalo, Hauula, Waianae, and Nanakuli, that have proved unprofitable for certain commercial ventures do attract Hawaiians, especially those wishing to retain as much of their native lifestyle as possible while having within an hour's driving time access to the benefits of the city.

The creation of homesteading sites for the special benefit of Hawaiians paradoxically has had the effect of assisting this urban trend rather than the "return to the soil" that the enabling Act of Congress in 1920 was designed to encourage.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was avowedly designed to contribute to the "rehabilitation" of those members of the community with 50 per cent or more Hawaiian blood. . . . By facilitating the return of these people to agricultural pursuits, and especially the development of family farms, it was contended that the Act would promote a more healthful life, an increase in the numbers of the Hawaiian "race," and a more successful adjustment to the dominant westernized society, without entailing the loss of ethnic identity.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 5  
*Population in Honolulu by Race, 1853-1960*

	Honolulu Population					Percent of Hawaii Total				
	1853	1896	1920	1950	1960	1853	1896	1920	1950	1960
Hawaiian	9,889	7,918	8,459	4,885	3,828	14.2	25.5	35.7	40.0	36.4
Part Hawaiian	386	3,468	9,072	37,205	40,749	39.3	40.9	50.3	50.4	44.5
Caucasian	1,013	8,041	23,284	58,555	80,274	60.0	35.8	47.4	51.0	39.7
Portuguese	32	3,833	9,978	b	b	36.8	25.2	37.0	b	b
Other Caucasians <sup>a</sup>	981	4,208	13,306	b	b	61.3	58.1	60.1	b	b
Chinese	124	7,693	13,383	26,724	30,078	34.1	35.6	56.9	82.5	78.9
Japanese	—	2,381	24,522	92,510	109,066	—	9.8	22.4	50.1	53.5
Korean	—	—	1,319	4,802	c	—	—	26.7	68.3	c
Filipino	3	—	2,113	17,372	21,807	60.0	—	10.0	28.5	31.8
Puerto Rican	—	—	841	3,904	b	—	—	15.0	40.9	b
Others	40	419	334	2,050	8,392	64.5	39.7	50.7	48.0	47.1
TOTAL	11,455	29,920	83,327	248,007	294,194	15.7	27.4	32.6	49.6	46.5

<sup>a</sup>Includes Spanish.

<sup>b</sup>Included in Caucasian.

<sup>c</sup>Included in Others.

The communities created under the Act have been artificially created for persons of Hawaiian ancestry. The Act assumes them to be wards of the state, or at least as deserving of special consideration from the state. It is significant, however, that of the 1,752 homesteads in 1964, over half (965) were on the Island of Oahu, 321 in Honolulu proper (Papakolea), 257 at Waimanalo, and 387 at Nanakuli, and the "more than 1500 applications for leases on file with the department [are] primarily for homesteads on Oahu."<sup>8</sup> Much the same situation obtained in 1976, with a total of 2,260 homesteads.

### **The Changing Habitat of Other Islanders**

In contrast with the Hawaiians, the immigrant labor groups gravitated first to the plantations and later to the cities and towns, although a limited number have moved to small farming areas or to military or tourist centers. As the plantations were chiefly responsible for the introduction of most of the workers to Hawaii, the planters also assigned the workers a place of residence in labor camps adjacent to their fields. Although some of the workers might remain for years in these rough camps, most of them left for more promising areas in the cities and towns or elsewhere in the Islands.

The experience of the Chinese and the Portuguese, the immigrant labor groups first to arrive in Hawaii, illustrate two contrasting modes of fitting into the Island community. These are reflected in the speed with which the two groups have shifted their residence from the plantation to the cities and towns. The Chinese spent a minimum of time in their areas of first settlement, while the Portuguese were much slower in leaving the plantations for an urban environment. In 1884, for example, the outlines of the emerging industrialized agriculture of the Kingdom could be traced by the areas or districts in which a sizeable proportion of Chinese and Portuguese were reported in the census. Thus on Hawaii, each of the districts of Hilo, Hamakua, North Kohala, and Kau had populations of 400 or more of both Chinese and Portuguese, while the remaining districts of Puna, North and South Kona, and South Kohala had less than sixty of each group. Already, however, 29.1 percent of all the Chinese in the Islands were

established in Honolulu, compared with only 6.2 percent of the Portuguese and 25.4 of the total population.

In succeeding censuses the difference in the urbanization of the two groups became more marked. In 1930, the last date for which accurate comparable figures are available, 44.6 percent of the Portuguese, in contrast to 71.2 percent of the Chinese, were residing in Honolulu. The hold of the plantation on the Portuguese in 1930 was reflected in their overrepresentation on the Hilo coast of the Big Island and in the sugar-cultivating areas of the other islands. The definite urban trend in the movement of the Chinese population continued through 1950 when 82.5 percent lived in Honolulu compared with 49.6 percent of the total population. Although a slightly lower proportion of Hawaii's Chinese resided in Honolulu in 1960 than in 1950, the steady movement toward the cities and towns continued, with the 1970 census indicating that 93.4 percent were living in urban centers, almost wholly on Oahu.

Although both groups were attracted by the opportunities of the city, the Chinese with their stronger commercial tradition responded much more readily than the Portuguese. It might almost be said of the Portuguese, during the period since 1930, that they had been less urbanized than assimilated, having disappeared as a separate ethnic group in most census counts and official statistics, except in plantation areas.

The other ethnic groups have tended to follow one or the other of these two patterns of community adjustment or some variant of them. The Koreans particularly have found the city to be a suitable area of settlement, and considering their relatively late arrival, the proportion of their population in Honolulu is almost as high as that of the Chinese. The Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, have roughly paralleled the Portuguese with respect to urbanization. Although the Puerto Ricans arrived on the Hawaiian plantations at about the same time as the Koreans, only 15 percent had established themselves in Honolulu by 1920, compared with 26.7 percent of the Koreans. Much the same difference existed in 1950 when the proportion of Puerto Ricans living in Honolulu was 40.9 percent, in contrast with 68.3 percent of the Koreans. The only other point of heavy concentration of Koreans was the city of Wahiawa, where an additional 9.8 percent of the population resided, securing their livelihood chiefly from serving the personnel of the neighboring military installation at Schofield Barracks. The

Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, have continued to live to a large extent in the plantation and rural farm areas of Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai.

The Filipinos have moved into Honolulu from the plantations at about the same rate as the Puerto Ricans, with a somewhat more rapid rate of urbanization during World War II and just afterward. In 1940, roughly ten years after the close of Filipino plantation immigration to Hawaii, only 13 percent of all the Filipinos were living in Honolulu. By 1950, however, even with the addition of some 7,361 immigrants in 1946, 28.5 percent of the Filipinos had settled in the capital city, and slightly more than half were classified as urban—that is, as living in communities with populations of 2,500 or more. A decade later the proportion of Filipinos living in all urban areas of the state had increased to 63.1 percent and in Honolulu, to 31.8 percent, but they were still markedly overrepresented in all the plantation districts of the Islands. The 1970 census classified 68.1 percent as urban residents.

The Japanese have been less rapidly urbanized than either the Chinese or the Koreans, but considering their length of residence in Hawaii, they have responded to the pull of the city more readily than the Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, or Filipinos. During the twenty years of their active recruitment as laborers for the plantations (1886–1907), the Japanese were overwhelmingly a rural population. A sizeable minority of 6,179 persons, or slightly more than 10 percent of their total number, were already residents of Honolulu in 1900, and by 1920 the Japanese population in Honolulu had increased to 24,522 or 22.4 percent of their entire population in the Territory.

The fascination of the metropolis for the Japanese was clearly evident until mid-century, when half of their entire population were residents of Honolulu. Although this attraction still continues, the movement to the cities is at a slower pace. The 1970 census indicated that half of their very much larger population was still to be found in Honolulu, but in the meantime the smaller cities and towns, such as Hilo, Waipahu, Wahiawa, Wailuku, and Lihue, had offered opportunities involving less intense competition, which appealed to other segments of the Japanese community. For example, the Japanese constituted nearly half (47 percent) of Hilo's total population in both 1960 and 1970. The Hawaii health survey indicated in 1976 that 79.3 percent of the entire Jap-

anese population was concentrated on the island of Oahu; this was considerably lower than the 97 percent of both Chinese and Koreans, although higher than the 75.8 percent of Puerto Ricans and the 70.9 percent among Filipinos.

Along with the cityward movement of the Japanese, there has also been a distinct movement on the part of some toward the non-plantation farming areas such as Kona, Kamuela, the Volcano area on the Big Island, and the Kula district on Maui. In these and smaller areas on the other islands, it has been possible for sizeable numbers of both first and second generation Japanese to enjoy a greater degree of independence than on the plantations, and at the same time to continue a traditional mode of life, somewhat protected from the highly competitive and morally disintegrating influences of the city. In every census period since 1910 for which such data were available, the Japanese had a significantly disproportionate number of farm operators in the Islands. The overrepresentation of Japanese, with ratios of 40-43 percent on the three islands of Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai, in which agriculture is the principal source of income, was still clearly observable in 1960, although less markedly so than a decade earlier.

The experience of the Haoles in finding homes in the Islands has been quite different from that of either the native Hawaiians or of the immigrant labor groups just described. As the first invaders and promoters of commercial and plantation enterprises in the Islands, the Haoles were able to set the stage for the movements of other groups, including the Hawaiians. Of the sixteen hundred Haoles living in Hawaii in 1853, nearly two-thirds had established themselves in Honolulu, with smaller settlements in the port towns of Lahaina, Hilo, and Kahului, and a small scattering elsewhere in the Islands. There were no Haoles registered on either Lanai or Niihau, and only 43 on the whole of Molokai.

The role of the Haoles in the establishment and operation of plantation enterprises is by no means reflected in their numbers in the plantation areas. In 1896, for example, Honolulu still claimed nearly 60 percent of all the Haoles in Hawaii, and throughout the other major districts of all the islands except Lihue, Kauai, where the German plantation laborers were included, they were underrepresented. Even in 1930, which was the last census in which there was a separate listing of Other Caucasians or Haoles, 53.5 percent of them resided in Honolulu. In the meantime, however,

Hawaii had become an important military outpost of the United States, with the result that another quarter of the Haole population was settled in the Wahiawa (Schofield Barracks) district of Oahu. Sizeable Haole populations were also living in the port cities of the other islands, and there were small compact settlements of Haole managers and technical personnel on all of the plantations.

Despite the U.S. census policy of including the Portuguese along with the Haoles after 1930, the proportion of the combined Caucasian population located on Oahu continued to rise, reaching a high of 88.5 percent of their total on all the islands in 1960. This heavy concentration of Caucasians on the capital island—exceeded in proportion only by the Chinese and Koreans—was largely a consequence of Hawaii's mounting military importance. It occurred disproportionately in areas outside Honolulu, such as Hickam, Pearl Harbor, Schofield, and Kaneohe. Estimates by the Health Surveillance Survey program indicate that a small but increasing proportion of Hawaii's Caucasians were finding homes on the Neighbor Islands, especially during the 1970s.

### Ethnic Islands within the City

Every large city in the Western world tends to be somewhat like a sieve, sifting and sorting its population and institutions according to patterns familiar to every student of urban life. Sociologists have sometimes claimed the ability to tell by a man's address what his religion, his politics, his social class, and his general outlook and philosophy of life are likely to be. However exaggerated this claim may be in specific detail, ordinary observation in the larger American cities confirms the main outlines of this proposition. We find in almost every metropolis a Gold Coast, a Bohemian quarter, a rooming-house area, slums, exclusive suburbs for the *nouveaux riches*, as well as one or more immigrant ghettos, each with its distinctive institutions and modes of life.

Honolulu is neither old enough nor large enough to have evolved clearly defined and extensive cultural islands as have New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, but it does have or once had its distinctive Chinatown, Hell's Half Acre, Portuguese Punchbowl, Tourist Waikiki, "Silk-Stocking" Manoa, and numerous immi-



grant "camps." Much of the social history of Hawaii could be written around the peculiarities of life within these cultural communities and the struggles within them.<sup>9</sup> It is possible here only to suggest a few basic propositions regarding the way in which the racial or ethnic ghettos have functioned within the larger community of Honolulu.

Probably the first impressive fact about the ethnic communities in Honolulu, compared with those of most cities in the continental United States, is the relative absence of sharply marked boundaries between them. Honolulu, like every other city to which peoples of alien cultures have been attracted, has provided the immigrants with a place, however humble and inadequate, in which to live and to transplant the essential institutions of the homeland, but these voluntary ghettos are without walls and usually blend with their environment. The observer finds it difficult to discover where one racial community leaves off and its neighbor begins. Thus, the geographic areas used in the enumeration of the census are rarely small enough or so peculiarly laid out as to enclose only the members of a single ethnic group. Neither Honolulu nor any one of the other towns and cities of Hawaii has now or ever had the solid racial tracts comparable to the Black Belts, the Little Tokyos, or the Little Sicilys so common in Mainland cities.

The foreign settlement in Honolulu in 1853 was too small (1,180 persons) and too cosmopolitan to develop any distinct racial communities, and it was not until 1866 that the census even recorded population data by "subdistricts." The fifteen areas into which the Honolulu district was then divided, extending from Maunalua at the southeast extremity to Moanalua at the other, had varying proportions of the four ethnic groups specified in that census—Natives, Half-castes, Chinese, and Other Foreigners. The foreigners had only slightly penetrated the outlying areas at either end of the Honolulu district, but they were well represented in all seven of the more centrally situated subdistricts. Only the Chinese manifested any marked tendency to concentrate residentially, with somewhat more than half of their entire Honolulu population of 370 confined in the area adjacent to the harbor, which subsequently came to be known as Chinatown. But even here the Chinese constituted less than 6 percent of the total.

With the growth of the city's population, the possibilities for building separate communities for the different ethnic groups also

increased. By 1884, for example, the Chinese population of Honolulu had increased to more than five thousand persons, of whom 73 percent resided within the Chinatown district. This was, incidentally, the period when anti-Chinese agitation was at its height, and the concentration of these immigrants, together with their characteristic institutions, provided critics with tangible evidence that “they could never be assimilated.” One such observer in 1882 commented:

If you will ride slowly through the Chinese quarter, with your eyes open, you will go to your home with food for much thought. You find watchmakers’ and jewelers’ shops, tinshops, shoe-shops, tailor shops, saddle and harness-shops, furniture-shops, cabinet shops and bakeries, all run by Chinamen with Chinese workmen. While in the Chinese stores, which crowd each other in the Chinese quarter, and dot every street throughout the city and country you can find anything you want.<sup>10</sup>

Within another twenty years, Chinatown’s population was definitely on the decline, although somewhat more than 40 percent of the 9,000 Chinese of Honolulu in 1900 still lived in a small area of about a third of a square mile, including the original settlement.

The experience of Honolulu’s Chinatown is fairly typical of what has happened to most racial colonies in the city. By way of introducing a detailed discussion of this problem, Clarence Glick characterizes the situation in the middle 1930s as follows:

The American who sails to Hawaii from San Francisco, site of the largest and most famous Chinatown in the United States, looks for a similar community in Honolulu, especially after he learns that there are 3,000 more people of Chinese ancestry in Honolulu than in San Francisco. But he is surprised to see that the so-called “Chinatown” is not an exclusively Chinese quarter, but a district in which among the Chinese are interspersed numerous Japanese firms, with here and there a business operated by Koreans, Filipinos and white-Americans (haoles). On the streets he may see not only Cantonese faces, but faces of every racial group living in the Islands. From the second-story windows and balconies look down representatives of all the groups which make up Honolulu’s polyglot community.<sup>11</sup>

He points out further that even in the 1880s when the Chinese were most severely criticized for their clannishness and unassimi-

lability, Chinatown was never composed exclusively of Chinese, and writers of the period referred to the "large number of natives who lived in the Chinese quarter." The two major Chinatown fires left "many Hawaiians and some 'half-castes' " homeless in 1886, and large numbers of Japanese and some Portuguese were similarly affected in 1900. By 1920 the old Chinatown provided homes for almost as many Japanese as Chinese, in addition to sizeable groups of Hawaiians, Part Hawaiians, Filipinos, Portuguese, and Other Caucasians. By 1940 the Japanese in the district were in excess of the Chinese, and by 1970 the population of the central Chinatown area was less than one-fifth Chinese, while nearly half of the population (47 percent) were Filipinos, chiefly elderly and indigent men.

This small, strategically located district of approximately 36 acres, bordered by the Honolulu harbor and the business center, has served several immigrant groups as a convenient place in which to settle first and make their preliminary adjustments to the new community. Chinatown has changed little in external appearance during the present century, except that its predominantly two- and three-story buildings have gradually deteriorated and are therefore less suitable for housing. Despite the decline in population of the district to fewer than 300 Chinese among the 1400 residents in 1970, the authentic ethnic flavor of Chinatown has been retained for nearly a hundred years through the many shops and markets offering old-country wares of every type and description, and the many Chinese societies, newspapers, and commercial institutions with headquarters there.

The people who have lived in Chinatown over these hundred years—whether Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, or Koreans—usually utilized the low-rental housing facilities of the district for only as long as was needed to establish a firm economic foothold in the new community. When their economic strength permitted, most of the immigrants sought homes in better, residential portions of the city, leaving behind their less successful kinsmen.

The tendency of immigrants to seek the comfort and security of a ghetto community among their countrymen during the initial period of adjustment to the urban setting is, of course, quite normal and has occurred among all the immigrant groups in Hawaii. Among the larger labor groups, the Portuguese were probably least inclined to preserve their ethnic identity after leaving the

plantation camps. Yet they also recognized the advantage of living in such a haven during their early years in Honolulu, and the slopes of Punchbowl crater served this purpose in the early decades of this century. The peak of this concentration probably occurred around 1920 when the census reported 2,805 Portuguese in the Punchbowl area and the appearance of a second tract of 793 Portuguese in Kalihi Valley. Ten years later the Portuguese population on Punchbowl had declined notably,<sup>1</sup> while that in Kalihi had increased significantly. Catholic churches were for many years the integrating centers of life in both areas.

The Japanese, with their very much larger population in Honolulu since 1920, have been able to maintain their separate communities more effectively than any of the other ethnic groups. In 1900, when the Japanese constituted only 15.7 percent of the total population in Honolulu, there were already clearly defined camps or communities consisting almost exclusively of members of that ethnic group, but the enumeration districts were too large to reflect the facts adequately. In 1920, however, when the 24,000 Japanese in Honolulu made up nearly 30 percent of the city's total, there were numerous points of heavy concentration where the traditional institutions and patterns of homeland life could be partially duplicated. Especially significant were the settlements of Japanese fishermen in Palama, River Street, and Kakaako areas adjacent to the harbor, of truck gardeners, fruit and flower growers, and poultry and hog raisers in some of the outlying areas such as Kalihi, the Sheridan and McCully tracts, Moiliili, and the Waiālae region.

In the 1930s there were still some twenty-five Japanese "camps" scattered over the city, within which the population was almost exclusively of Japanese ancestry. Here the characteristic institutions of the *furo* (bath), Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, language schools, *sumo* grounds, and teahouses helped to preserve an essentially Japanese climate and atmosphere, especially for the immigrant generation.

As recently as the 1950s it was still possible to distinguish the older areas of Japanese settlement in the central and transitional portions of the city—River Street, Aala Park, Buckle Lane, and Kakaako. Many of the structures built to serve the early residents, including shrines and temples, communal bathhouses, and teahouses were still functioning, although their builders had moved

out to more desirable residential areas elsewhere in the city. At the time of the 1960 census, the areas of "second-settlement" appeared most strikingly in the Moiliili, McCully, and Palolo districts, where the Japanese concentrations ranged between 63 and 65 percent of the total population in several census tracts. By 1970, in addition to the 1960 neighborhoods of heavy Japanese settlement, running sometimes as high as 75 percent, Japanese were also overrepresented in the upper income districts of Kahala, upper Manoa, and Woodlawn, and underrepresented in the transitional and low-income areas, which Japanese had occupied a generation earlier.

The Filipinos, as the last of the major immigrant groups to move to Honolulu, had the fewest options as to the place or condition of their residence. During the first three decades of extensive movement from the plantations to Honolulu, the Filipinos were most heavily concentrated in the slums near the harbor adjacent to Chinatown. In 1950 more than half of the total Filipino population of the city were housed within a radius of less than half a mile of the King and Liliha streets intersection. The combined effect of the outward thrust of the city, of urban renewal, and the increase in the number of the group itself during the two succeeding decades was to broaden the area within which the Filipinos were largely concentrated, including the working-class districts of Palama and Kalihi. According to the 1970 census reports, nearly two thirds (63.5 percent) of the entire Filipino population of 29,000 in Honolulu were living within the tenth of its land area between lower Nuuanu and Fort Shafter that is commonly identified with low-average incomes. Another third or more of Honolulu's Filipinos had found homes throughout the city, with all of the 72 census tracts in 1970 having some representation. This dispersion throughout the city, however, has been on an individual or family basis, rather than a result of organized effort.

The smaller immigrant groups, notably the Koreans and Puerto Ricans, have manifested similar desires to create separate communities of their own within the city, although outsiders have rarely known of their existence. Both Koreans and Puerto Ricans were well represented in the low-income Palama district, but not to the extent of constituting an exclusive neighborhood. The Puerto Ricans, to a much greater extent than the Koreans, continued to live in another low-income district in Kalihi Valley, where in 1950

one fourth of their entire population in Honolulu lived. Activities at the Lanakila Playground on the edge of Palama district gave the Puerto Ricans some sense of ethnic support and solidarity and served as an integrating center in the absence of a separate community.

The Koreans, on the other hand, responded vigorously to the competitive atmosphere of the city. As did the Chinese and Japanese, they managed to establish themselves in middle- and upper-class residential districts, to a considerable extent within a single generation. In the course of what was essentially an individualistic, centripetal movement from the areas of first settlement, the one unifying aspiration among the immigrants was the cause of Korean independence, and this found expression chiefly through their churches and nationalistic societies.

On the basis of mainland experience it might be expected that the Negroes living in Honolulu (2,400 in 1970) would be markedly segregated within a black ghetto. For a few years during and following the war in the Pacific, the popular impression prevailed that all of them lived in the Smith Street area, adjacent to Chinatown, as this amusement zone was the only place where they were clearly visible to the public. Actually the habitués of Smith Street were chiefly armed services personnel on recreation leave, and they were required to return to their military quarters at night. The very few Black civilians were widely dispersed over the city. In the 1970 census, only seven of the 97 enumeration districts of Honolulu had no Black residents. Except for the three tracts consisting of or adjacent to military bases, all the others had fewer than ninety Negro residents in any one enumeration district. The Blacks who settled in Honolulu of course came of their own volition, either individually or with their families, or they chose to remain at the conclusion of military service. Consequently they have felt less need for a familiar neighborhood at the outset. Nor was there community sentiment to encourage or enforce such segregation.

The Hawaiians are the one other ethnic group manifesting little disposition toward residential segregation. For many years they have been widely distributed throughout the city, and the census reports over the past three decades indicate there are no tracts in which they are unrepresented. Moreover, of the nine enumeration districts in which Hawaiians constituted a distinctly higher-than-expected proportion of residents in 1970, the most pronounced in-

stances involved the Papakolea Hawaiian Homes lands on the slopes of Tantalus, where proof of native blood was a legal requirement. Low income was the principal causative factor in the overproportion of Hawaiians in the public-housing and lower-income districts of Kalihi and Palama.

### **Movement Inside the City**

Just as the ethnic ghettos provided immigrants with a secure base in making their initial adjustments to an unfamiliar, competitive world, so did the attractions of the city eventually lure most of them away from such safe, but dreary and stultifying havens. The extent to which Hawaii's ethnic groups have left their initial settlements—whether on the plantations or in the city—indicates their striving for status in a broader metropolitan community, as well as for the material benefits it has to offer. Sometimes, however, the escape from the ghetto or camp has been too early or too rapid, and demoralization has followed.

The ordinary and less hazardous transition from an immigrant setting to one of greater comfort and freedom is well exemplified in the movement of Chinese during the 1920s from the tenements of central Honolulu to Bingham Tract, located several miles east of the city center. This newly established enterprise of modest, separate houses and lots made it possible for a number of families to enjoy the common conveniences denied them in Chinatown, as well as status in the wider community. Because of the larger concentration from this one ethnic group, the area soon came to be known as "Chinese Hollywood." While enjoying the benefits of proximity with families of similar tastes and tradition, the residents were gaining the capability to range still further abroad, and many of them did. Within another decade Bingham Tract lost its predominantly Chinese character, as ambitious members of other ethnic groups purchased the homes vacated by the original residents.

A further step in the same general direction occurred some years later at the close of the war in the Pacific when some very desirable residential lands on the slopes of Tantalus were thrown open to competitive bidding. Because of their access to ready cash, the majority of the successful bidders were persons of Chinese ancestry, with the result that the area was soon facetiously labeled

“Mandarin Heights.” Quite clearly, however, neither this third phase in the adjustment process by persons of Chinese ancestry, nor comparable ones by members of other ethnic groups elsewhere in the city, was motivated to any extent, if at all, by a desire for the supportive presence of fellow-ethnics. Mandarin Heights, like Chinese Hollywood, is gradually becoming cosmopolitan in ethnic composition. A similar intermingling appears to be the ultimate fate of all uncontrolled neighborhoods in the urban centers of Hawaii.

The Haoles, or Other Caucasians as defined by the U.S. census, are commonly but mistakenly said to be the one notable exception to the foregoing set of experiences. It is assumed that, having initially come to the Islands in positions of power and influence, they had obtained the most desirable residential sites and have not been subsequently disposed to relinquish them. However, although the first of these assumptions is well grounded, the second requires qualification.

The tendency of early Haole settlers in Honolulu to make their homes in the cooler section of Nuuanu Valley was evident as early as 1850. In 1884 more than one fourth of all European and American residents were living in that preferred portion of the city. According to the censuses of 1920 and 1930 there were eight districts in which the Other Caucasians were greatly overrepresented—in the choice sections of Nuuanu and Manoa valleys, Alewa, Pacific, Makiki, and Maunalani heights, and the oceanfront areas of Wai-kiki and Kahala. World War II brought the first serious dislocations in these Haole settlements—ghettos of a sort—through the evacuation to the continental United States of many of the residents and the consequent invasion of these areas by members of other ethnic groups. Moreover, the emergence of newer areas of residential exclusiveness, such as Wailupe Peninsula and Hawaii Kai, proved attractive to families moving up the social ladder.

The record of Caucasians since 1950 as the most highly segregated residentially among the ethnic groups in Hawaii is largely a consequence of the operation of two factors originating outside the Islands: the increase in military personnel and the growth of tourism.

The designation of Hawaii as America’s principal bulwark of defense in the Pacific, and of Oahu as its headquarters, led to the concentration at several military sites within the city of troops and civilian personnel, almost wholly Caucasians recruited on the



mainland. In 1960 some of the census tracts enclosing military bases reported proportions of Caucasians as high as 99.6 percent. Although ten years later the maximum ratio of Caucasians in such tracts had dropped to between 80 and 90 percent, this was still very high and doubtless contributed to the impression that Caucasians were biased against other races.

The growth of tourism, especially since Statehood, has given rise to the conception of a large portion of Honolulu as a foreign community. Waikiki is separated from the rest of the city on two sides by the Ala Wai Canal. It stands out as a mass of high-rise hotels, and its residents are overwhelmingly Caucasians. As early as 1950, Waikiki's proportion of Caucasians (67.2 percent) was already nearly three times their percentage of the population in the city as a whole. By 1970 Caucasians made up more than four-fifths (10,900, or 82.8 percent) of Waikiki's resident population, a significant proportion of whom were young, unattached adults of both sexes, enjoying an extended tourist fling. In several of the newer districts of single homes and townhouses outside the city, the Caucasians proportions still ranged as high as 80 to 90 percent in 1970, but within the city, other than the military and tourist areas, there was only one tract, Hawaii Kai, which approached this high ratio. In the older status areas within the city, Caucasian predominance has steadily declined since 1940.

The experience of all the immigrant groups in Hawaii, from the lowliest plantation labor recruits to the wealthiest tourists, manifests the common disposition of newcomers in any unfamiliar situation to choose the company of those with whom they can easily communicate. Although well over half (59.2 percent) of Hawaii's residents in 1970 had been born within these islands, a much higher proportion—certainly not less than four fifths—were at most one or two generations removed from immigrants themselves and shared to some degree a cultural and sentimental heritage from a distant land. One peculiar aspect of Hawaii's immigrant experience, strikingly different from that of much of the American mainland, has been the readiness with which the Islanders have abandoned their protective ghettos and mingled freely in multicultural neighborhoods. The clear and persistent trend has been toward still further residential diffusion and a community in which people are little concerned about the ethnic origins of their neighbors.

## How Do They Live?

### The Changing Economy

Few places on earth have experienced such revolutionary transformations within so brief a span of time as Hawaii. Within a period of little more than two centuries, the basic mode of supporting human life has evolved from a stone-age subsistence economy to a state of advanced capitalism unparalleled in most other parts of the world.

At the time of Captain Cook's discovery of Hawaii, the Islanders derived their livelihood directly from the cultivation of the soil and from the sea within the immediate vicinity of their abodes. There was virtually no exchange of either goods or services. Cut off from their nearest neighbors by miles of open water, the Hawaiians had to rely exclusively upon the meager range of plant and animal life within the Islands. There were no mineral resources available for the making of metal tools, and the natives were thus forced to rely upon the stone tools that they could fashion out of the materials at hand.<sup>1</sup>

The explorers and traders, who began to visit Hawaii after word of Captain Cook's discovery was publicized in Europe and America, initiated the Islanders into the ways of Western trade and thus indirectly shattered the foundations of the native economy centered upon the production and consumption of the two Island staples of fish and poi. Part of this story is told in the declining numbers of natives living off the land and by their attraction to the towns and urban centers, as indicated in the preceding chapter. It is more graphically told, however, not in the census statistics, which in any case are very sparse during this early period, but in the descriptive accounts by traders, missionaries, and other visitors. From such sources it is possible to get a sense of the

high status value that the natives attached to Western clothing, diet, housing, religion, and learning, and of the corresponding decline in prestige of things Hawaiian.

Unfortunately, the early censuses of Hawaii tell little about the transformations in the modes of securing a livelihood brought on by the introduction of trade during the first half of the nineteenth century. The census of 1853, for example, includes no reference whatsoever to occupation, and it was not until 1866 that any specific account was taken in the censuses of the economic aspects of Island life. The presence, however, of 2,119 non-Polynesians in 1853, of whom all but 367 had resided in the Islands for at least a year, suggests the growing influence of trade. It may be assumed that the majority of the foreigners followed a way of life that required the importation of foreign commodities and some means of support other than simple subsistence farming. In addition, the concentration within the district of Honolulu of more than ten thousand natives—one-seventh of the entire population of the indigenous race—points strongly to the important role that trade had assumed in the life of the region.

A special tabulation of the population of Honolulu in 1847 reveals a community almost wholly organized around the principles of trade and the exchange of services. The list of 441 persons with occupations in the rising town reflects a wide range of specialized services, including those of blacksmith, boat builder, carpenter, mason, painter, tailor, shoemaker, bookbinder, baker, engraver, clerk, pilot, auctioneer, consul, lawyer, surveyor, barber, and sexton, to mention only a few.<sup>2</sup> Their services were divided between the personnel of the trading and whaling vessels that visited the Islands and the residents of the region, including many of the native Hawaiians residing in the rural areas. An increasing number of the Islanders were living on the margins of the two competing economies, deriving most of their livelihood not only from the cultivation of their own *kuleanas* but also earning some money for the purchase of trade goods from the sale of farm surplus or from an occasional day's work for the government.

As the trading economy became more pervasive throughout the Islands during the second half of the century, there was an increasing interest in securing through the census an accurate count of the persons employed in each major occupation. The census of 1866 for the first time reported the occupations for the entire pop-

ulation so engaged under five major categories, designated and defined as follows: 7,154 freeholders, presumably natives continuing to live on their own *kuleanas*; 8,258 agriculturists, "those known to have some considerable amount of land devoted to agricultural and grazing purposes"; 1,146 mechanics, "those generally understood as such, native and foreign included"; 5,025 laborers, "those who were permanently employed, generally on contract," and probably including most of the unskilled workers on the plantations; and 512 "professionalists, those of the learned professions, as generally understood by that term."<sup>3</sup> Although one cannot determine how complete the reporting under these vaguely defined categories actually was or, indeed, whether the terms were mutually exclusive, it provides some rough indication of how Hawaii's people secured their livelihood. When taken together with other data in the census, the figures suggest that well over half of the natives were still living under a predominantly subsistence economy.

Thirty years later, in 1896, the sugar plantations had emerged as the major factor in the Hawaiian economy, and although it was still impossible to define precisely the total effect of Western influences, the plantations had obviously assumed a dominant position. Assuming the accuracy of the census returns on occupation, it appears likely that over 90 percent of the gainfully employed were engaged in occupations associated with the plantations or in other fields associated with commerce and trade. Owing to the very large immigration of adult workers for the plantations during the previous thirty years, the proportion of employed persons to the total population had reached the amazingly high figure of 50.8 percent. As a consequence also of the central position of plantation agriculture in the economic life of the region, nearly two-thirds (61.9 percent) of all employed persons were unskilled laborers, performing the menial and arduous tasks of hoeing, cutting, and carrying which the early plantation regime required. As nearly as can be ascertained from the census, 78.2 percent of all employed persons were engaged in agriculture or fishing, with the remaining 21.8 percent performing all services in trade and commerce, as well as domestic, mechanical, and professional services.

During the following period of thirty-five or forty years, the plantation experienced its maximum development in economic influence and efficiency. Sugar and pineapple production not only

supplied the major sources of livelihood for Hawaii's population; their influence also extended to almost the entire economic structure of the Islands. Such apparently unrelated economic enterprises as transportation, banking, public utilities, merchandising, and the operation of hotels were financed and operated by the promoters of sugar and pineapple plantations. The concentration of economic control through the agency system of the "Big Five" also made possible economies in operation that could not otherwise be attained, and Hawaii acquired a reputation for scientific production of plantation crops unparalleled in any part of the world. The available land for agricultural use was seriously limited in Hawaii, and any further expansion of the industry depended, therefore, upon increased production per unit of land. Table 6 tells this story for the sugar industry in abbreviated and dramatic form.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the widespread belief that the peak of sugar production had been reached in the early 1890s, the area devoted to sugar cultivation continued to expand until the mid-1930s, and during the succeeding twenty years there was a slow increase in production although the acreage significantly declined. Most striking, of course, is the slow but steady increase in the yields per acre, which by the mid-1960s were more than three times what they were seventy years earlier and unrivalled in any sugar-producing area of the world.

Even more important as a factor affecting the occupational outlets for the people of Hawaii is the story of steadily increasing sugar production along with a rapid decline in the number of workers. (See table 7.) Needless to say, the production of 113.7 tons of sugar for every employee on the Hawaiian plantations in

TABLE 6  
*Hawaii Sugar Acreage and Yields, 1895-1975*

Year	Acres Harvested	Tons of Sugar	Tons per Acre
1895	47,339	153,419	3.2
1900	66,773	289,544	4.3
1920	114,100	556,871	4.8
1930	136,136	930,627	6.8
1940	136,417	976,677	7.2
1950	109,405	960,961	8.9
1960	103,584	935,744	9.0
1965	109,600	1,217,667	11.1
1975	105,125	1,107,199	10.5

TABLE 7  
*Numbers of Plantation Employees and Sugar  
Production, 1882–1975*

Year	Employees	Tons of Sugar	Tons per Employee
1882	10,243	57,088	5.6
1892	20,536	131,308	6.4
1912	47,345	595,258	12.6
1932	51,427	1,024,354	19.9
1942	26,371	870,109	33.0
1952	18,193	1,020,450	56.1
1962	10,960	1,120,011	102.2
1975	9,740	1,107,199	113.7

TABLE 8  
*Workers Gainfully Employed, 1872–1930\**

Occupation	Number Gainfully Employed					Percent				
	1872	1900	1910	1920	1930	1872	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture	21,022	56,056	56,239	56,244	61,811	86.0	62.2	55.7	50.3	40.1
Manufacturing, Mechanical Industries	2,115	9,310	15,345	18,194	23,018	8.7	10.3	15.2	16.3	14.9
Transportation, Communication	—	3,785	6,723	7,781	9,602	—	4.2	6.6	7.0	6.2
Trade	728	3,065	5,831	7,343	10,572	3.0	3.4	5.8	6.6	6.9
Public Service	—	—	2,842	6,282	20,052	—	—	2.8	5.6	13.0
Professional Service	582	1,742	2,601	4,117	8,230	2.3	1.9	2.6	3.7	5.3
Domestic and Personal Service	—	16,214	9,434	8,466	13,070	—	18.0	9.3	7.6	8.5
Clerical Occupations	—	—	1,807	3,286	5,954	—	—	1.8	2.9	3.9
All Other	—	—	372	169	1,953	—	—	0.2	—	1.2
TOTAL	24,447	90,172	101,194	111,882	154,262	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*A serious limitation in the use of census data to measure occupational trends results from the inconsistencies from one census period to the next in the classification of the various occupations.

1975, compared with 5.6 tons for every employee less than 100 years earlier, is primarily a reflection of the technological advances within the sugar industry. Thus, although the number of employees remained fairly constant for more than thirty years and then dropped to about a fifth of its peak figure, sugar production continued to mount. The sharp decline in the number of workers in the sugar industry after 1932 is, of course, an adjustment of management to the increasing costs of labor occasioned by the extension of federal labor legislation to Hawaii, unionization, and the growing demand for labor in other fields.

The most recent phase in the evolution of Hawaii's economy, marked by the declining dominance of sugar and pineapple production and the rise in the commercial, tourist, and defense industries, is largely confined to the period since 1930, but the transition to the new order was evident considerably earlier (table 8). Although the absolute number of persons employed in agriculture remained relatively constant from 1900 to 1930, the proportion in agriculture declined steadily.

The increase in occupational outlets in Hawaii during the first three decades of the present century occurred chiefly in the fields related to trade, including manufacturing, transportation, and clerical pursuits. The number of persons engaged in these four related areas of employment trebled, while their proportion to the total number of gainfully employed increased from 17.9 percent in 1900 to 31.9 percent in 1930. The greatest increase, both in absolute numbers and rate, from 2,842 in 1910 to 20,052 in 1930, occurred in the area called public service and was chiefly a reflection of Hawaii's mounting importance as America's military outpost in the Pacific. Persons classified as "soldiers, sailors, and marines" increased from 1,608 in 1910 to 4,366 in 1920, and to 16,291 in 1930.

The data in table 9, while not strictly comparable with those of the earlier periods, chiefly because of the markedly different era in Hawaii's economic history to which they relate, further confirm some of the trends already outlined. The decline in the proportion of all workers engaged in agriculture, so apparent in the period prior to 1930 when the plantations were in their prime, took the form after 1930 of a decided drop in the numbers as well. From a peak of nearly 62,000 agricultural workers in 1930, the numbers of persons so engaged had dropped to a little over 12,000 during

TABLE 9  
*Employed Civilian Workers, 1940, 1950, 1970*

Occupation	Number*			Percent of Total			Percent United States
	1940	1950	1970	1940	1950	1970	1970
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	54,629	31,806	12,104	35.5	19.0	4.2	3.5
Construction	10,817	11,653	24,743	7.0	7.0	8.6	5.7
Manufacturing	15,454	21,474	29,596	10.0	12.8	10.3	24.8
Transportation, Communications, Public Utilities	8,515	13,450	22,503	5.6	8.0	7.8	6.3
Trade, Finance, Business	26,944	38,978	77,755	17.5	23.3	27.1	26.7
Personal Service	15,067	10,812	18,641	9.8	6.5	6.5	4.3
Entertainment and Recreation Service	1,487	2,442	3,231	1.0	1.5	1.1	.8
Professional and Related Services	11,647	17,321	45,622	7.6	10.2	15.9	17.3
Public Administration	7,569	18,436	30,783	4.9	11.0	10.7	5.2
Not Reported and Other	1,544	1,199	22,496	1.0	.7	7.8	6.4
TOTAL	153,796	167,571	287,810	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*Because of their temporary and shifting residence, members of the armed forces are not included in this table.



the next forty years, and although a decline in both the number and the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture has long been noted in the continental United States and elsewhere, it has rarely occurred with such rapidity as in Hawaii.

During the first half of the 1940s, Hawaii experienced a wartime boom in which workers of every type were at a premium, and a few Islanders from various ethnic backgrounds were able to build substantial fortunes. The sharp decline of employment in agriculture was more than counterbalanced by new developments in other industries, most notably in those associated with the war. By 1950, however, the artificial wartime prosperity had begun to wane, as reflected in the high unemployment rate of 8.6 percent among the entire male civilian labor force and nearly twice that rate among Filipinos and Hawaiians. This postwar economic recession had the not-surprising consequence of activating latent interracial tensions within the community, but these were of relatively short duration and intensity, owing to the stimulation of the economy provided by the Korean War and the mounting tourist traffic.

The phenomenal increase of 71.8 percent in civilian employment between 1950 and 1970, particularly evident in the fields of retail trade and the services associated with tourism, was sufficiently spread among the several ethnic groups to ease the strains occasioned by the earlier postwar recession. Unemployment dropped to less than 3 percent toward the end of the 1960s, but in the succeeding decade, following American withdrawal from Vietnam, Hawaii again experienced problems of unemployment, which was as high as 9.8 percent in 1976.<sup>5</sup> The tendency, especially evident among newcomers, to attribute the resulting economic difficulties to racial prejudice is probably one of the continuing hazards in a multiethnic community such as Hawaii.

The growing economic similarity between Hawaii and the continental United States, as indicated in the last two columns of table 9, was considerably greater in 1970 than it had been at any previous time. The most obvious differences appear in the lower proportion of Island workers engaged in manufacturing—a difference that Hawaii's limited natural resources and its physical isolation seem to dictate—and the higher proportions in construction and public administration. Hawaii's overproportion of workers in the

building and construction industries is a consequence of the shift in the Island economy toward defense and tourism since the war, and it can scarcely be expected to continue indefinitely.

Public administration, on the other hand, is one field in which Hawaii's strategic position in both military and civilian affairs seems likely to place heavy demands for some time to come. The armed forces have fluctuated in numbers from 27,665 in 1940 to 442,160 just four years later. A postwar slump to 19,408 followed in 1950 and a smaller crest to 59,840 occurred in 1964 during the hostilities in Southeast Asia. The number had dropped to 56,000 in 1976, or 6.3 percent of the resident population of the state.

One additional shift in the economy having far-reaching interracial consequences following World War II was the transformation of Hawaii from a region with only minimal labor organization to one of the most highly unionized sections of the United States. The plantations, by virtue of their dominant concern for the maintenance of control over labor especially during the early years when the supply was limited, vigorously resisted any attempts to organize their workers. As recently as 1939 it could be authoritatively stated:

In comparison with the highly integrated character of industrial management, the organization of labor in the Territory is meager. . . . The plantation system continues to be paternalistic. Employee organizations do exist on the plantation, but they take the form of religious groups, usually along racial lines. . . . Estimates of total membership by union officials vary from 3,500 to 6,000 members. Even if the larger figure is accepted as accurate, it would indicate that less than one twenty-fifth of the gainfully employed are unionized.<sup>6</sup>

The severe limitations imposed on plantation laborers during the war, when they were frozen to their jobs at wages considerably lower than those of defense workers on Oahu, prepared the field for wholesale unionization when the war was over. Thus the U.S. Department of Labor Report in 1947 summarized the transformation as follows: "Until 1944 Hawaii was one of the least organized areas in the United States, but within two years it had become one of the most highly organized areas."<sup>7</sup> The widespread unionization of workers in this and numerous other fields of employment, including professional pursuits, has provided one of the more ef-

fective channels of collaboration and interaction across ethnic lines during the second half of this century.

### **Finding an Economic Place**

The initial steps in the economic adjustment of most of Hawaii's immigrants were taken for them by the planters who brought them to the Islands. The labor contracts or agreements, specifying wages, remuneration, and length of service, were signed in the homeland, and, after the workers' arrival in Hawaii, conformity to the plantation regime, rather than personal initiative, was the major requirement of them. The control over labor, which was essential to the effectiveness of the plantation throughout the pioneering period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, extended far beyond considerations of hours, wages, and working conditions to matters of housing, food, language, habits of sleep and recreation, and even religion and politics. Although these controls, under the conditions prevailing in Hawaii, were mild compared with most plantation frontiers, the workers were generally disposed to seek greener pastures after the expiration of their initial contracts. As a result the planters were constantly compelled to renew their labor force by additional importations until the early 1930s.

The conditions of plantation labor throughout most of this period seem onerous by present standards, but compared to conditions prevailing in their home communities, the inducements were adequate to bring an almost unlimited supply. The Chinese, for example, who were recruited in 1852 for a term of five years at wages of \$36 per annum, in addition to their passage, food, clothing, and housing, could readily have been obtained in sufficient numbers to supply all the labor demands of the Hawaiian plantations. The planters themselves in the early 1880s helped to erect barriers to further Chinese immigration for fear that a racial monopoly of the labor supply might be created and thus threaten control of the industry. The data in table 10 reflect the successive flow of the different ethnic groups through the sugar plantations of these islands.

The most complete dependence upon immigrant labor is evident from the beginning of plantation dominance in Hawaii, al-

TABLE 10  
*Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Employees, by Race, 1882-1965*

	Number						Percent of Total					
	1882	1902	1922	1932	1942	1965*	1882	1902	1922	1932	1942	1965*
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	2,575	1,493	966	615	816	424	25.1	3.5	4.4	1.2	2.4	3.6
Portuguese	637	2,669	2,533	2,022	2,302	1,185	6.2	6.4	5.7	4.0	7.0	10.0
Other Caucasian	834	—	942	900	—	—	8.1	—	2.1	1.8	—	—
Chinese	5,037	3,937	1,487	706	302	79	49.2	9.3	3.4	1.4	.9	.7
Japanese	15	31,029	16,992	9,395	10,397	3,766	.1	73.5	38.3	18.8	31.5	31.8
Filipino	—	—	18,189	34,915	18,135	5,579	—	—	41.0	69.9	54.9	47.3
Puerto Rican	—	2,036	1,715	797	646	276	—	4.8	3.9	1.6	2.0	2.3
Korean	—	—	1,170	442	—	18	—	—	1.6	.9	—	.2
All Others	1,145	1,078	408	155	445	506	11.2	2.5	.9	.3	1.4	4.3
TOTAL	10,243	42,242	44,402	49,947	33,043	11,833						

\*Figures for 1965 include supervisory and clerical categories, as well as field and factory workers.

though the Hawaiians have continued to play a minor but important role as *lunas* (supervisors) and skilled workers down to the present day. The great bulk of the workers has been provided successively by three groups, with the Chinese dominant in the early 1880s, the Japanese during the 1890s and the first two decades of the twentieth century, and the Filipinos in first position since that time. Especially evident is the rather rapid rate at which the Chinese and Koreans passed through the plantation stage of economic adjustment, in contrast to the Portuguese, whose number and proportion of the total remained relatively constant after the beginning of the century. The Portuguese, like the Hawaiians, were advanced to supervisory (*luna*) and skilled positions on the plantations more readily than the Oriental groups. The Other Caucasians (Haoles) have never constituted more than a token group among the plantation workers and have usually been confined to the skilled and supervisory levels.

A major change in plantation labor since 1932 has been the increasing mechanization and the corresponding demand for skilled personnel to handle machinery. In response to this development within the industry, as well as the declining occupational opportunities elsewhere following the depression and again after World War II, the children of immigrant laborers have looked more favorably than formerly upon the plantation as an occupational outlet. The numerical and percentage increases of Japanese and Portuguese among plantation employees between 1932 and 1942 were almost wholly Island born and educated. Although the Filipinos, as the latest arrivals and the least fortunately situated of the ethnic groups, continue to provide most of the unskilled laborers on the plantations, they too have been able to improve their economic and social status in the skilled and supervisory levels.

Even ordinary plantation labor has acquired a far higher status following World War II. Partly as a consequence of federal and local legislation and the effective bargaining of a strong labor union, the wages of workers on the plantations have risen to a level at which the sugar industry has been able to boast that it "pays the highest, year-round agricultural wages in the world to its production workers," citing an average cash wage in 1964 of \$17.60 plus added fringe benefits of \$6.50 to all adult hourly rated employees, both field and factory. By 1977, according to the sugar planters, the daily average earnings of their workers had risen to \$43.92 in

wages and \$19.97 in fringe benefits, or an amazing total of \$63.89. Included in the benefits to year-round employees were "four weeks with pay, nine paid holidays a year; paid sick leave for up to 54 days plus a temporary disability supplement for extended illness, medical plan, a dental care plan for dependent children, retirement, pensions, severance pay and many other benefits."<sup>8</sup> Clearly plantation labor had long since ceased to occupy a place near the bottom of the economic ladder in Hawaii.

### Moving Up the Occupational Ladder

The changing record of persons listed by the census as "laborers" tells a somewhat similar story of the improving status of the various ethnic groups after some years of residence in the Islands. Within little more than half a century, the Chinese as a group have run the full cycle from an immigrant labor group to one in which unskilled labor scarcely exists. The Portuguese and Japanese, in that order, followed the Chinese in pushing out of the laboring class. By 1930 the Portuguese had only 30.1 percent of their employed males left in that class while the Japanese had a somewhat higher proportion. The slower rate of upward movement among the Filipinos is reflected in the fact that twenty-five years after most of them had arrived in Hawaii, more than half of their employed men were still classified as laborers. As late as 1960 the proportion of Filipino men so designated was nearly three times that of all males in Hawaii. This is not a reflection upon the ability or ambition of the Filipinos, but rather an indication of the handicaps that the latest arrivals in any immigrant situation are likely to encounter.

It is significant that of the Puerto Ricans and the Koreans, the latter had by 1930 graduated out of the laboring class to a far greater degree than the former, and despite considerable immigration from Korea after 1965, the proportion of Korean men in Hawaii employed as laborers in 1977 was less than a third of that among the Puerto Ricans.

The relative absence of Other Caucasians from the ranks of ordinary laborers, as revealed in the census data of 1896 and 1930 (table 11), is, of course, consistent with the earlier stereotyped impressions of the Haoles, as persons "of superior economic and so-

TABLE 1 1  
*Gainfully Employed Males Classified as Laborers, 1896-1977\**

	Number Employed					Percent of Total				
	1896	1910	1930	1950	1977	1896	1910	1930	1950	1977
Hawaiian	2,758	4,040	2,325	892	1,980	30.0	50.5	39.5	34.6	10.6
Part Hawaiian	348	569	959	2,062		25.5	24.9	22.1	20.0	
Portuguese	3,036		2,044		2,917	73.6		30.1		3.6
Other Caucasian	312	6,898	396	2,235		9.3	43.8	4.4		
Chinese	10,923	6,680	2,088	431	40	65.8	48.6	24.4	5.3	.3
Japanese	14,394	33,871	12,754	7,482	3,433	87.5	76.8	35.9	16.3	5.2
Filipino	—	—	41,075	13,387	4,400	—	—	90.1	52.5	19.9
Korean	—	—	1,142	160	221	—	—	53.4	11.4	9.2
Puerto Rican	—	—	1,455	851	408	—	—	78.2	34.4	28.3
All Other	256	5,355	173	787	1,583	43.2	89.7	81.2	21.2	9.4
TOTAL	32,027	57,413	64,411	27,277	16,124	61.9	65.0	53.6	22.5	8.0

\*Data for 1977 derived from Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey, *Population Characteristics of Hawaii 1977* (January 1979). All other data derived from reports of U.S. Census Bureau and Superintendent of Census, Republic of Hawaii, 1896.

cial status." The low percentage of laborers in 1950 and 1977 among the Caucasians, combining the earlier categories of Portuguese and Other Caucasians, reflects the growing similarity in the economic status of these two groups. It is worth noting, however, that the low representation of Caucasians as laborers was nevertheless much higher than among the Chinese, possibly a consequence of the arrival of a considerable number of vagabonding mainlanders following Statehood.

Much the same relative position of the immigrant groups and their offspring in the ranks of unskilled labor was apparent in 1977 as in 1950, with the three earlier groups from Asia—Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans—least represented, and the later-arriving Filipinos overly involved. The Samoans, most recent among the immigrants, although not shown in table 11, had, like the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans, more than their share of unskilled workers throughout the 1970s.

The parallel account of what has happened to these groups as they have moved out of ordinary labor pursuits is much more difficult to describe briefly. There are many different paths to economic advancement, and not all persons of a single ethnic group have moved at the same rate of speed or followed the same route. Within the limits of this study it is possible only to provide one or two indices of the direction and the flow of the upward movement among the different ethnic groups.<sup>9</sup>

Among the more promising channels of advancement in status, if not always in wealth, are the professions, and the record in succeeding censuses of participation in these occupations affords one of the more sensitive gauges of the advancing prestige of the several ethnic groups. Table 12 provides further evidence of the advantage that the Haole has enjoyed in Hawaii's occupational hierarchy, and that he still continues to enjoy, judging by the high rate of 21.2 percent of the combined Caucasian men classified as professionals in 1977. The advantage that the Hawaiians and especially the Part Hawaiians enjoyed in the professions during the earlier census periods had largely disappeared before 1940. The Chinese, on the other hand, have greatly increased their representation in the professions from a low of 0.5 percent in 1910 to 19.8 percent in 1977, second only to the Caucasians. The evidence presented earlier of the more rapid occupational advancement of the Koreans as compared with the Puerto Ricans is also confirmed in



TABLE 12  
*Gainfully Employed Males Classified as Professional, 1896-1977\**

	Number Employed					Percent of Total				
	1896	1910	1930	1950	1977	1896	1910	1930	1950	1977
Hawaiian	132	126	242	93	1,916	1.4	1.6	4.1	3.6	6.9
Part Hawaiian	54	71	293	649		4.0	3.1	6.7	6.3	
Portuguese	30	444	180	4,232	11,223	.7	3.1	2.6	16.9	21.2
Other Caucasian	164		1,563			4.9		17.2		
Chinese	300	65	259	876	2,353	1.8	.5	3.0	10.7	19.8
Japanese	88	221	1,204	2,506	11,983	.5	.5	3.4	5.5	18.1
Filipino	—	—	268	296	1,344	—	—	.6	1.2	6.3
Korean	—	—	58	121	187	—	—	2.7	8.6	7.8
Puerto Rican	—	—	20	15	59	—	—	1.1	.9	4.1
All Others	13	23	32	138	1,788	2.2	.4	4.2	3.7	10.5
TOTAL	781	950	4,119	8,829	30,851	1.5	1.1	3.4	7.3	15.3

\*Data for 1977 derived from Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey. All other data from U.S. census reports and Census of the Republic of Hawaii, 1896.

the table on the professions. The handicap encountered by the Filipinos in being last of the major groups to arrive on the scene continues to be reflected in their very small proportion in the professions, but this strength is slowly increasing.

Commerce and trade have afforded in Hawaii, as in other areas of immigrant settlement, effective channels for the economic advancement of new arrivals. The widely observed penchant of the Chinese for establishing themselves in business, if only as peddlers with their wealth in packs on their backs, found expression in Hawaii almost before the first immigrants had completed the terms of their contracts for plantation work. As early as 1854 the planters were complaining that the Chinese were ambitious "to live without work—by store keeping, perhaps." By 1884, within less than ten years following the first large immigration of Chinese laborers, 60 percent of the wholesale and retail merchandising establishments of the Islands were operated by members of this ethnic group. The advantage of the Chinese as early arrivals was not as fully shared by later immigrant groups, but the pattern of turning to trade after graduating from plantation labor was followed to a considerable degree by Japanese and Koreans.

Data in table 13 relating to the position of the five larger ethnic groups reflect a dominance, continuing well into the second half of the century, of Chinese in the managerial and proprietary fields, followed by the Japanese and Caucasians, with the Hawaiians and Filipinos still in a markedly subordinate role. The same relative ranking of the five groups is evident in the clerical and sales occupations, with, however, a steady decline in the relative preeminence of the Chinese and a rapid advance of the Filipinos. It must be remembered that there are important elements in the traditional culture of the Hawaiians that have militated against success in occupations which assume the sanctity of private property and the central importance of its acquisition.

Equally evident in table 13 is the decided predominance of the Hawaiians as operatives and kindred workers, and their growing advantage over other ethnic groups as craftsmen and foremen in the handling of machinery. The Filipinos, along with the Hawaiians, have been able to capitalize on their special skills as craftsmen and in the various services for the expanding tourist industry, and by 1977 they had made significant advances economically through these channels.

TABLE 13  
*Employed Male Civilians by Larger Ethnic Groups and Major Occupations, 1940, 1950\*, 1977*

Occupation	All Races		Percent of Total Employed					
	Year	Number	Percent	Haw'n.	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, including Farm	1940	12,612	10.6	5.8	20.0	16.3	1.4	12.9
	1950	15,274	12.6	7.9	18.5	20.1	3.0	15.1
	1977	37,887	18.8	11.9	18.5	22.9	5.2	18.8
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	1940	12,371	10.4	8.3	16.3	28.6	1.6	11.4
	1950	15,049	12.4	9.9	14.1	26.3	3.4	15.1
	1977	28,485	14.1	8.7	14.1	21.6	11.1	15.7
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	1940	15,526	13.0	15.4	17.4	10.2	2.4	18.8
	1950	25,251	20.9	22.9	21.2	18.4	7.5	27.7
	1977	38,743	19.2	25.8	11.8	11.9	21.2	23.8
Operatives and Kindred Workers	1940	14,422	12.1	19.8	14.4	12.0	8.0	11.6
	1950	19,350	16.0	20.1	12.7	11.3	19.9	15.0
	1977	22,705	11.3	17.7	6.9	5.8	18.7	9.8
Service Workers, including Household	1940	8,463	7.1	8.9	3.4	12.3	5.8	8.3
	1950	9,276	7.1	10.0	6.7	7.8	11.2	5.3
	1977	22,145	11.0	16.9	11.8	15.9	15.7	6.0

\*Data for 1940 and 1950 are derived from U.S. Census reports and for 1977 from the Hawaii Health Surveillance Survey. Although the ethnic and occupational categories used in 1977 were not strictly identical with those of either 1940 or 1950, the major trends are indicated.

A major theme running through much of this chapter has been the steady trend toward an equalization of opportunity and status across ethnic lines with reference to the occupational life of the Islands. Obvious inequalities, based in part on the order of arrival, the length of residence in Hawaii, and the cultural traditions of each group, still exist and will continue for some time in the future, but the difference becomes less apparent with each passing decade. It is also evident, however, that the trends toward the equalization of occupational participation occur gradually and usually involve a number of separate steps. Some of the additional factors affecting the relative speed of the process will be discussed in the following chapter.<sup>10</sup>

## What Are They Becoming?

Hawaii's claim to distinction as a laboratory of race relations is based upon the apparent ease with which peoples of sharply contrasting customs and life values have lived together and, to some extent, fused. Romanzo Adams concludes his *Peoples of Hawaii* with the observation that "Hawaii offers opportunity to the people of all races on terms that approach uncommonly close to equality. Responding to opportunity, the peoples are entering upon a larger social inheritance, and one may look forward to an enrichment of this heritage through the achievement of men and women of all races." To further test this hypothesis and to bring up to date some of the evidence presented by Adams on this theme will be the major objective of this concluding chapter.

### Education and Assimilation

The prime requisite of an effective community involving peoples of diverse cultures is obviously free and easy communication among them. The distances that have separated the peoples and races of the world are, as Robert Park so insistently pointed out, not only physical and economic, but moral and social. In Hawaii, as truly as in the continental United States, Brazil, India, or South Africa, the most refractory and vexing barriers to the creation of an integrated community in which all peoples participate have been manmade. The disposition to associate exclusively with one's own national or racial group and the corresponding rejection of persons outside that charmed circle are, of course, "in the minds of men." Our preferences and prejudices in matters of whom to marry, play, work, or worship with, as well as our other "ethnocentricities" obviously have to be learned; we are not born with them.

The fact that so many of Hawaii's residents have been born and nurtured outside the range of the Hawaiian and American social atmosphere is, of course, a limiting factor in the spiritual fusion or assimilation of the Island peoples. Hawaii's problem of making one people out of many has been greatly accentuated by the continuing presence of so many persons with but limited experience within the moral and political climate of the Islands. Obviously no simple barometer can be devised to measure the assimilative atmosphere that prevails, but the simple facts in table 14 do provide something of a clue.

The high tide in Hawaii's flood of foreigners occurred between 1896 and 1910, with the highest proportion registered in the census of 1900, when 59 percent of the population were recorded as foreign born. Since that date, each succeeding census has recorded a decline in the proportion of "outlanders," with the Caucasians—both Portuguese and Haoles—showing consistently the highest proportions of "native born." All the other immigrant groups have moved slowly but steadily toward a native-born population, with somewhat more than two generations in most cases being required to complete the process. We need not present here the reasons for the relative speed in the different groups—the somewhat slower pace of the Filipinos and the rather rapid pace of the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans. The statistics in table 14 are provided rather as an indication of some basic demographic limits upon assimilation in Hawaii.

That Hawaii has afforded a favorable atmosphere and setting for the free and equal participation by all its residents in the life of the community is the result not only of its limited area and the economic and occupational demands already discussed, but also of its open channels of communication. The common language es-

TABLE 14  
*Percentages of Hawaii Residents Born Outside Hawaii or Mainland  
United States, 1896-1970*

	1896	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1970
Portuguese	54.2	38.3	22.2	13.8			
Other Caucasian	37.8	33.3	22.2	11.9	7.7	5.2	3.3
Chinese	89.7	66.8	47.5	27.5	16.8	12.1	11.1
Japanese	91.5	75.0	55.5	34.7	23.7	15.8	9.6
Korean	—	92.0	70.4	46.2	35.8	25.2	21.0
Filipino	—	99.8	89.0	83.5	68.1	55.7	35.1
Puerto Rican	—	71.8	46.1	32.7	22.3	12.3	—
TOTAL POPULATION	49.2	51.9	42.4	33.5	21.3	15.2	9.8

sential to such social interchange has not been Hawaiian, the indigenous tongue of the Islands, but English, the language of the invaders—or pidgin English, the makeshift language of the region. The dominant role of the Yankee and British traders and missionaries in the trading centers established on each of the major islands during the first half of the nineteenth century gave to their language an advantage over all the competing tongues that were represented in these communities.

Although it was the American missionaries who reduced the Hawaiian language to written form and most vigorously supported the practice of instructing the natives in the Hawaiian language,<sup>1</sup> their own use of the English language among themselves and other foreigners gave it special prestige. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, English had become “the principal medium of business, government, and diplomacy” in the Islands, and considerable pressure was being exerted by Hawaiians “to have their children taught English in order to open to them wider avenues for advancement.”<sup>2</sup> Beginning in 1844 a weekly newspaper, published in the English language, became the official organ of the government, and several additional journals began publication in the English language during the 1840s and 1850s.

The Hawaiian language, quite naturally, continued to be the medium of communication among the natives themselves throughout the nineteenth century, but from the middle of the century increasing money and effort were expended upon the instruction of Hawaiian children in the English language. Commencing with ten English schools in 1854, the public school system of Hawaii was conducted increasingly in the language of the Haoles, and all instruction was in English before the close of the century. The Protestant missionary emphasis on the need for their converts to read the Christian scriptures was unquestionably an important factor in the strong tradition of literacy that developed among the Hawaiian people. A high premium was also placed upon literacy by the Haoles, especially those in preferred positions. The natives readily absorbed this value as they did other Haole values. In any case, the earliest reports in the Hawaiian census reveal a rate of literacy among the native population that was surprisingly high, considering the fact that they had only so recently emerged from a preliterate culture.

According to the census of 1890, slightly more than four out of every five Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians over the age of six were

able to read and write, most of them still in the native tongue. This phenomenally high rate of literacy among the Hawaiians, exceeding that of all other ethnic groups except the Haoles, continued throughout the first three census periods of the twentieth century when such data were recorded (table 15). As one would expect, literacy has been consistently slightly higher among the Part Hawaiians than among the pure Hawaiians, and in two of the five censuses, the rate of literacy among the Part Hawaiians exceeded even that of the Haoles.<sup>3</sup>

Pronounced differences in the literacy of the immigrant groups, and especially in the speed with which improvement in literacy occurred subsequently, are also apparent from the data in table 15. The startling rise in the rates of literacy among the Chinese and Japanese between 1890 and 1896 is largely a matter of definition, the expression "able to read and write" having been confined in 1890 to "Hawaiian, English, or some European language only," whereas in 1896 it apparently applied to any language.<sup>4</sup> The relatively low rate of literacy among the Puerto Ricans compared with that of the Koreans, who had arrived in Hawaii a few years later, parallels the differences between the two groups noted in the previous chapter.

The great majority of the foreigners brought to Hawaii during the half century from 1880 to 1930 were selected for their promise as ordinary laborers on the plantations, and definitely not on the basis of literacy. Yet within little more than ten years of the initiation of that massive immigration, nearly half of the entire population of the Islands was able to read and write. Toward the close of

TABLE 15  
*Percentage of Population of School Age or Older Who Were  
Literate, 1890-1930*

	Age Six and Over		Age Ten and Over		
	1890	1896	1910	1920	1930
Hawaiian	79.8	84.0	95.3	97.0	96.6
Part Hawaiian	83.1	91.2	98.6	99.2	99.3
Portuguese	29.4	27.8	74.6	81.1	90.3
Other Caucasian	91.4	85.7	96.5	99.2	99.7
Chinese	13.2	48.5	67.7	79.0	84.3
Japanese	2.5	53.6	65.0	79.2	87.3
Korean	—	—	74.1	82.7	82.4
Filipino	—	—	66.4	53.3	61.5
Puerto Rican	—	—	26.8	53.3	68.0
TOTAL POPULATION	48.9	63.9	73.2	81.1	84.9



the plantation era in 1930, when fully two thirds of Hawaii's residents were either immigrants or their children, only 15.1 percent of the entire population ten years of age or older was defined by the U.S. Census as "illiterate, i.e., unable to read or write," presumably in any language.

Thus, Hawaii at the peak of its plantation development had a lower rate of illiteracy than the four southern states of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—despite these states' much longer history within the American tradition of free, universal education. The continuing influence of the New England missionaries on the entire social and economic life of the Islands, including the plantations, guaranteed an elementary education for the children of immigrants, and this influence was reinforced by the traditional respect for scholarship among the immigrants from the Orient. Although planters, throughout the period of their dominance, effectively opposed free public education at the secondary level as an "unnecessary" drain on state funds, and likely also to increase dissatisfaction with plantation labor, they could not object to literacy *per se*.

The school system in Hawaii, as a creation of the missionaries, had from the outset a distinctly American orientation. Although the missionaries were at first opposed to the use of the English language, instead favoring Hawaiian as a means of preserving native cultural values, they later gave full support to the use of English in the schools of Hawaii. Beginning in 1840, the youth of the Islands were increasingly drawn within the influence of the public schools, which supplemented the missionary schools already functioning. By the close of the century, the compulsory school attendance law was being effectively enforced.

The system for enforcing the law for bringing children into school is peculiarly efficient in these islands. Very few children of school age escape being obliged to attend school. . . . There are very few countries . . . where education is so universal, and in a few decades, if things go on as they are now doing, there will be very few indeed who cannot read and write English. Those who are illiterate come to us from abroad.<sup>5</sup>

Allowing for possible errors in enumeration, the director of the census concluded that 81.8 percent of the children of school age, then designated at six to fifteen years, were actually enrolled.

Following Annexation, compulsory school attendance, with a

completely American orientation, was even more rigorously enforced. No very pronounced differences between the various racial groups were discovered in the census reports covering compulsory school attendance except to indicate that there was a lower degree of conformity with the law in the case of the most recently arrived immigrants and in certain groups less impressed with the value of formal education.<sup>6</sup> A more sensitive indicator of differences in attitudes toward formal education in general and toward American education specifically is found in the proportion of children just beyond the compulsory school age actually attending school (table 16). Especially in the earlier decades of the present century, when industry and the press did not favor high school education for the masses, school attendance on the part of children aged sixteen or seventeen was chiefly a reflection of a strong educational urge on the part of the young people themselves and especially of their parents.

The tendency for the newly arrived immigrants to encourage their children to take employment as early as possible in order to assist in the economic support of the family is clearly evident in the relatively low rates of school attendance among the Japanese and Filipinos in 1910. This is, of course, consonant with the expectations of peasant peoples generally that children should sacrifice any personal ambitions for the welfare of the family. Among some of the peasant immigrants, such as the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans for example, one may also encounter an indifference to formal education, if not a positive suspicion that those seeking higher

TABLE 16  
*Percentage of 16- and 17-Year-Olds Attending School,  
1910-1950*

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Hawaiian	38.4	41.3	37.0	38.8	78.1
Part Hawaiian	58.0	57.5	55.6	58.8	78.1
Caucasian	25.9	34.0	49.1	58.6	77.4
Portuguese	15.5	25.8	35.6	—	—
Other Caucasian	63.8	64.0	70.2	—	—
Chinese	57.3	69.1	76.7	88.9	94.1
Japanese	29.9	35.1	54.3	72.8	94.1
Filipino	21.7	17.6	24.2	50.2	81.8
Korean	53.1	65.4	68.0	—	—
Puerto Rican	8.4	9.3	15.2	—	—
TOTAL POPULATION	35.9	40.1	51.4	67.1	85.8

education are "putting on airs." On the other hand, the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, although of peasant origin, also place a high value upon scholarship; the teacher and learned person enjoy a place of dignity and prestige in the community. This fact, together with a growing recognition that education is indispensable to advancement on the economic and social scale in American society, is responsible for the rapid rise in the proportion of older Oriental children attending school. A pronounced tendency in Oriental families some decades ago to favor the boys over the girls for such educational opportunities had by 1960 almost disappeared. Prior to 1940 the Chinese and Koreans had enjoyed some advantage over the Japanese with reference to high school education, partly as a consequence of their residence in the urban centers, but by 1950 the rural areas were also well supplied with high schools.

It should be noted that by 1950 the Filipinos, as the most recent of the major ethnic groups to arrive in Hawaii, had already taken advantage of the opportunities for education sufficiently to have a higher ratio of their older youths attending school than either the Hawaiians or the Caucasians. In the U.S. census enumerations since 1950, the ethnic groups from the Orient—Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans, in that order of concern, with the Filipinos lagging considerably behind—reported their young adults as attending school in markedly higher proportions than the Hawaiians. As an interesting sidelight, one might note that the sizeable minority of all enumerated Hawaiians (28 percent in 1970) residing on the mainland showed a distinctly higher proportion of young adults who had completed four or more years of college than was shown by their kinsmen who had remained in the Islands. A similar disparity in the extent of college attendance prevailed between the four Oriental communities in Hawaii and their counterparts on the mainland, according to the 1970 census.

### **Political Status and Participation**

The development of an effective political democracy is dependent upon the full and free participation of an informed citizenry in the basic decisions of the community. In a frontier region such as Hawaii, this entails not only a common language and education

for disparate peoples, but also the creation of a common citizenry. During much of the last century, Hawaii's people had been predominantly aliens or too young to enjoy the full privileges of citizenship. The story of the shifting political fortunes of the different ethnic groups during the second half of the nineteenth century is much too involved to consider here. In general, however, the plantation immigrant groups simply did not participate in the political life of the community. It was only after Annexation that the burgeoning immigrant peoples began to figure at all in the emerging democracy of the Islands.

Hawaii was annexed as a Territory of the United States under an Organic Act and laws that its people as a whole did not help to formulate. The federal laws relating to citizenship arbitrarily excluded from political participation all of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino immigrants, who together constituted three-quarters of the population twenty-one years of age and over in 1900. As a consequence, it has been impossible to apply in Hawaii the test of assimilation frequently utilized—namely, the extent to which the immigrants have applied for American citizenship. Only a handful of Orientals already citizens of the Republic of Hawaii were granted American citizenship when Hawaii was annexed. Although immigrant children born in Hawaii after 1898 were American citizens, the number who were old enough to exercise the full rights of citizenship prior to 1920 was very small.

One can immediately recognize in the data on citizenship in 1910 (table 17) the basis for part of Ray Stannard Baker's widely heralded statement that he had never seen a region with "so much philanthropy and so little democracy." Within the short space of forty years, however, the situation had been completely altered, such that those of Oriental ancestry who were formerly almost excluded from participation in the affairs of government are now even more favorably situated than the Caucasians to exercise at least the minimum rights of citizenship. The proportion of Haoles eligible to take part in local government has notably declined during the past half century owing to the large number in the armed services who cannot meet the minimum residence requirement in Hawaii.

Nowhere else under the American flag has there been an experiment in political democracy involving such a large proportion of voters of Oriental ancestry, and quite naturally it has been

TABLE 17  
*Percentage of Population 21 years of Age and Over  
 Who Were Citizens, 1910-1950<sup>a</sup>*

	1910 <sup>b</sup>	1930 <sup>c</sup>	1950 <sup>d</sup>
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	99.2	99.8	99.0
Portuguese	40.4	77.6	64.0
Other Caucasian	76.7	50.1	
Chinese	5.9	45.5	82.1
Japanese	0.2	16.0	70.8
Filipino	—	—	14.9
TOTAL POPULATION	24.7	37.1	65.7

<sup>a</sup>Data for smaller groups have not been listed separately.

<sup>b</sup>Based on male population only.

<sup>c</sup>Based on Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii*, p. 16.

<sup>d</sup>Based on Territorial citizenship, which implied residence in the Territory for at least a year and hence excluded most of the armed forces.

watched with utmost interest by both residents and outsiders. Many supposedly competent observers have speculated as to the probable outcome of this venture and have sometimes arrived at distinctly pessimistic conclusions. Because of the large proportion of Japanese in the total population, many of the predictions regarding the success or failure of the enterprise have focused on this ethnic group. An acting governor of the Territory informed the President of the United States in 1907 that:

There is no narrow race prejudice in fairly facing and acknowledging the fact that the Oriental and the White can never labor side by side; and it is only political prudence to realize in time that neither laws nor education can make the Asiatic fit to enter an American voting booth. In our islands we see a growing generation who accept our public schools and all the other benefits of our institutions but lose none of their loyalty to the alien land of their forefathers. Hawaii presents the anomaly never dreamed of by any founders of our republic, of a land under the American flag in which the dominant sentiment is loyalty to a foreign emperor.

A group of prominent educators from the continental United States in 1920 gave major attention in their report on education in Hawaii to the allegedly rapid expansion of the local electorate of Japanese ancestry.

By 1930, it seems probable that the Japanese may comprise about 28 per cent of the electorate, a sufficiently large proportion to constitute a force that must be reckoned with if it acts as a unit. By

1940 about 47 per cent of the electorate may be expected to be composed of voters of this race. From this time on, their numerical superiority will grow rapidly, the voters doubling every 21 years, as children of children enter the electorate.<sup>7</sup>

The story of what has actually happened with regard to the potential voting strength of the different racial groups is partially told in table 18.

One of the most striking facts revealed in table 18 is the rapid broadening of the base of Hawaii's political structure, which increased nearly nine times between 1910 and 1950, the last census in which such data were recorded. However, the very pronounced decline in the potential political strength of the Hawaiians along with an equally striking rise in the voting power of the Japanese, in what appears as the displacement of the established native population from its long established and preferred position by a relatively new immigrant group, has not occurred without some tension. Although the expansive phase in the coming of age of the second generation citizens of Japanese ancestry has passed, this group, by virtue of its size, is likely to be viewed with some concern by those critical of the Hawaiian experiment in political democracy. Charges that the voters of Japanese ancestry would combine their forces on critical issues, that they would throw their entire numerical strength behind Japanese candidates, and that the control of the government of Hawaii must ultimately gravitate into their hands—such are the allegations which have been repeated privately by some disappointed Islanders and publicly by disapproving outsiders. The fact that such fears have not and cannot be substantiated does not, of course, prevent their being circulated.

TABLE 18  
*Percentage Distribution by Race of Adult Citizen  
Population, 1910-1950*

	1910 <sup>a</sup>	1930 <sup>b</sup>	1950
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	47.5	26.8	18.5
Portuguese	9.6	12.2)	25.4
Other Caucasian	25.4	36.9)	
Chinese	3.9	8.0	8.6
Japanese	0.4	12.0	40.2
Korean	—	.3	—
Filipino	—	—	3.0
Puerto Rican	7.5	3.5	—
TOTAL POPULATION	20,748	81,079	189,616

<sup>a</sup>1910 figures include only the male citizens 21 years of age and over.

<sup>b</sup>Based on Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii*, p. 16.

The concern regarding racial bloc voting becomes even more acute when attention is focused exclusively on the number and ratio of voters by ancestry. The decision by Territorial officials in 1940 not to continue keeping records of the racial ancestry of the registered voters, as being out of keeping with democratic principles, makes it impossible to document precisely what has happened in this area since that time and thus effectively controvert irresponsible assertions regarding the voting strength of the various ethnic groups. The data in table 19 do indicate, however, that the Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians were the only ethnic group during the first forty years after Annexation with a sufficient proportion of voters even to consider ethnic bloc voting as an effective device for controlling an election covering the entire Territory, and this held true only until about 1925.

There is no possibility in the foreseeable future that a majority of the eligible voters in the Islands could be derived exclusively from a single ethnic group or persuaded to cast their vote in a bloc. What is more important, however, is that even in a local election district where a majority of the voters might be of a candidate's own ethnic group, for any candidate publicly to solicit support on a racial basis would be, under Hawaiian conditions, to commit political suicide, by drawing the resentment of all the other ethnic groups as well as the hostility of the members of his own group in the opposition party.

The data in table 19 further support the impression of an emerging electorate much more representative of the Island citizenry than at the beginning of the century. They do not support the impression that any one of the ethnic groups was securing even numerical control of the Hawaiian electorate.

The shift in the ethnic complexion of officials elected to important administrative and legislative positions soon after Statehood was understandably viewed by uninformed observers from outside Hawaii and even by some local residents with vivid recollections of experience elsewhere, as *prima facie* evidence of bloc voting and shady political practice. The unprecedented election in 1960 of two persons of Oriental ancestry to Congress—a senator of Chinese ancestry and the sole representative of Japanese ancestry—seemed to the critics of Hawaiian Statehood a confirmation of what the acting governor had written to President Roosevelt about the political situation in the Islands fifty years earlier. Later, when Islanders of Oriental ancestry were elected to all four of Hawaii's

TABLE 19  
*Number and Percentage of Registered Voters, by Ethnic Stock, 1902-1940*

	Number of Voters					Percent of Total				
	1902	1910	1920	1930	1940	1902	1910	1920	1930	1940
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	8,680	9,619	14,650	19,858	21,581	68.8	66.6	55.6	38.1	24.7
Portuguese	594	1,530	3,091	8,111	26,322	4.7	10.6	11.7	15.8	30.1
Other Caucasian	3,192	2,884	6,795	12,158		25.3	20.0	25.8	23.3	
Chinese	143	396	1,141	4,402	7,422	1.1	2.7	4.3	8.4	8.5
Japanese	3	13	658	7,017	27,107	0.0	0.1	2.5	13.4	31.0
All Others	—	—	—	603	4,880	—	—	—	1.0	5.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,612</b>	<b>14,442</b>	<b>26,335</b>	<b>52,149</b>	<b>87,312</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>



seats in Congress, and nearly half of the elected members of Hawaii's legislature and both the governor and lieutenant governor were of Japanese stock, the unsophisticated could readily conclude that race and ethnic considerations had been chiefly responsible.

Efforts by the public media and public agencies to cast some needed light on this issue by sampling the electorate as to their voting patterns and ethnic stock have been necessarily incomplete and of doubtful validity, but they have served to reawaken a public consciousness of ethnicity in the area of public affairs that had seemed to be declining previously. Moreover, the vagaries of politics—for example, that in 1976 one of the representatives elected to Congress was a Caucasian and the other a Part Hawaiian; that in 1978 a woman of Caucasian-Japanese ancestry was elected lieutenant governor; and that the ethnic composition of Hawaii's Legislature has once again shifted considerably—should make the presence of a host of other considerations credible to everybody. Because of the economic and demographic diversity in the electorate of Hawaii, ethnic solidarity cannot play the dominant role here that it has so frequently played elsewhere in the United States.

### **Plane of Living**

One of the most common bases of criticism of immigrant groups and an alleged evidence of their nonassimilation is their supposed failure to relinquish the customs and habits of the homeland. More specifically, it is charged that the immigrants are content to live on the meager standards of food, clothing, housing, and recreation of their homeland; that they are willing to work long hours at low pay; and that consequently they undermine the higher standards in the country to which they have migrated. This conception of the immigrant provides a justification both to the employer, for keeping wages at a low level on grounds that "foreigners can't use more money and any excess will only be sent back to the old country," and to the workers, for urging exclusion from the country, from labor unions, and from the neighborhood.

The experience of immigrant labor groups in Hawaii has conformed with this general conception, particularly in their early

period of residence in the Islands. On arrival in Hawaii, they have preferred the familiar ways of life of the homeland, as well as the company of their compatriots in the strange land of exile; and they have, in general, been willing to work hard and long to accumulate some savings for their kinfolk at home. The transformation of the immigrants from sojourners in a strange and alien land to permanent and enthusiastic participants in the life of their adopted land obviously requires time, and, of course, for many of the immigrants, their own lifetime is not sufficient.

Insofar as success in the Western world is measured by monetary standards, the assimilation of the immigrants can be partially gauged by their effectiveness in accumulating wealth. It is true, of course, that most of the immigrants to Hawaii were drawn to the Islands by the hope of winning a fortune so as to advance their status or that of their family at home; but few of them had experience in the game as played by Western rules. Obviously not all of the immigrants have been successful in this competition, but those who did succeed had to "play lightly" with many of their old-country moral and cultural values that did not fit in with the new rules of the game. The acquisition of the necessary skills for effective competition has evidently been considerably easier for most of the immigrants and their children than for the native Hawaiians, and there is some evidence that immigrants from China, Korea, and Japan, perhaps in that order, have enjoyed some advantage over Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, or Filipino immigrants by virtue of the cultural traditions that they brought with them. Although the Samoans are also immigrants, they are culturally more akin to the Hawaiians, and like them have suffered many of the same disabilities in economic competition.

Records from commercial and governmental agencies during the early years of this century reveal that all the ethnic groups in Hawaii, both native and immigrant, were adjusting in varying degrees to Western standards of wealth and private property as valid indicators of personal or family attainment and security. Among the larger immigrant groups, in 1910 the Portuguese had the highest per capita deposits in Hawaii's banks, far surpassing both the Chinese and Japanese who were at that time sending most of their savings back to their families in the homeland. By 1934, the Chinese had the highest per capita savings in Hawaii, followed in order by Portuguese, Filipinos, and Japanese, with Hawaiians

having the lowest of all. Comparable data on the assessed values of personal property and real estate in 1911 and 1930 also include the Other Caucasians, who had greatly outstripped all the other groups in both respects and at both dates. Chinese were rated second by 1930, but Hawaiians were ahead of both Japanese and Filipinos.<sup>6</sup>

The financial status of the ethnic groups relative to each other had shifted significantly by mid-century, although much the same ranking prevailed well into the second half of the century. Census data (table 20) indicate that the sharp distinctions that had existed during the plantation era in the incomes received by the several ethnic groups had become much less clearly drawn. The differences were still apparent at the close of the War of the Pacific and even following Statehood, but equally evident were the contrasting incomes within the same ethnic group. Thus, the three major immigrant groups, each of which had at a different time been at the very bottom in terms of income in Hawaii, were not too far apart in terms of median incomes in 1949. Two of the groups, commonly assumed to have reached places at the top of Hawaii's economic ladder—the Chinese and the Caucasians—reported in 1959 approximately equal tenths of their males having incomes at opposite extremes, either in the class receiving less than \$1,000 a year or in the highest class receiving \$10,000 or more. Among the Hawaiians, on the other hand, all but 6 percent were in the two lowest income classes.

A sampling survey conducted in 1977 by the Hawaii Health Surveillance program and directed to the income of families rather than of individuals tends to confirm the trends observed in the earlier decades. The economic preeminence of the three Oriental groups—Chinese, Japanese, and Korean—stands out clearly in table 21. It should be noted, however, that when the sample is confined to civilian families, the median income of Caucasians increases to \$19,005, which approximates that of the Japanese and Koreans, although still markedly below that of the Chinese.

The demoralizing effect of inflation during the second half of the century was most evident among the newly arrived Samoans, whose median family income was only a little more than half of what it was in the population as a whole. The situation was somewhat less acute among the Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Blacks, although nearly 40 percent of the families in all three of these

TABLE 20  
*Percentage of Males with Incomes, by Race and Income class, 1949–1959*

	Less than \$ 1,000		\$ 1,000–4,999		\$ 5,000–9,999		\$ 10,000 & Over		Median Income	
	1949	1959	1949	1959	1949	1959	1949	1959	1949	1959
Hawaiian <sup>a</sup>	22.5		71.3		5.2		0.7		\$2,368	
Caucasian <sup>b</sup>	9.7	8.0	71.0	57.0	15.6	24.4	3.7	10.6	2,856	\$3,649
Chinese	17.6	10.8	68.0	37.9	10.9	41.5	3.5	9.8	2,964	5,096
Japanese	18.6	12.5	74.8	48.5	5.1	34.0	1.5	5.0	2,427	4,302
Filipino	18.7	14.5	80.2	73.2	0.9	11.8	0.0	0.5	1,995	3,071
TOTAL	16.6	11.3	71.6	55.6	10.0	26.7	1.8	6.5	2,340	3,060

<sup>a</sup>Data for Hawaiians not available in 1959.

<sup>b</sup>Includes military personnel.

TABLE 21  
*Percentage of Families in Health Surveillance Survey, by Income Class and Race, 1977*

	Under \$5,000	\$5,000–9,999	\$10,000–19,999	\$20,000–24,999	\$25,000 & Over	Median Income
Hawaiian	10.5	28.3	37.0	11.0	13.4	\$10,280
Caucasian	3.3	25.4	35.3	12.9	23.3	\$15,140
Chinese	2.6	8.3	34.3	19.6	35.2	\$21,237
Japanese	2.2	11.9	38.1	19.3	28.5	\$19,475
Filipino	7.1	29.2	45.8	8.1	9.8	\$12,401
Korean	4.8	15.8	31.5	28.9	19.0	\$19,330
Puerto Rican	8.5	43.4	40.5	3.3	4.2	\$9,774
Black	5.9	40.4	40.0	4.5	9.3	\$10,838
Samoan	17.5	52.8	23.6	6.1		\$8,093
TOTAL	4.8	22.0	37.3	14.2	21.7	\$15,837

groups had incomes of less than \$10,000. On the other hand, significant proportions of families in all of the ethnic groups, with the exception of the Samoans, had annual incomes of \$25,000 or more. Among the Chinese, more than a third of the families were in this top bracket, and when military families were excluded from the sample, nearly a third (31.5 percent) of the Caucasian families were also in this category.

Thus, one apparent consequence of inflation seems to have been not only a widening of the differences in annual income across ethnic lines, which had previously been diminishing, but also an accentuation of the contrasts between the wealthy and the underprivileged within each of the ethnic groups. Probably one of the more important functions served by focusing attention on such shifting disparities in income among and within ethnic groups is to call into question current racial stereotypes.

### **Trends in Marriage and the Family**

Early marriages and large families are values that everyone takes for granted in all peasant and folk societies from which Hawaii's immigrant and indigenous peoples have been drawn. Consequently, late marriages and the restriction of family size provide evidence that traditional standards are losing their grip and that people are responding to new expectations. The normal tendency among all newly arrived immigrants as well as native Hawaiians has been to marry early insofar as the sex ratio would permit, and to have plenty of children. Only as people, whether native or immigrant, become sensitive to the expectations in an acquisitive and individualistic society can they recognize the necessity of postponing marriage and the bearing of children until they have acquired the wherewithal to sustain such luxuries in the new environment. The pressure to delay marriage and to limit offspring develops slowly in the immigrant generation and among the native-born until they are brought within the atmosphere of Western society. There is consequently a lag in time until the secularizing influences can take effect.

Owing to the underproportion of women in most of the immigrant groups during the first half of this century, many of the younger men were unable to obtain wives regardless of their de-

sires. But the anomalous fact is that as the immigrants continued to live longer in the Islands and the sex ratios became more nearly normal, marriages at the younger ages actually declined. The percentage of all marriages occurring at ages younger than 25 years dropped most notably among the groups from the Orient—from 58.5 percent among Japanese women in 1920 to 18.7 percent in 1960, and from 38.0 percent to 18.1 percent among Chinese women in the same period. Among the Filipinos whose sex disproportion was greater, this downward trend was even more striking, from 90 percent in 1920 to 40.8 percent in 1960, continuing well into the 1970s. The growing economic affluence and security of Hawaii's population as a whole were reflected in a reversal of the process after World War II, when the proportion of the marriages before the age of 25 constituted 58 percent of all marriages involving men in 1967 and 71 percent of those of women in 1968. Inflation and unemployment were largely responsible for another decline in the ratio of such early marriages to 50.8 percent for women and to 37.4 percent for men in 1977. The postponement of marriage in order to ensure greater future economic security for the family has been much less of a dominating consideration among the Hawaiians and Puerto Ricans than in the population as a whole, although it has obviously figured prominently among many of them also, especially Part Hawaiians.

The conscious restriction of family size, so associated with the efforts of people to improve their economic and social position, presupposes a higher degree of education in Western values and a greater degree of emancipation from old-country traditions than can be expected of first generation immigrants. One discovers, therefore, consistently high birth rates and large families on the part of immigrants. These persist for some years after the close of immigration, and the pronounced changes do not occur until the second generation arrives at the childbearing age. In the absence of accurate records on births for an extended period during and following immigration, the simple ratio of children under the age of five for every thousand women of childbearing age (table 22) provides a simple and reasonably accurate measure of fertility.

The biologically expansive effect of the frontier situation is not reflected immediately after immigration upon the number of children under the age of five, partly because of the heavy toll of infant deaths in the immigrant groups. Thus the maximum rate of

TABLE 22  
*Children under Five Years of Age per Thousand Women  
 Aged 20-44, 1910-1970*

	1910	1930	1940	1950	1970*
All Races	837	991	606	696	540
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	802	1,091	1,014	1,144	1,050
Portuguese	1,207	673			
Other Caucasian	535	441	362	541	422
Chinese	1,191	982	421	596	417
Japanese	735	1,112	550	567	340
Korean	1,105	1,375	—	683	—
Filipino	—	1,429	1,411	1,293	475
Puerto Rican	1,374	1,112	—	938	—

\*Based on data from Hawaii Health Surveillance Survey.

biological expansion in the Territory did not occur until 1930, although the rate was high throughout the three previous decades.

Most impressive, however, is the regular and consistent manner in which the ratio of young children in each immigrant group tapers off as the group begins to improve its plane of living according to Western standards. This decline was especially evident for the Chinese and Japanese between 1930 and 1940, but during the following decade Hawaii obviously shared in the wartime population boom, with fertility ratios mounting for all ethnic groups, except the Filipinos. As the latest arrivals whose peasant tradition measures wealth in the number of one's offspring, their fertility ratio was so inordinately high in both 1930 and 1940 that it could only decline, as it did for another thirty and more years. The post-war baby boom continued into the 1950s for the Hawaiians, Caucasians, and Chinese, but obviously disappeared among all the ethnic groups during the two succeeding decades, most dramatically among the Filipinos.

Ordinary birth rates, in a region where the number of males so greatly exceeds the females, afford no accurate indication of either fertility or the plane of living. A corrected birth rate, based not on the total population but on the critical population of women of childbearing years, confirms the story already told of immigrant groups responding to a mounting plane of living by restricting their births.

Again we discover that it is the most recently arrived immigrant groups that have the highest corrected birth rates owing to the restraining influences of the American environment upon the fertility of the groups that arrived earlier. (See table 23.) Except

TABLE 23  
*Births per Thousand Women 15-44 Years Old,  
 1932-1970<sup>a</sup>*

	1932 <sup>b</sup>	1940	1950	1960	1970 <sup>c</sup>
All Races	169	107	128	130	94
Hawaiians	187	166	167	181	123
Portuguese	140	87	126	133	95
Other Caucasian	79				
Chinese	139	78	116	92	70
Japanese	170	90	102	86	39
Korean	180	—	—	—	—
Filipino	312	192	193	185	173
Puerto Rican	218	—	—	—	—

<sup>a</sup>Racial classification is that of mother and not necessarily of child. Number of births used in all computations except for 1932 is the average for 3 years, including the years preceding and following.

<sup>b</sup>Source, Adams, *Peoples of Hawaii*, p. 22.

<sup>c</sup>Based on population figures from Hawaii Health Surveillance Survey.

for the postwar period, the longer the groups have remained in Hawaii, the lower their fertility. This is no less true of the Japanese than of the Portuguese or Filipinos. The religious injunctions of the Old World to “reproduce and multiply the earth” have apparently not been able to withstand the secularizing influence of the West. The low fertility of Other Caucasian women in 1932 was a reflection of their middle- and upper-class status, and it was somewhat approximated by the Chinese and Japanese groups in 1940.

The increase in the refined birth rates of all the major groups except the Filipinos between 1940 and 1950 corresponds, of course, with the experience in the continental United States during the same period. This upward trend continued longer in Hawaii, it is true, especially among the Hawaiians and Caucasians, in the latter group artificially accelerated by the influx during the 1950s of young military wives at the optimum age of childbearing. The rise in birth rates during the war and postwar decades was, however, only a temporary reversal of a long-term decline, as a comparison of the data in table 23 for 1932 and 1970 obviously suggest. The renewal of the downward trend after the war began sooner and proceeded further among the Chinese and Japanese than among any other of the ethnic groups, and this is all the more significant in the light of the dire predictions during the first third of the century about the “Yellow Peril” and the “overly fecund” Japanese. The decline in the reproductive rates that occurred more



slowly among the Hawaiians and Filipinos over a forty-year span has been substantial.

Although a declining death rate is also associated with a rising plane of living in accordance with Western standards, the peculiar circumstances of population trends in Hawaii make it difficult to obtain meaningful and precise indices. Hawaii's population has been constituted disproportionately of young people, whose death rate should be low. Moreover, many of the older immigrants have gone back to their homeland to die. Infant mortality, on the other hand, can be more accurately computed (table 24), and it is perhaps one of the best "indices of civilization" and of acculturation in an immigrant situation.

The extraordinary decline in the rate of infant mortality from 119 in 1924 to 10.6 in 1976 is all the more impressive when compared with rates for the entire United States of 71 and 15.1, respectively. Notable also were the relatively high deviations among the groups at the beginning of the period when the infant mortality rates of the pure Hawaiians and the Filipinos were between six and seven times that of the Caucasians. These ethnic differentials dropped almost as rapidly over the half century as the total rate of infant mortality throughout the Islands. Undoubtedly the markedly higher rate among the unmixed Hawaiians, as compared with the Part Hawaiians and most of the other groups, is attributable in part to the greater persistence of customs relating to birth and infant care that are inappropriate under modern living conditions, however adequate they may once have been. To be noted is the contrasting experience of the immigrant Filipinos, whose 1924 infant mortality rate of more than one child in every four births,

TABLE 24  
*Deaths Under One Year of Age per Thousand Births,  
1924-1977*

	1924	1940	1950	1960	1977
All Races	119	50	24	22	12
Hawaiian	285	129	60	42	26
Part Hawaiian	96	57	26	26	12
Portuguese	100				
Other Caucasian	44	39	24	20	11
Chinese	64	40	24	21	8
Japanese	88	34	18	22	13
Korean	70	36	19	29	25
Filipino	296	73	31	25	11
Puerto Rican	110	67	26	24	8

resulting also from antiquated folk beliefs in evil spirits and superstitious practices, had been reduced in 1977 to one death in every ninety births. The uniformly low rates in recent years for all groups, including the Hawaiians, are largely a testimony to the effective public health program in the Islands.

### One People Out of Many

The ultimate test of the social and spiritual merging of the peoples in any area where diverse ethnic groups have been brought together is their loss of any sense of significant differences among them. When Chinese, Haoles, Hawaiians, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans have become accustomed to carry on together the activities of life that matter to all without any awareness that they are Chinese, Haoles, Hawaiians, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans, one could say that the process of assimilation is complete. Quite obviously this is a protracted and involved process for which there can be no single, unitary index. Some indicators of this process have already been examined in this and previous chapters. There remains to be considered what is perhaps the ultimate criterion of intimacy in interethnic relations, at least under the American rules of the game, namely, marriage.

The fact that marriage across racial lines has, at least since 1840, been legally sanctioned in Hawaii may be interpreted merely as evidence of a basic tolerance, whose positive nature is reflected only in the actual practice of securing marriage mates without regard to ethnic lines. As long as any ethnic group continues to be highly conscious of itself as distinct from all others and as the guardians of a unique and valued tradition, strenuous efforts will be made to discourage its members from marrying outside the group. Insofar as the ethnocentric influence is sustained, it registers in a low out-marriage rate. With the decline of group consciousness and ethnocentrism, whatever the factors contributing to this may be, the selection of a mate from within the group ceases to figure so prominently in the marriage choices, and the rate of out-marriage is likely to increase.

Accurate statistics on this phenomenon are available for most of the period since 1912, and they provide a clear and vivid account of the slow but steady process by which the many races of

Hawaii are losing their separate identities and are becoming one. Depending upon the date at which one begins his computations and the racial definitions then in vogue, one arrives at different conclusions as to the extent of interracial marriage, but all the evidence indicates a distinct increase over a span of 65 years. Romanzo Adams, utilizing the twelvefold racial classification then common in Hawaii, observed that, while 13 percent of the marriages in 1912-1913 were interracial in character, by 1931-1932, this ratio had increased to 32 percent. During the period of World War II (1942-1944), marriages across these twelve race lines constituted 38.5 percent of all marriages in Hawaii.

So extensive had the marriages between the two types of Part Hawaiians and between the Portuguese, Spanish, and Other Caucasians become that the census in 1940 abandoned these separate designations. The Territorial Bureau of Vital Statistics followed the same procedure later in the same decade, with the result that eight racial groups are included in the table indicating the rates of interracial marriage for the entire period. Increasing awareness late in the 1950s and early 1960s of the role that two other ethnic minorities were beginning to play in the marriage scene led to the inclusion of Samoans and Blacks in the computations since 1960, but their numbers have been too small to alter the general trends.

Much of Hawaii's changing experience as a meeting ground of diverse cultures and peoples could be told around the data in table 25, if this were the place for its telling. For the purposes of this study, a few central implications must suffice. Foremost is the implacable rise of out-marriage in the entire population, summarized in the bottom line of the table. A temporary decline or only a slow rise in the rate of interethnic marriage may occur in all the groups, depending on their varying numbers, migrations, and age and sex ratios, but the long-term trend among all, regardless of class status, group loyalties, or racial or cultural differences, is inexorably outward.

For example, the very high disproportion of young unattached men among most of the immigrant groups, most apparent among Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos, has meant that if they were to have the benefits of marriage at all while living in Hawaii, it had to be with women of other ethnic groups. Thus, the interracial marriage rates among immigrant men have sometimes declined as additional women of their own group have become available and

TABLE 25  
*Interracial Marriages as Percentage of All Marriages within Sex and  
 Ethnic Group, 1912-1977*

		1912- 1916	1920- 1930	1930- 1940	1940- 1949	1950- 1959	1960- 1969	1970- 1977
Hawaiian	Grooms	19.4	33.3	55.2	66.3	78.9	85.8	90.6
	Brides	39.9	52.1	62.7	77.2	81.5	90.1	92.9
Part Hawaiian	Grooms	52.1	38.8	41.0	36.9	41.3	61.3	57.4
	Brides	66.2	57.7	57.9	64.2	58.4	56.7	61.1
Caucasian	Grooms	17.3	24.3	22.4	33.8	37.4	28.2	26.2
	Brides	11.7	13.8	10.7	10.2	16.4	19.8	21.0
Chinese	Grooms	41.7	24.8	28.0	31.2	43.6	58.2	61.0
	Brides	5.7	15.7	28.5	38.0	45.2	61.5	65.8
Japanese	Grooms	0.5	2.7	4.3	4.3	8.7	19.6	32.1
	Brides	0.2	3.1	6.3	16.9	19.1	28.1	39.4
Korean	Grooms	26.4	17.6	23.5	49.0	70.3	75.1	63.2
	Brides	0.0	4.9	39.0	66.7	74.5	82.1	83.6
Filipino	Grooms	21.8	25.6	37.5	42.0	44.5	50.6	47.2
	Brides	2.8	1.0	4.0	21.0	35.8	47.9	51.1
Puerto Rican	Grooms	24.4	18.6	29.8	39.5	51.3	69.6	79.1
	Brides	26.4	39.7	42.8	50.3	60.5	70.3	77.0
Samoan	Grooms	—	—	—	—	—	39.2	41.7
	Brides	—	—	—	—	—	50.7	40.7
Negro	Grooms	—	—	—	—	—	45.9	60.0
	Brides	—	—	—	—	—	13.2	14.4
TOTAL		11.5	19.2	22.8	28.6	32.8	36.0	38.6

normal in-group preferences could prevail. Soon, however, the customs and interracial trends in the wider community exerted their vigorous preeminence, and women, for whom there is always great demand, responded to the equal or greater enticements of men in other ethnic groups. Even in the Japanese community, with its large population and more nearly equal male-to-female ratio to encourage the perpetuation of old-country obligations of family and ethnic purity, the wall of group solidarity began to crumble as the second generation came of marriageable age, and out-marriages continued even more rapidly in the third and fourth generations.

Communitywide crises of various types, such as wars, depressions, and inflation, have been the occasion for fluctuations of shorter or longer duration in both general and interracial marriage rates, but except for the Part Hawaiians, all of whose marriages are in a sense interethnic, no crises have thus far effectively impeded the steady flow across ethnic lines in marriage. None of

the four wars involving Islanders during the twentieth century have had more than a temporary effect in this direction. Neither has the ethnic renaissance and the search for ethnic roots, so widely publicized on the American mainland and somewhat echoed in Hawaii, dampened the general disposition to roam widely in the marriage quest.

To examine in any detail the direction in which the various ethnic groups have turned for their exogamous partners, much less to determine the complex bases for their choices, is a task far beyond the scope of this study, but a few meaningful generalizations may be derived from a simple statistical summary of the marriages according to the race of both brides and grooms over a three-year period (table 26). What is immediately apparent is the presence during this brief period of all but seven of the possible hundred different combinations of ethnic groups, both large and small. Six of the seven missing combinations involve either Samoans or Blacks, the two groups most recently recognized with separate designations and among the fewest in numbers.

The wide catholicity in marriage choices of both men and women of all ten designated groups is especially evident, with members of all the larger groups having chosen, or having been chosen by persons from all the other groups. Except for the small group of Negro women, it was the Caucasians, both men and women, who manifested the least disposition among any of the ten ethnic groups to marry outside their own ethnic community. Nevertheless, 3,780 men and 2,750 women from among the large number of Caucasians who found spouses in Hawaii during those three years obviously did not exclude any group from among their choices. The same was also true of most of the other larger ethnic groups. It is worth noting in this connection that, although Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans revealed some partiality toward each other in marriage choices, they also chose widely from other groups. Also worth attention is that, despite the traditional hostility of Koreans toward Japanese in Asia, a larger number of Korean women in Hawaii were married to Japanese men rather than to Korean men. Probably, as Adams noted much earlier, the shared Roman Catholic religion among many Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and Portuguese (classified as Caucasians) contributed to the considerable intermarriage among them.

A final word of caution in the interpretation of data in table 26

TABLE 26  
*Marriages by Race of Groom and Race of Bride, 1975-1977*

Race of Groom	Race of Bride											TOTAL	Percent Out- Marriages
	Caucasian	Haw'n	Part Haw'n	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Puerto Rican	Korean	Samoan	Negro	Other Races		
Caucasian	10,580	38	1,012	315	713	927	76	311	68	49	271	14,360	26.3
Hawaiian	77	26	82	3	13	8	2	1			5	217	88.0
Part Hawaiian	975	52	1,801	110	409	416	81	56	21	3	58	3,982	54.8
Chinese	181		95	412	41	269	3	39		6	10	1,056	61.0
Filipino	508	13	460	39	1,530	282	45	35	11		23	2,946	48.0
Japanese	472	4	365	304	237	2,905	15	208	6	3	36	4,555	36.2
Puerto Rican	85	6	121	6	50	30	75	7	2	2	15	399	81.2
Korean	49	1	22	16	9	67	4	141	2		6	317	55.5
Samoan	65	2	85	6	16	11	1	3	272		9	470	42.1
Negro	183	8	131	10	69	26	30	13	35	344	16	865	60.2
Other Races	155	9	86	19	44	39	9	10	19	1	142	533	
TOTAL	13,330	159	4,200	1,240	3,131	4,980	341	824	436	408	591	29,700	
PERCENT OUT-MARRIAGES	20.6	83.0	57.1	66.8	51.1	41.0	78.0	82.9	37.6	15.7			39.1

is required, however. It must be remembered that marriages involve the preference and consent of at least two, and usually more, different parties, and that the resulting choices are further influenced by a variety of factors, including the size, social status, territorial distribution, age and sex disproportions, and the familial traditions of the ethnic groups involved.

A corollary interest in interracial marriage as an index of the assimilation of Hawaii's several ethnic groups naturally relates to the stability of interracial marriages as compared with intraracial marriages. The common assumption that marriages across ethnic lines, by virtue of the greater hazards resulting from deeply rooted differences in customs and values, would necessarily result in higher divorce rates, seems to have been validated by Hawaii's earlier experience. Adams' analysis of marriage and divorce records in 1937 indicated that the ratio of divorced persons was significantly lower among the in-married of all races than among the out-married and that "divorce rates are highest among . . . the members of the racial groups that out-marry the most."<sup>9</sup> A later study based upon Hawaii's experience between 1956 and 1962 reveals that although the rate of divorce was still somewhat higher among out-married couples than among in-married couples, the difference between them had been greatly reduced over the span of thirty years, and that "among five of Hawaii's nine major ethnic groups—all with divorce rates above the average—family breakdown was significantly less among those who had married out than among those who found marriage mates within the ethnic group."<sup>10</sup> Even among the Chinese and Japanese, whose overall divorce rates were the lowest of any of the major ethnic groups, "out-marriages of men with women of the other group may result in fewer divorces than the in-marriages in either group."<sup>11</sup>

### **Another Index of Integration**

The outcome of prevailing dispositions either to erase or to preserve existing ethnic lines into the next generation is perhaps most accurately, if not most dramatically, reflected in the record of the birth of children in Hawaii according to the ancestry of their parents. A summary of the nearly two hundred thousand births which occurred in Hawaii between 1 July 1931 and 31 De-

cember 1950 reveals a steady decline in the proportion of children whose ancestry was exclusively of one racial group—from 77.6 percent during the first two years, to 69.5 percent in the years 1938–1942, and to 66.7 percent during the period 1946–1950. (See table 27.) Two subsequent analyses of births of known parentage revealed a further decline in the proportion of “unmixed” births to 60.8 percent during the years 1960–1964 and still further to 58.0 percent ten years later (1970–1974). If corrections were possible for the higher proportion of mixed ancestry among the 8 percent of all births where the father is “unknown” and for the considerable, although undeterminable, portion of the parents who are themselves of plural origins, the fraction of “pure-blood” births could already have dropped to less than half.

Accepting the official data at face value, however, it is immediately apparent that numerous progeny had resulted during the earlier twenty-year period from all sixty-four possible crossings among the eight different strains represented. The Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians had at that time contributed the largest numbers to the population of mixed ancestry—some 46,570 or 76.1 percent of all children of plural ancestry. Although a higher ratio of the children born to parents in the smaller ethnic groups are “mixed-bloods” than the progeny from the larger groups, the three larger “pure-blood” groups nevertheless did add substantially and in larger numbers to the mixed population of the Islands during those twenty years—20,437 of part-Caucasian ancestry, 10,721 of part-Filipino parentage, and 9,033 with one parent of Japanese ancestry.

Among the notable new developments reflected in table 28 is the fact that within the five-year period of 1970–1974, slightly more than half as many children of mixed ancestry were born (30,612) as in the entire earlier period of twenty years (61,188). The proportion of the various racial combinations had changed somewhat over the interval, with the children of some Hawaiian ancestry dropping from 76 percent of all the mixed-bloods to 65.2 percent. Similarly the ratio of mixed-blood births with known Japanese ancestry increased from 14.7 percent to 22.7 percent, and of those with some Filipino ancestry there was an increase from 17.5 percent to 23.7 percent.

One of the most obvious conclusions to be derived from the foregoing evidence is that Hawaii’s races are fusing at a rate that



TABLE 27  
*Births by Race of Known Parents, 1 July 1931 to 31 December 1950\**

Father	Mother									TOTAL	PERCENT MIXED
	Haw'n	Part Haw'n	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Puerto Rican	Other Races		
Hawaiian	4,374	3,704	422	205	190	32	38	46	26	9,037	51.6
Part Hawaiian	3,126	14,329	2,364	1,364	1,238	261	429	166	109	23,386	100.0
Caucasian	1,631	6,910	32,784	926	2,543	579	823	905	229	47,330	30.7
Chinese	307	1,795	332	9,112	658	193	63	35	6	12,501	27.1
Japanese	282	1,282	475	435	66,134	192	74	32	6	68,912	4.0
Korean	79	256	97	134	280	1,535	25	13	4	2,423	36.6
Filipino	1,920	3,126	1,450	268	1,205	148	17,245	899	46	26,307	34.4
Puerto Rican	103	320	600	36	82	13	137	3,091	16	4,398	29.7
TOTAL	11,939	32,115	38,675	12,502	72,389	2,967	18,904	5,242	730	195,463	—
PERCENT MIXED	63.4	100.0	15.2	27.1	8.6	48.3	8.8	41.0	—	—	31.3

\*Excluding the periods from 1 July 1933 to 30 June 1934 and from 1 July 1948 to 31 December 1948.

TABLE 28  
*Births by Race of Known Parents, 1970-1974*

Race of Father	Race of Mother											TOTAL	PERCENT MIXED
	Hawaiian	Part Haw'n	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Puerto Rican	Samoan	Negro	Other Races		
Hawaiian	96	420	270	5	29	4	39	11	6	—	10	890	89.2
Part Hawaiian	223	6,710	2,375	343	1,006	116	1,271	241	102	7	139	12,533	100.0
Caucasian	117	2,375	20,050	318	1,192	242	1,195	186	145	32	367	26,079	23.1
Chinese	6	284	294	1,231	524	46	110	17	7	—	16	2,535	51.4
Japanese	25	1,043	944	539	8,905	230	440	39	10	3	68	12,246	27.3
Korean	1	74	82	33	138	262	27	—	5	—	7	629	58.4
Filipino	48	1,713	1,075	87	589	57	8,748	135	69	4	64	12,589	30.5
Puerto Rican	20	409	238	14	52	10	189	249	5	8	7	1,201	79.3
Samoan	22	242	98	4	12	2	17	8	963	—	19	1,387	30.9
Negro	18	126	132	5	25	17	45	19	20	825	16	1,248	42.9
Other Races	13	241	189	11	34	4	74	11	24	3	381	985	
TOTAL	589	13,497	25,747	2,590	12,506	990	12,155	916	1,356	882	1,094	72,322	
PERCENT MIXED	83.7	100.0	22.1	52.5	28.8	73.5	28.0	72.8	29.0	6.5		42.0	

will make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between them in any meaningful manner as time goes on. The smaller groups in particular are rapidly losing the bases for a separate racial identity, as the overwhelming preponderance of "outside" fathers to the children born to Korean and Puerto Rican mothers most strikingly exemplifies (table 28).

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that some observers should contend that the crossing of racial lines has gone so far that it is useless and even misleading or positively deceptive to compile vital and social statistics on the basis of race. On the other hand, it is equally evident that large numbers of children are being born each year who are officially classified as belonging exclusively to one ethnic line, even though some of the parents of these children are unquestionably of mixed ancestry. (Except for the Part Hawaiians, there is no ethnic category with which the increasing flood of "mixed-bloods" can be officially identified other than one or another of the supposedly unmixed races.) According to table 28, there were 20,050 infants classified as "pure" or unmixed Caucasian, another 8,905 as unmixed Japanese, 8,748 as unmixed Filipino, 1,231 as unmixed Chinese, and smaller numbers of unmixed Negroes, Samoans, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, and even 96 infants designated as "pure Hawaiians." It probably does not greatly matter that there is no possible means by which to determine how extensive the mixture in several of these "unmixed" ethnic ranks has been, so long as significant numbers of people continue to regard themselves as undiluted members of such a community and are so accepted by their fellows.

One of the most striking of Hawaii's many paradoxes is that one of the largest ethnic groups, stressing its unique heritage from one native source, is in fact the most racially mixed of all Hawaii's peoples. It is conceivable that in the future other biologically or ethnically mixed groups may focus a primary concern on only one of its numerous roots, but this is an area of research for which statistical sources are not especially suited.

Perhaps the theme that does emerge with some clarity from the methods used in this study is that a socioeconomic integration of Hawaii's people parallels roughly the slow but irresistible mingling and fusion that is occurring at the level of marriages and births.



# Notes

## CHAPTER 2

1. Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933), p. 5.

2. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 93-99; Bernhard L. Hormann, "Rigidity and Fluidity in Race Relations," in A. W. Lind, ed., *Race Relations in World Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), pp. 25-48.

3. Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

5. This reflects the situation in the urban centers, where attitudes favorable to the free participation of all the ethnic groups in the life of the community have been most highly developed. In many of the plantation communities, Portuguese are still regarded as a separate ethnic group.

6. Newton E. Morton, Chin S. Chung, Ming-pi Mi, *Genetics of Interracial Crosses in Hawaii* (New York: S. Karger, 1967).

7. As Bernhard Hormann points out, this assumes the "racial purity" of the Caucasians, even though they "may be compounded of various European mixtures, such as Portuguese, Russian, English, German." "'Racial' Statistics in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii*, 12 (1948), 29.

8. *Final Report of Census Subcommittee on Population Characteristics and Occupation* (Honolulu: Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, 1949), pp. 3-4.

9. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, p. 14.

10. U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950, Hawaii*, Bulletin P-C52, p. viii.

11. *The Planters' Monthly*, May 1883, p. 25.

12. Correspondence of the President of the Bureau of Immigration, 6 June 1887, in the Archives of Hawaii, Interior Department File 52.

13. Required by the Portuguese government as a basis of recruiting laborers for Hawaii. Most of the Portuguese labor immigrants were recruited in the Azores and Madeira Islands.

14. Adams, *Peoples of Hawaii*, p. 13.

15. Report of John Kapena's Mission to Japan, 14 November 1882, in Archives of Hawaii, Interior Department File No. 53.

16. *The Planters' Monthly*, April 1889, p. 149.

17. A large number of Japanese, estimated at 40,000, left Hawaii for the continental United States in response to the economic opportunities, as well as the

greater freedom of movement, which were presumed to exist there. There was at the same time a considerable movement back to Japan.

18. Because of the high proportion of mixed marriages among Puerto Ricans since 1950, the number of persons appearing under that category in table 2 is probably less than those of Puerto Rican ancestry classified as Part Hawaiian or as Non-Hawaiian Mixed.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Robert E. Park in the Introduction to Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), pp. xii.

2. Captain King's estimate of 150,000 inhabitants in 1779 was unquestionably too high. Cf. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, pp. 1-2.

3. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 298-304.

4. Lind, *An Island Community*, pp. 102-103.

5. "Extracts from the Journal of Mr. Bingham at Honolulu," *The Missionary Herald*, 28, no. 11 (November 1832), 353.

6. R. E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in E. B. Reuter, *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934), p. 73.

7. Allan A. Spitz, *Social Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program* (Honolulu: Legislative Reference Bureau, 1964), p. 1.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

9. The distinctive life within the racial camps on the plantations and in the numerous nonplantation rural areas is an equally fascinating story, which has as yet been only partially told.

10. "The Chinese in Hawaii," *The Friend*, 31, no. 11 (1882), 114.

11. Clarence Glick, "Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese," *Social Process in Hawaii*, 2 (1936), 28-34.

### CHAPTER 4

1. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 24-38.

2. In the admittedly incomplete listing of occupations among natives, all 115 were in skilled trades, including sixty blacksmiths, twelve carpenters, four masons, nineteen tailors, nine shoemakers, six bookbinders, four printers, and one engraver. Lind, *An Island Community*, p. 321.

3. Census of the Kona District, Island of Oahu, taken 7 December 1866.

4. Except for the much shorter time span involved, much the same story could be told with respect to the pineapple industry.

5. Department of Planning and Economic Development, *The State of Hawaii Data Book, 1977* (Honolulu 1977), p. 154.

6. United States Department of Labor, *Labor in the Territory of Hawaii* (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1940), pp. 199, 202.

7. James H. Shoemaker, *The Economy of Hawaii in 1947* (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1948), p. 188.

8. *Hawaiian Sugar Manual 1978* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 1978), p. 9.

9. Greater detail on the avenues utilized by the ethnic groups in upward mobility prior to 1938 is available in Lind, *An Island Community*, pp. 257-274. "Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii," Report 24 of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, provides greater statistical detail based on 1950 census data.

10. A comparison of the occupational experience of people of Oriental ancestry in Hawaii and in the continental United States indicates that a higher proportion of the latter have become established in the professions, but the Islanders, with the exception of the Filipinos, have fared better in managerial, proprietary, and administrative occupations than their mainland kinsmen.

## CHAPTER 5

1. It is difficult to appreciate the full significance of the intellectual transformation which had occurred in Hawaii within little more than a decade. The missionary mentors were first required to learn the language itself, reduce it to written form, translate their message into Hawaiian, and publish textbooks, before they could even undertake the more difficult task of instructing the natives. Even more amazing is the fact that the Hawaiians should have participated with such enthusiasm in the venture of becoming, almost overnight, a literate people. Kuykendall reports that by 1831 or 1832 "the bulk of the adult population, certainly more than half, were taught to read, [and] many of them learned to write." Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938), p. 109.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

3. A special investigation in 1896 revealed that 69 percent of the Part Hawaiians and 26 percent of the pure Hawaiians over the age of six were able to read and write in the English language, as compared with 83 percent of the Other Caucasians. Less than one-fourth of the total population were so qualified.

4. It should also be borne in mind that it was never possible to apply wholly adequate tests of literacy, and the returns, especially on the immigrant groups, are subject to some error.

5. *Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, 1896* (Honolulu 1897), p. 100.

6. Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1935), p. 44.

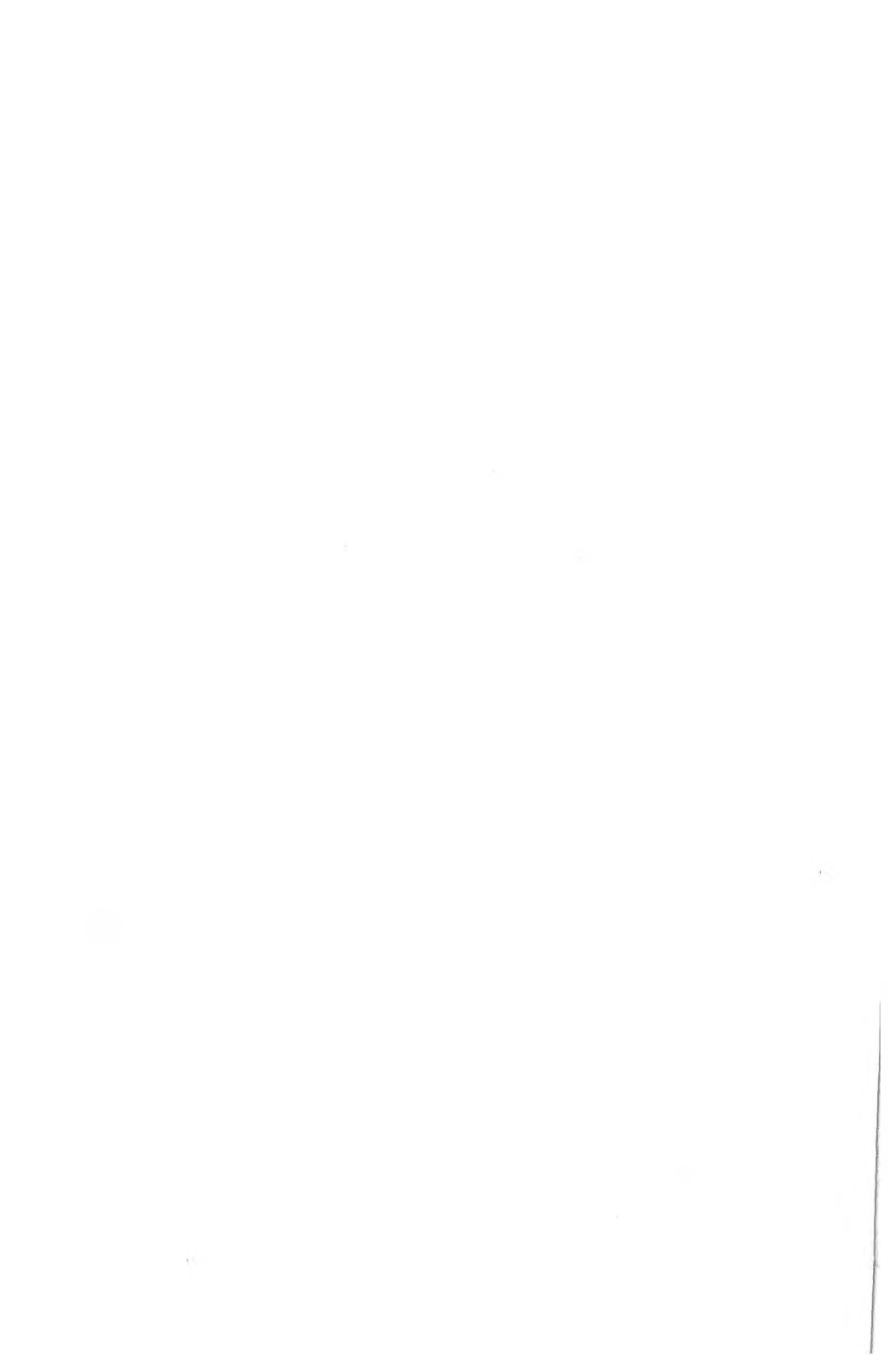
7. U.S. Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, Bulletin 16 (1920), p. 20.

8. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 265-267.

9. Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 225.

10. Andrew W. Lind, "Interracial Marriage as Affecting Divorce in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, 49 (October 1964), p. 21.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 23.





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 **Production Notes**

This book was designed by Roger Eggers and typeset on the Unified Composing System by the design and production staff of The University Press of Hawaii.

The text typeface is Compugraphic Caledonia and the display typeface is Gill Sans.

Offset presswork and binding were done by Thomson-Shore, Inc. Text paper is Glatfelter P & S Offset, basis 55.

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