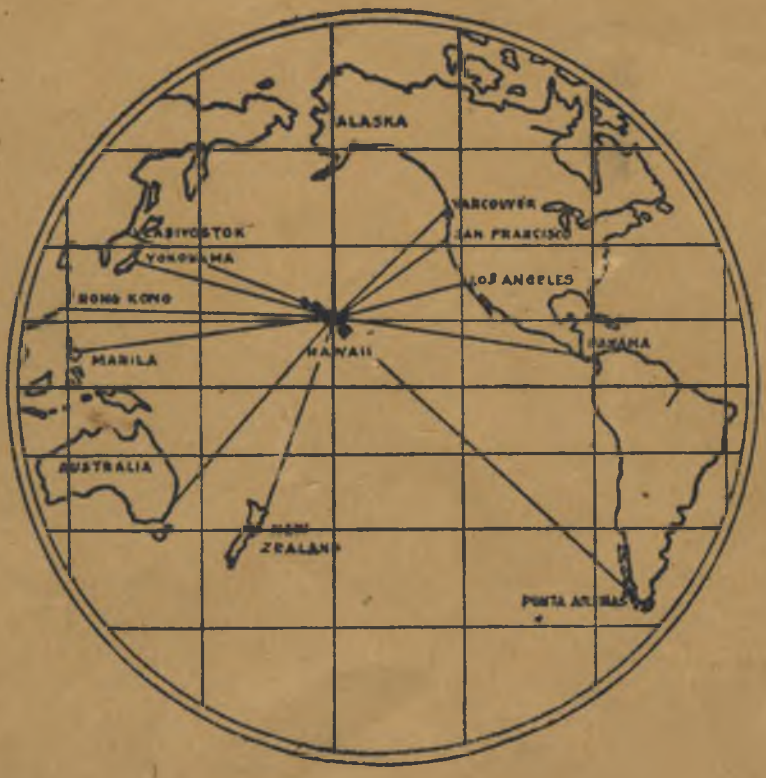
SOCIAL PROCESS
IN HAWAII

Published by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
in collaboration with
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII



VOLUME II
MAY 1936
HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published by the Sociology Club
in Collaboration with the Department of Sociology
University of Hawaii
MAY 1936
VOLUME II

EDITOR
Kum Pui Lai

MANAGING EDITOR
Marion Y. P. Wong

ADVISOR
Andrew W. Lind

CONTENTS

Social Process In Hawaii

FOREWORD

By KUM PUI LAI

The intermingling of peoples of many different races and cultures has made of Hawaii, in the words of Professor Robert E. Park, "one of the most interesting laboratories in the world." The students in sociology at the University of Hawaii have therefore a peculiar opportunity to acquire an understanding of social theories and problems in reference to concrete situations. Their attempts at mastery of sociological theory have been based upon analyses of the processes at work about them. In this volume, as in the first one published in 1935, they have brought together reports of separate studies made during the past year or two. These presumably afford a better understanding of social situations in Hawaii and also seek to make some contribution to the more general body of sociological knowledge. The writers of the papers are participant observers and their researches, based on "acquaintance with", give a more intimate portrayal of roles and situations, which for many have been personal experiences.

The first article on statehood for Hawaii by Dr. Adams is of current interest to mainlanders and Islanders. Hawaii's statehood aspirations have gained much ground as evidenced by the report of the United States House Territories subcommittee which deferred action on the King Hawaiian Statehood Bill but expressed favorable attitudes toward eventual admission of Hawaii as a state. One of the contended oppositions to statehood is the heterogeneity of the population. In spite of the tenacity of oriental customs among the first generation in particular, assimilation is gradually taking place and a language and culture are developing which are distinctly Hawaiian and American. Mr. Reinecke in the second article calls attention to the processes involved in the creation of a "Hawaiian English Dialect" through the competition of several languages. Although the second and third generation youths are far on the road to acculturation, the opponents of statehood still contend that the predominance of Orientals is an obstacle in Hawaii's path towards statehood. Incidentally, the increase of second generation Orientals educated in the American schools brings to the fore the questions of dual standards in salaries, race discrimination in employment, citizen labor on the plantations, and the adequate provision of employment for thousands of graduates imbued with the "white-collar" complex. Mrs. Dranga discusses the racial factors which may aid or hinder the employment of women, especially in household work, while Mr. Yamamura surveys a large hotel community, recording the attitudes of the Japanese, Filipinos, and other racial groups in reference to their work and the types of people they meet.

The next two papers concern the newer arrivals in Hawaii—the Filipinos who came between 1907-1930, and the Puerto Ricans, most of whom migrated to the Islands in 1901. Mr. Cariaga, after giving a general historical background for the understanding of the Filipinos, describes some of their traits transplanted to Hawaii. He deals mainly with the customs and usages surrounding the major crises of life—birth, marriage, and death.

Mr. Lai in the following preliminary study of the Puerto Ricans, a minority group, attempts to explain the problems of maladjustment of the aged in terms of historical and cultural processes.

The Chinese, earliest among the immigrants, and consequently with greater opportunities for acculturation, are the subject for discussion in the succeeding three essays. Mr. Glick analyses the residential dispersion of the Chinese in Honolulu to sub-urban areas, which is a phenomenon different from the segregation and dispersion of immigrant groups to restricted areas in American cities. In the paper on the Chinese store, Mr. Lee depicts the former role of a first generation institution in a frontier society and its subsequent decline in an American urban community. The next essay by Miss Wong records the vivid experiences of a Chinese woman in her ancestral village and in the New Land, and provides a brief glimpse "behind the mask of the inscrutable Oriental."

In rural Hawaii are many "cultural pockets" where traits from the old country remain more or less unaltered owing to fewer contacts with the outside. Mr. Ogura in his article records some survivals of Japanese customs in Kona, Hawaii, writing chiefly about courtship and marriage customs.

The natural rise of the taxi dance hall, a description of the various dance halls and excerpts from interviews with taxi dancers, are subjects for study by Miss Lord and Miss Lee. Other so-called undesirable features in this community such as prostitution, gambling, and lax moral practices may be viewed from a more understanding perspective with a knowledge of the racial, sex, and age composition of the population. In the treatise on population trends, Dr. Lind interprets changes in current vital statistics. The last is a summary statement by Dr. Adams of the race mores in Hawaii with special attention to inter-marriage and the rise of a mixed population.

It is expected that in future issues more attention will be given to rural processes and perhaps special numbers on education, employment, and language institutions will be published. Although "Social Process" is directed largely to Island readers we hope to be able to compare notes with other inter-cultural areas and thereby to achieve a better perspective of our social setup and its accompanying problems.

"It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask. It is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. We are parents and children, masters and servants, teachers and students, clients and professional men, Gentiles and Jews. It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves. . . In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—the role we are striving to live up to—this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons."—Robert E. Park "Behind Our Masks", The Survey Graphic, Vol. LVI, No. 3, May 1, 1926, page 137.

Statehood For Hawaii

By ROMANZO ADAMS

There has been, in Hawaii, more or less talk about statehood for a long time. The Territorial Legislature of 1931 passed a resolution memorializing Congress and asking for statehood. The Governor of the Territory vetoed the resolution on the ground that it was premature. More recently our Delegate in Congress has introduced in Congress a bill designed to result in Hawaii's becoming a state. While it is practically certain that this bill will not become a law, it may be assumed that it represents a more advanced development of local opinion on the question and that the Congress of the United States will, in future years, give more attention to the question, granting statehood, perhaps, after the questions have been more fully considered.

Since the question of statehood is likely to be before the people for a period of years it may be well to raise some of the questions that will have to be considered. There are, for the people of Hawaii, two main questions. (1) What are the advantages and the disadvantages that might be expected to arise from statehood? (2) What are the probable obstacles to the securing of statehood and how can they be overcome? Of course, there will be no occasion to ask the second question if the first is answered in such a way as to indicate that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. It is probable, however, that the great majority of the citizens of Hawaii will reach an opposite answer. The obstacles will, then, arise from the existence of a different view on the part of many mainland people.

The question of advantages may be considered from two points of view, the local Hawaiian, and the national. Would statehood be, on the whole, advantageous to Hawaii? Would it be advantageous to the nation? If the people of Hawaii answer the first of these questions affirmatively they will continue to seek a favorable decision on the part of Congress. If the American public answers the second affirmatively, it is probable that Congress will take favorable action.

It may be admitted that commonly the laws passed by Congress and the administrative rules of the executive department at Washington have been applied equally to Hawaii. There are, however, a few cases where such laws or administrative rules have been applied unequally to Hawaii merely because it is not a state. Taxes in some instances have been collected of the citizens of Hawaii where citizens of states in a precisely corresponding position were exempt. Sometimes appropriations for public improvements for the benefit of all states have been denied to Hawaii although Hawaii was regularly taxed as were the states to pay the expense of such improvements. Very recently Hawaii's quota for sugar production was fixed at a point about ten per cent below its average annual production in the most recent years, while the sugar producers in the states were given a quota somewhat above their average production in recent years. There is, much of the time, some apprehension in Hawaii that the acts of Congress will be discriminatory. This may happen even when there is no intent. It is so easy for men in Washington to forget Hawaii. Much of the legislation receives its final form in the Senate and Hawaii has no voice, much less a vote, in the Senate. Statehood would have some practical advantages

for Hawaii. There is also something that belongs to sentiment rather than to the more superficial practical considerations. When people participate in the democratic traditions of America they tend to feel the need of full equality. They do not want to regard themselves as a subject people. They want to have the same rights as the other American people. They want the full benefit of the American Constitution and a voting right in matters of national policy. As the people of Hawaii become more American in outlook and sentiment it is probable that their attitude toward statehood will be determined even more by sentiment than by considerations relating to the obvious practical advantages.

There is a question that is often asked by mainland people who give some attention to Hawaii and sometimes by local people also. Are the citizens of Hawaii now and prospectively able to provide a government reasonably adequate to the needs of the local people and also adequate to meet its obligation to the nation? The doubt that is expressed in the question is based largely on the fact that the citizens of Hawaii now and even more in the near future, are so largely of immigrant ancestry and of an ancestry that has no tradition of political experience. Very few of the immigrants to Hawaii were voters in their native lands. It has been observed in many countries that where politically inexperienced peoples acquire voting rights they do not exercise such rights in an advantageous way at first. Evidently political wisdom is largely a matter of experience and tradition. What about the thousands of Hawaiian youth who will in the near future become voters?

At this point I might make a statement of my own faith in the character of the young citizens of Hawaii, or I might make a statement of reasons for believing that they will measure up as nearly to mainland standards as the mainland people do commonly, but I will not do this. It is not needed by the people of Hawaii and it would be of little or no effect so far as mainland people are concerned. The thing that will eventually convince the mainland is successful experience.

When Hawaii became a Territory of the United States the number of men eligible to vote was not much, if any, above a tenth of the adult male population, the rest being aliens. By 1920 nearly a third of the adults were citizens and by 1930, about 41 per cent. It is easy to see that the great majority of the people who do the work of Hawaii are still voiceless in the Territorial government. That is there has been no real test of the political quality of the people generally. Not until the number of eligible voters is equal to something not far from half of the population will sceptical mainland people consider that a fair test has been made. There were, for the 1934 election, approximately 70,000 registered voters and nearly another 10,000 could have registered. If the numbers increase at the rate of about four thousand a year for ten years we will have a possible voting population of about 120,000—about a third of the total population, but over two thirds of the adult population. Among these, would be a sufficient number of the representatives of all ancestries including even the latest comers, the Filipinos,—a number sufficient to indicate the nature of their performance.

Doubtless, this increase of voting strength will involve a redistribution of power. There will be some change in the personnel of political leadership. New issues will emerge and some old ones will be forgotten. If, in this ten year period, 1934-1944, the people of Hawaii shall be able to exercise the authority they now have, under the provisions of the Organic Act,

with moderation and wisdom they will go far toward convincing the more open-minded mainland people as to their political character.

Doubtless there will be opposition to Hawaiian Statehood. There will be some opponents who will be industrious in the spreading of evil reports about Hawaii. There will be subtle appeals to racial, nationalistic, and economic class prejudice and sometimes such appeals will not even be subtle. To all such appeals there is only one effective answer,—the actual conduct of affairs by the people of Hawaii. Hawaii must win her case strictly on its merits. This is the answer to the second main question. When the facts relating to a successful management of governmental affairs are placed before the American people there will still be people who will refuse to consider them for prejudice does not easily give way. But such evidence will win increasing support to Hawaii's contention and at some crisis this will be decisive.

RACIAL ATTITUDES OF THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII

By JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Social Feelings of the Second Generation Japanese Toward the Chinese. In the case of the second generation Japanese, the race which received the highest score on friendly feelings was the Chinese. Toward this group 173 out of 250 or 69.2%, reported that their feelings were friendly, 62 or 24.8%, stated that their feelings were neutral, and only 15 or 6%, were antipathetic toward them. There were more of the second generation than of the first generation Japanese who expressed friendly feelings toward the Chinese, the difference being 6.4%. There were more of the first generation whose feelings toward the Chinese were antipathetic. It may be inferred from the above that the second generation Japanese feel much more friendly towards the Chinese than do their parents. (Master's Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1931, p. 126.)

The Competition of Languages in Hawaii

By JOHN REINECKE

Hawaii presents the same multiplicity of languages found in any important center on the main paths of world traffic. Each of the languages is spoken by one ethnic group and is the normal means of communication within that ethnic group for a considerable length of time. (No figures are available in Hawaii to show how many people speak each of the non-English tongues; probably the Part-Hawaiians and Portuguese are the only non-Haole groups whose members have become to any great extent wholly English-speaking.) Each language is in very active competition with the dominant cultural, political, and commercial language — English. It is in competition with all the other languages in one special circumstance —intermarriage.

Hawaii also presents the same assimilation of ethnic groups and disappearance of their languages which is typical of new, relatively empty countries having their origin in colonies of settlement, and which draw settlers from all parts of the world: the United States, Canada, Argentina, etc.

In Hawaiian history can also be seen all the steps in the decline of a native tongue before the language of the dominant community.

Hawaii furthermore presents the formation of a makeshift dialect of English, which can be classified as a marginal member of the general class of creole languages or dialects. A creole dialect is a greatly simplified, makeshift form of a European language which has arisen in master-servant situations on a large scale between European employer and (usually) non-European laborer. It is especially common in plantation regions. and is necessary where the laborers are drawn from several linguistic groups. In Hawaii it has been (a) a language of command from Haole to non-Haole, and (b) an interlanguage or lingua franca among the various linguistic groups of laborers.

The crudest form of English spoken in Hawaii is commonly termed "pidgin", but pidgin should properly be applied rather to makeshift languages which arise from a trade situation, such as the Pidgin English of China and the Chinook Jargon. True, the two forms are practically indistinguishable from a linguistic point of view, and a pidgin may be used on plantations; as Ki-Swahili in Kenya and Beach-la-mar in Melanesia. But the distinction is valuable sociologically, as showing the circumstances in which any makeshift dialect arose.

Our "pidgin" was, according to the available evidence, at first a true pidgin of trade; it arose primarily as a medium of communication between the white traders and whalers and the natives, and was called "hapa haole". It appears to have been a makeshift dialect of English, amorphous, strongly influenced by Hawaiian grammatical forms and interspersed with Hawaiian words. This "hapa haole" also came into use on the plantations, which prior to 1876 were manned chiefly by natives. Therefore when the Chinese and Portuguese were imported in large numbers from 1876 and 1878, respectively, they learned and modified the "hapa haole" until it became "pidgin English"—although not quite the "pidgin English" of today, for the Japanese and Filipino in turn have influenced it, though slightly. This

creole dialect has not been able to stabilize itself, because of the strength of the ethnic groups, which have maintained their cultural and linguistic identity, and the free public education which has allowed the children of the immigrants and natives to learn fairly good English. As a Chinese, a Japanese, a Portuguese, a Hawaiian, can be distinguished by his national intonation and idiomatic peculiarities, the "pidgin" is almost a congeries of immigrants' mixed dialects such as those of the Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, etc., in the United States. Nevertheless, it has enough unity to be considered an entity, the Creole Dialect of Hawaii.

The older natives and immigrants usually did not have the opportunity to learn good English. They were in little touch with the English-speaking class except as workmen taking orders. They learned their makeshift English functionally, during the processes of field labor; if it worked in a given situation, it was right enough and normal. But their children did have the opportunity to learn good English. The language of instruction of the schools was being changed from Hawaiian to English when the Portuguese field laborers arrived in 1878, and their presence accelerated the change. In 1855 about ten per cent of the school children of the Islands were being taught English; by 1870, one-fourth were being taught in English; by 1878, 38 per cent, by 1890, 92.3 per cent; by 1901, all.

In the schools and on the playgrounds a new dialect of English grew up, and is still growing. It is not makeshift, but still departs widely from English standards and contains many marks of the influence of the creole speech of the first generation. Because of the large number of Japanese children in the schools (nearly one-half the total), it is more influenced by the Japanese language than was the creole dialect. It is also more homogeneous, containing fewer indications of the national origin of the speaker. This is lumped together with the creole as "pidgin English" by casual observers, but the two should be distinguished. There is a continuum of speech, but at one end there is a makeshift speech, at the other a fairly adequate local dialect. True, it is not a dialect spoken by all English-speakers of the Islands, but it is spoken by a majority of them, and is already coloring the speech of the Haoles and other carefully educated people.

May I offer an example of the difference between the creole and the local dialects? A short time ago, I heard a Korean woman describing the reputation of a physician: "All same too muchie good speak." Now a very careless person of the younger generation would say something like: "everybody speak him toooo good." Take a series of examples of the local dialect:

1. "Nine lose already." (i.e., "I've lost nine already").

2. "Last year a Rockne was changed." (i.e., "Last year he changed his car for a Rockne").

3. "Only what the Filipinos know is to fool around girls." (i.e., "All that the Filipinos know is to hang about paying attention to girls").

4. "Are you going?" (The successive words are almost in the Mandarin tones, 4, 1, 3, respectively.)

These illustrate the chain between creole dialect and standard English. The first is a bit of creole in a fairly adequate context of school ground conversation; the second is decidedly un-English in its syntax, but not makeshift; the third contains two local idioms, but is English in its general feel; the last is wholly standard English except for the local intonation.

Therefore three forms of English are competing now with the various ethnic languages; the creole speech or

"pidgin English" its child, the local dialect, and Standard English. Bilingualism has therefore become a typical phenomenon of the Islands, but it is bilingualism on different levels. An immigrant may speak his native tongue and creole English; his children may speak the parental language, tho' not very adequately, and the local dialect; his grandchildren, or even his children, may speak Standard English and the parental language. In some instances one may almost speak of trilingualism, or even quadrilingualism; for an individual may very likely speak dialectal English in some situations and what is pretty close to Standard English in others, and he may also speak his parents' language in an Americanized local form in some situations, and with fair correctness in others.

This bilingualism, or trilingualism, is one of the major educational problems of Hawaii, for the evidence of the studies made thus far is that it retards the school children in their mastery of the body of knowledge offered in the English language schools. Possibly it may also have some harmful psychological effects upon some individuals, making them timid, uncertain of themselves, and confused. Probably the problem is only partly one of bilingualism per se, but is caused also in large part by faulty teaching of both English and foreign languages.

As the creole "pidgin" was the class dialect of the immigrant groups, marking them off from the Haole population, so the local dialect is still to a great extent a class and racial dialect, marking off the non-Haole youth from the Haoles. To speak the dialect puts one in a definite class. It is considered somewhat beneath one's dignity as a person educated in English to speak gross "pidgin" except to older people who know no other English; at the same time it is considered snobbish and presumptuous to speak without the Island intonation, accentuation, and other peculiarities. That is being a "black Haole." The sharp racial and social line drawn between Haoles and non-Haoles is thus to a considerable extent reinforced by the linguistic line between them; a line which the ambitious and careful seek to obliterate in their own speech, but which the mass of young people keeps up, first because it is easiest to speak as one has spoken since childhood, second because it places one socially. This linguistic line is also confused with the economic line which in a very general way divides Haoles from non-Haoles: on the one hand, the mastery of good English fits one for well-paid jobs and makes it possible to compete with the Haoles on their own ground; on the other, there is the feeling that the Haoles and a few others have the good positions in their pockets anyway, so why exert such an effort to speak Standard English.

English has not been the only language of commercial and social value to all the immigrant groups. Many of the earlier immigrants, especially the Chinese, learned Hawaiian. Other individuals, even of the second and third generations, have learned other languages besides English and their father's tongue, either because they have been in close contact with large linguistic groups, or have married into another linguistic group, or have had parents of two linguistic groups. It is likely, however, that in most recent cases of inter-marriage English is the home language.

Then, too, nationalities representing several linguistic groups have had to find a lingua franca within their own group of tongues. The Filipinos sometimes speak English as an inter-language, sometimes Tagalog; sometimes Bisayans and Ilocanos learn each other's language. The Okinawans have learned common Japanese. The Chinese have agreed upon

the Shekki subvariety of the Heung-Shan subdialect of Punti Cantonese as their common language in Hawaii.

The languages of some ethnic groups are already giving way before English. Portuguese is the most striking example. Next to it comes Hawaiian among the mixed bloods. Others are still strong, with language schools, a language press, and church services conducted in them; such are the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino. The size of the group, its ethnic solidarity and pride in its cultural heritage, the recency of its arrival in Hawaii, and the commercial importance of the language in question, are the chief factors in determining the strength of any language's position. Among the generation educated in Hawaii, however, English is very rapidly becoming the language of habitual thought and of communication even within the home except with parents and older members of one's race. Even to the parents the children often speak creole English, the parents replying in a simplified form of their own language. Macaronic speech which is essentially one or another of the alien languages interspersed with English phrases and sentences, is also a common phenomenon in Hawaii.

Special mention should be made of the influence of Hawaiian. Not only does it lie at the base of the creole dialect and hence of the Island Dialect, thru its influence upon the forms of English; but an unusually large number of loan words have passed from Hawaiian into all grades of English. These probably number between 500 and 1000, of which 150 to 200 are in fairly common use. All the other languages together have not furnished nearly so many. This reflects the prestige which Hawaiian had—and still has to some extent—as the language of native administration and culture. Had it not been for the great immigration, Hawaiian would probably occupy today a much stronger position in every field than it actually does.

The present trends of language in Hawaii may be summed up thus: the creole dialect is dying out with the passing of the first generation of immigrants and natives to learn English; some of the immigrant languages and the native Hawaiian are losing ground before English, but still retain much vitality; more and more of the population are coming to speak the local dialect of Hawaii, which apparently is attaining some stability; Standard English and forms of dialect approximating it are being spoken more and more widely.

MASTERS THESES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII RELATING TO RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

Hormann, Bernhard "The Germans in the Hawaiian Islands" (1931)
Masuoka, Jitsuichi "Race Attitudes of the Japanese People in Hawaii" (1931)
Lam, Margaret "Six Generations of Race Mixture in Hawaii" (1932)
Lai, Kum Pui "The Natural History of the Chinese School in Hawaii" (1935)
Reinecke, John "Language and Dialect in Hawaii" (1935)

Racial Factors in the Employment of Women

By JANE DRANGA

Employment Secretary of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A.

Employers in Hawaii generally express a racial preference in choosing employees. Obviously the type of work to be done is an important factor in selecting workers, for so-called "racial characteristics" seem to make one group more adaptable to one industry than to another. Frequently physical characteristics, such as size, weight, or strength, provide a justification for some of the occupational choices but the majority of the stated preferences are based upon more subtle factors such as custom or tradition. The choices are often influenced by the employers' familiarity and understanding of a race or upon a personal belief that the different groups possess distinctive traits. These beliefs have some foundation in the case of the first generation immigrants but there is less basis for distinction among the second and later generations. Many of the island-born and island-reared Orientals develop a stature comparable to that of the Caucasian or European races and certainly the fairly uniform educational and environmental patterns are creating a great similiarity of conduct, ideas, and beliefs. The writer's personal observations and experiences, covering a period of five years during which time a yearly average of more than 3,000 girls and women have been interviewed, raise doubts as to how deep seated these "racial characteristics" are, but the differences between the races are still important enough to seriously affect their success in the various occupations. The following are some of the common observations of employers with reference to racial factors in the employment of women in Honolulu.

HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

The Japanese are generally considered by employers as best suited for household work. They are usually quiet, scrupulously neat and clean in appearance, not given to gossip (at least not beyond their own racial group) and do not find detail and routine as monotonous as do the more temperamental members of other races. In the opinion of a great many household employers, the second-generation Japanese girl is not so satisfactory as the first generation. The Hawaiian-born girl has been given outside interests through school contacts. She has, if a high school girl, been made somewhat aware of her own personality and the opportunities for self-expression through community activities, especially those of a social and religious nature. Consequently, she is interested and happy only on that type of job which gives her some time to follow individual interests.

The Chinese and Chinese-Hawaiian are greatly in demand but they do not figure prominently in the field. They are fewer in number and more attractive occupations are open to them. They are generally thought to be very successful with children, the aged and adaptable in cases of illness.

The Portuguese are unpopular and generally unsuccessful. The distinctive characteristics cited by employers are emotional instability, an inclination to be talkative and intimately interested in the employer, his family and circle of friends, argumentative, and a shade too independent to suit most employers. On the other hand, if the position provides the op-

portunity for sufficient social and recreational expression, many Portuguese work with an industry and an initiative superior to that of the Oriental worker. Considerable antagonism is felt by the Portuguese toward the Oriental races because of the practically unanimous preference of the household employer for the Oriental. As a rule the Portuguese believe that Oriental popularity is a consequence of the supposed willingness of the Oriental to work for a lower wage. There is, however, no differential in the wage received.

Employers find the pure Hawaiian and the Caucasian-Hawaiian inclined to be inattentive to detail and routine duties and likely to lose interest in the situation. In the care of children and invalids their calm and sunny dispositions could create a large demand for their services if it were not offset by their brief span of interest and attention.

The Caucasians of Nordic, German and English descent are the nurses, governesses, housekeepers, but rarely the menial servants. The island tradition in favor of the Oriental and Hawaiian servant has created in the minds of employers a feeling that a Caucasian has neither the docile disposition nor the servant attitude, but must be treated as an equal socially to her employer. Hence, she is given positions of responsibility having a social rating higher than that of the so-called domestic.

Taken as a whole, the demands of the employers in this occupation present something of a paradox. They look for the servile attitude of the immigrant while at the same time and in the same person they require the ability to speak English and to be readily adaptable to modern household equipment. The modern Occidental pattern of living has been acquired by our Oriental peoples at the expense of the former obsequious and deferring attitude of servant towards master.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES

Commercial laundries and bakeries present a curious contrast as to racial selection. Portuguese and Asiatic-Hawaiian women are highly desired in these industries. The attributes of both groups which make them desirable for this type of work are a sturdiness of physique and a gregariousness such as to render the close proximity of other workers satisfying. Quoting the remarks of one manager, "The Orientals are too small to operate most of the standard built machinery. They are more difficult to train because they want to ask questions. The white girls are too independent and resent being asked to do anything other than their regular duties. Neither can the white women or the races of smaller stature stand up under the steady repetition of the same movements day after day." But the picture is reversed in the offices of these plants. Here the Oriental girls are found busily and quietly at work on the routine duties of typing daily records and reports and keeping accounts. Office managers have repeatedly expressed their appreciation for the accuracy and thoroughness of the work of Orientals, but also stating that their present inability to become reliable secretaries is due to their limited command of the English language. This also, generally bars them from positions as switchboard operators, information and order clerks.

Racial discrimination in the hotel and restaurant trades and in retail selling is largely determined by the nationality of the owners and managers—most of them preferring workers of their own race. In a few cases, Oriental girls in their picturesque attire are employed by a white proprietor to lend color and atmosphere. Except for the brief span of the N.R.A.

code regulations, a wage differential has been in general practice, the Oriental waitress and salesgirl receiving a lower wage than the Portuguese and other Caucasians. Proprietors capitalize on the driving ambition of the Japanese to get ahead which leads them to work for a smaller wage. The Hawaiian and Caucasian races are relatively quick to detect and resent any unfair practices such as insufficient wage for too arduous work or too long hours on duty.

The clothing trades, though small in the number of employees, present a cross section of all the racial groups. The specialized type of work performed by the several groups, however, differs owing to employer's preferences, to discrimination in rates of pay, and to racial characteristics. In the smaller shops of women's ready-to-wear, the alteration departments generally employ Oriental girls, who are directly under the supervision of the manager. But the larger shops use the Portuguese who work successfully without supervision. The Portuguese women from the old country have been well trained in needlework. The Portuguese girls who are engaged in the rather detailed work of the alteration of factory-made clothing seem to do so naturally without the aid of long courses of training used for the Orientals. Employers state that the Portuguese and the other Caucasians who have an aptitude for needlecraft show a keener style consciousness than do the Oriental. This is probably due in a large measure to the longer experience in the use of the Western style of clothing.

The Oriental women excel in the more severe types of sewing, such as the tailoring of marine clothing, shirt-making, and the making of plantation workers' outfits. This is mainly copy work from standard samples and requires little originality on the part of the worker. It seems an ambition peculiarly of the Japanese parents that their daughters learn to sew. The family expenditures for clothing is much less when one or more in the family are skilled in sewing. Many girls make clothes for themselves and for other members of the family after the regular working hours and on Sunday. The great number of Japanese women who earn all or part of the family income by sewing has reduced the charge for such services to a very low figure. This situation causes antagonism on the part of clothing retailers and among other races whose living costs prevent them from working at an occupation so poorly paid.

THE EMPLOYEES' REACTION TO EMPLOYERS

Generally speaking, the Haole* is considered by all races to be the best employer. The foreign-born employer of any race or the employer who retains distinctive nationality traits, though born in this country is generally found to be difficult to work for.

Several attempts of an Oriental to employ Haoles has been unsuccessful. The Haole employee believes him to be more critical of the Haole than of the workers of his own race. The Oriental employer appears, to the Haole to be lacking in common courtesy towards his employees. Probably a part is owing to an attempt on the part of the employer to combat the traditional feeling of inferiority with relation to the Haoles. In these cases, the Haole employee is also faced with a language handicap which in itself breeds suspicion and misunderstanding.

In the case of the household worker, we find much unwillingness on the part of an Oriental to work in an Oriental home. This situation is fairly true with all groups other than

*Hawaiian term for people of North European ancestry.

the whites. Objections are made on grounds of long working hours, lower rates of pay, more strenuous work due to the larger families, and the lack of modern equipment. Also, the Oriental employers are more interested in the personal life of their workers and often assume the role of parents. This supervision is resented by the girl who has often gone to work partly to escape home control. Often Oriental employers request workers from other communities than their own so that the opportunities for gossip may be lessened. A Japanese business man in explaining his refusal to consider the application of a Japanese girl well qualified for the position said, "I know her family well and she might discuss my business and myself at home." The Chinese household employer, to escape the same difficulty does not, as a rule, employ a Chinese girl in order that the family conversation may not be understood by the worker. The Oriental household worker, on the other hand, objects to the close moral scrutiny of an employer of her own race, and fears that any deviation from the parental code will be reported back to her home community.

WOMEN IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY RACE FOR HONOLULU, 1930.

	All Classes*	Hawaiian	Caucasian Hawaiian	Asiatic Hawaiian	Portuguese	Porto Rican	Other Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)	260	11	5	5	30	1	25	8	168	6	1
Operatives Clothing Industries	249				36	1	5	35	160	11	1
Saleswomen	478	7	15	11	61		139	110	129	2	2
Laundresses (not in factory)	359	13	2	6	33	4	4		281	7	7
Laundry Operatives	215	68	12	17	72	5	16	6	16	1	1
Servants	2,030	89	63	49	129	49	65	111	1,401	24	24
Waitresses	263	5	3	1	22	4	26	31	161	5	3
Stenographers and Typists	733	18	99	27	55		440	29	57	3	1
Barbers, Hairdressers, and Manicurists	230	1			3		34	1	189		1

*Others Included.

Attitudes of Hotel Workers

By DOUGLAS YAMAMURA

The community of the hotel workers, like most communities in Hawaii, is cosmopolitan in character. We find all racial extractions represented. It may well be compared with the average community in Hawaii in its racial segregation. The managers, assistant managers, desk clerks, etc. forming the apex of this community, are entirely Caucasians. At the broad base we find the Orientals, who form the service group and occupy inferior quarters. The great majority of those at the bottom are unmarried men. The attitudes discovered in this community are a product, in part of the occupation itself, and in part of the larger multi-racial situation.

THE WAITERS

Typical of those at the bottom of the scale are the waiters, seventy-five per cent of whom are young Filipinos. The majority of them receive both room and board from the hotel, in addition to the basic wage of $37 to $40 per month. The following is the Filipino's conception of himself and his profession. This particular view was expressed by a city Filipino, a high school graduate, who came to Hawaii several years ago. He comes from the better class of Filipinos. "He wakes up early in the morning and prepares himself for a hard day's work. He combs his hair, inspects his nails and puts on an immaculately clean uniform. Nothing slipshod about him for he is to handle food. He is a waiter, the light-footed fellow who fleets about your table and serves your meals. His trade requires cleanliness, self control, tolerance, good naturedness, politeness and obedience. He must cultivate all these and must make his trade more of an art in itself.

"I've spent over one third of my lifetime in this vocation and I ought to know plenty about it. It's not easy as it looks. The waiter doesn't know what to expect. He has to be obsequious in spite of anything and must put up with cranks that give him mental fatigue, which to my way of thinking is more excruciating than bleeding wounds. He must bear undue reprimands from his boss and smile. If it's his lot to wait on people that are unreasonable and unhappy if they have nothing to complain about, he must bear it and make the best of it during their sojourn. Many a waiter finds peace by voluntarily forsaking his job to escape from them, with pretext of some kind of ailment. But everything has its good and bad sides. The waiter has to deal with all sorts of people with varied habits, idiosyncracies, and temper.

"The American is easier to get along with than the European. He treats his waiter not as does a lord to menial, but as human being to human being. The European with his ancient background still has that attitude of lord to vassal or serf. The Englishman in particular still has it in his blood. He regards his waiter as a minus quantity and parts with ten per centum only after he's worn his waiter out. Most of his brothers from the Antipodes with very few exceptions are worse. They don't bother about their waiters. They are full of sing-song "thank-yous", but thank-yous can't pay for rent, gro-

*This article is part of a larger study of the employees of the two largest hotels catering to the tourist trade at Waikiki.

ceries and ice.

"Being underpaid he has to make the best of his job to earn his gratuity. If he gives you his best service, (there are ordinary services) he expects you to wax generous and tip him well. That's his main purpose. Tip is something you owe though you are not obligated to pay it. It's a tradition. Some people utterly disregard this traditional remuneration.

"The waiter doesn't care who you are. You may be a bank preident, a screen celebrity, a prima donna, a novelist, or a magnate of some kind of business. It doesn't make a bit of difference to him. You get as much attention as any man about town, clerk or salesman. He is not interested in your social position. The tip is all that matters.

"The waiter has to put up with people who are too hard to please. There's the customer who complains he has waited one hour for his food when in reality not ten minutes have elapsed. The best thing to tell him is that food doesn't come in can always. But no waiter will do that. The head waiter, like him, understands the situation and since the customer is always right, he administers a few tongue lashes. The waiter understands him, but he doesn't take the reprimand to heart. It's all fake, you know.

"No waiter will admit that his job is a rosy one. On the contrary he is apt to say dirty things about it."

Perhaps the outlook on life or the attitude of the Filipinos can be best illustrated by the type of life they live. The average Filipino waiter is a very good dresser and spends a large proportion of his money on clothes. The waiter knows how to dress due to the contacts he makes at the hotel. However, some of them go to the extreme and try to wear something dazzling so that they can be the center of attraction. The waiter sees the latest in men's wear as the guests from the mainland come in for dinner, or for lunch. When he goes out on parties, he tries to imitate them. The entertainment of the average Filipino consists of going to the taxi dance halls, movies, and very often to houses of prostitution. There is very little in the way of saving done by a waiter. He appears to spend all his money on entertainment and clothing. He tends to live only for today. He wants to receive recognition within the community and the method of approach has been to dress in the latest. He has to some extent received recognition in the Filipino community by his dress and his rather "devil may care" attitude toward money. Although he came to Hawaii principally to earn enough to live comfortably in the Philippines, he sends only a small part of his earnings back home to attain this goal. He is often promised to some girl back home and expects to get married after making good in Hawaii, but the type of life led by the men frequently turns them away from their earlier goal. The gardener Filipino, who is looked on with scorn by the waiters, presents a direct contrast. He is the diligent saver. His goal is to get enough money to return to the Philippines and settle down. He does not "go" for these entertainments nor does he dress in the latest.

THE BELL BOYS

The bell boys are chiefly unmarried, Hawaiian-born Japanese, ranging in age from 16 to 30. Only two out of a total of 38 are married, and both have non-Japanese wives. The average person in this community regards bell hopping as an inferior type of work. Here is the bell hop's slant on his job. This opinion was expressed by one who has been in the "game" for the past seven years and is one of the more sensible and observing boys. He is a grammar school gradu-

ate. "Bell hopping is a good job for any young man before starting out in business. It trains you to meet people and to study them. However, I feel that the average boy doesn't do this. When I first worked here seven years ago I did not know anything. I couldn't meet people, I did not know anything about American ways and how to act among the many types of people. I learned all these things and in addition to speak. I found myself able to meet different situations with a cool head and I get along with people better.

"It is surprising that so many of the Orientals in the city consider this job a low one socially. This job is looked down upon, but it is a lucrative job. The average good bellman makes more money than an average good clerk. Since there is money in this game and there is no future outside, I feel that there are more chances for success as a bellman. One may save money and later invest in outside business. I have been here seven years and supported a family during that period.

"The majority of the bellmen are very low on the moral side, no doubt, because most of the boys who come to work here make so much easy money and they are not used to easy money. They see people having a "hot" time and they want to imitate this type of life. For entertainment almost every boy goes to the dance halls, shows and places where you can contact women. Most of them are drawn to this type of life by association with old hands. Very few take part in athletics due to the working hours. There is too much strain if one takes part in athletics and works up to mid-night of the same night. He works twelve hours one day and six the next. The mind of most of the boys dwells on pleasure and good time with no thought of the future. Their good times mean association with women of the lowest degree. Most of us when we first come here dress poorly and after a few years stress so much on clothes.

"It is very important that all good bellmen have a keen sense of judgment of people. A smart bellman first notices his appearance—his clothing and the reply he gets from greeting the guest, the type of baggage he has, and the conversation he carries on with the room clerk. A poor tipper always tells where he has traveled and where he stayed, etc. Expensive room does not mean that the occupants are good tippers. Usually the people that occupy medium rate rooms are the best. In this type of hotel people that have lots of stickers pasted on their bags are usually found to be poor tippers. They only want to show on their bags that they have traveled. Real persons do not show off. Bellmen can often instinctively tell or judge the character of the person by the facial expression.

"Often a bellman judges the guest by the location from where they come. San Francisco people and those that come from the surrounding country are usually the best tippers. Northwest comes second. Southern people are poor—Chicago fair, middle west poorer than Chicago. New Yorkers are either extra bad or extra good excluding the Jews. Usually prominent and nationally known figures are poor tippers. Actors and actresses are about the poorest. Los Angeles and Southern California people are poor, movie executives and directors are much better than actors and actresses, but Jewish officials are very poor. Worst of them all are the Europeans, particularly the Englishman. Australians are much better, but New Zealanders are better than both. Local people are considered good tippers. Politicians are poor, doctors and lawyers good, bankers are poor and stock brokers good tippers.

"The bell boy's constitution, creed and ten commandments is "to see everything, hear everything, and say nothing. How does a bell boy know a "regular fellow?" First of all, he notices the clothes; second, baggage, and thirdly, just a hunch. He spots the guest coming thru the door, starts to meet him and knows whether he is OK before he gets his hand on his luggage. The new traveler is reluctant to give his bag and mutters "I'll take it; it's not heavy." The "hick" travelers are never comfortable in the hotel lobby, they can't sit still, fidget around, go to their room, leave the hotel and come back. The old hand gets his paper, lights a cigar, picks an easy chair in the lounge and he's at home. It doesn't take long to spot the good tipper. As a rule he is an experienced traveler. He is neatly dressed, clean and has good luggage. He may ask for a medium priced room and find that they are all gone. The clerk tells him the rate of the others and if he doesn't "crab" it's almost a cinch that he's not stingy with his tips.

"When a bellman enters a party room he sees all, just take a bellhop's word for that. He may not look as though he notices each little detail—a careless glove under the telephone book on the dresser, a lei carelessly thrown on the dresser when the occupant did not have one on entrance into the hotel. If anyone but the manager asked him who and what he saw he would reply, "Nothing." But take a tip from the bellman, he saw.

"Parties often offer opportunities for a boy to short change the guest either by shorting a large bill or in many other ways—but he doesn't. The reason is that he runs a risk which is possibly not worth it. Even a bellman can't tell when a person is so intoxicated that he won't remember tomorrow. The regular bellman is honest because he knows it pays.

"Does the bellman smile when he sees you come across the lobby the morning after the party? The smart bellman does not. He says, "Good morning, Mr. X." He is pleasant, but he never has a sly look in his eyes to remind the guest of any indiscretion the night before. Mr. X's cigarette may need lighting and the bellman steps forward with a lighter. "Light sir", says he, but never will he even suggest by word or looks that he has ever seen Mr. X anywhere at anytime. It pays in the long run.

"There are a number of things which the bellman does for which he does not expect a tip. It's simply a matter of good business or what is known as "hoomalimali" or getting in with a guest. Lighting a cigarette, helping a guest on or off with his coat, or taking his letters to the mail box after he has seen the guest purchase stamps.

"After working here the boy's relation with the home is often torn because of the irregularity of hours. After working a few years the visit to their homes becomes less and less frequent. Most of the boys are good supporters and regularly send money to make up for staying away.

"This game is a very hard game to get away from after a couple of years. There is a fascination in the game and the work is interesting because we see new faces and meet all kinds of people. After working a few weeks you find it easy. One who works in the office gets the same type of work day after day, but in the hotel you see new faces and there is always something interesting going on. Actresses, etc. mean nothing, but ordinary persons. A few months and the boys are not impressed by the reputation of the people and treat them just as any guest and "seeking the autograph idea" gets out of his brains."

The bell boys are given a low rat-

ing both socially and morally. This is in part a consequence of the attitudes developed by the bell boy on the job and his daily habits. The average bell boy is a lover of good time. He is the frequenter of taxi dance halls, bars, show-houses, etc. The fact that the two married boys have selected wives outside their own group indicates that the parental mores have largely lost their influence. The boys very seldom visit their parents and there seems to be a widening gap in the relations of the parents to the son as time goes on. Possibly the parents are satisfied if their son sends some money every month and they do not recognize the loss of their parental control on other matters. The attitude of the average boy is to live for today. Tomorrow will be just another day. This comment perhaps illustrates his philosophy. "Why worry about saving. I know I can earn some money tomorrow." He spends money freely knowing that he can earn more tomorrow. Very few bell boys have any definite objective in life.

Attitudes of the Caucasian workers are reflected in the following statement of a man who has been employed in various departments of the hotel. "Few men arriving in the islands realize that there is little racial antagonism here and usually are not mentally prepared for the equality that the Japanese have been taught to expect.

"The type of boy attracted by employment in the Bell department cannot always be taken as a fair example of Hawaiian born Japanese. He is however, fairly indicative of what American education has done to the oriental mind of this generation, that is, made him an entirely bewildered individual, who neither understands the culture of one country or the other.

"The dining room has presented grave problems, since the opening of the hotel, and in all likelihood will continue to do so. Caucasian waiters have been tried with little success; Japanese are apt to unionize and there are not enough eligible Chinese to fill the positions. The untrustworthy Filipino can be gotten in any number; the work appeals to his childish vanity. It is very seldom, in Hawaii, that a born waiter can be found suited for this type of work. . . . It has been the practice to mix the three nationalities, thus allowing a degree of assurance against strikes.

"Under the supervision of the hotel are the Hawaiian beach boys, who play an important part in the entertainment of the guests . . . and supplying the only direct touch the tourist gets with the Hawaiians.

"The only discrimination is based on innate intelligence, which would be found in any other city. Caste is guarded, naturally, but tends to be financial rather than racial. All of the many national and racial mixtures that have been grouped together in this organization are amicable in their relations, proving that it is possible, on a working basis, to utilize racial peculiarities to further good service."

Some Filipino Traits Transplanted

By ROMAN CARIAGA

The important differences of mankind which give rise to group consciousness and group prejudice are not so much biological or racial as they are cultural. After primary contact it is the varying social usages—mores, customs, etiquette,—which set apart the different groups and tend to cause misunderstanding and friction among them.

Transplanted from the simple life of the Philippine country barrio* with its small individual farms, intricate kinship ties and unfailing community spirit into the complex regimented life of Hawaii's agricultural industry with its mechanized competitive system, the Filipino faces many bewildering problems which his training, based on the old Malay community philosophy superimposed with Spanish etiquette and American idealism, has not prepared him to solve. Of the many Philippine traits transplanted to Hawaiian soil, some have withered away under the rigors of the strange environment, some have been crowded out by their hardier and better adapted American counterparts, and some are still flourishing and may perhaps even spread their bloom in the new land.

The first group of Filipinos arrived in Hawaii three decades ago, in December 1906; and immigration continued in rapidly increasing numbers until the recent depression. More than 100,000 Filipinos have sojourned in Hawaii, most of them returning to the homeland after completing their labor agreements on the sugar plantations, and a few of them going on to the mainland of the United States. Today there are 54,668 Filipinos in the territory, and they form the second largest racial element in the varied population. The great bulk of them, about 40,000 laborers, are concentrated in the sugar and pineapple plantations which form the bulwark of the economic structure of the islands; about 6,000 are located in the city of Honolulu supplying domestic, hotel and hospital help and cannery workers; and perhaps 4,000 others may be found in Hilo and the smaller towns in miscellaneous positions. The size of the Filipino group as a whole, and the concentration of its members in distinct areas generally apart from other nationalities has made possible the propagation of many of the homeland habits, customs, culture traits and forms of etiquette —the *Ugaling Filipino*.

Some of these Philippine customs have been considerably altered by certain factors aside from the usual influence of a new environment. Several of the different Filipino dialect groups are represented in Hawaii, chiefly the Ilocano and the Visayan, with smaller numbers of the Tagalog, Pampangan, Pangasinan, et cetera; each of which has somewhat different customs or variations of the same custom. In Hawaii these customs may fuse; those of the smaller groups may be absorbed or overshadowed by those of the larger group; or they may be rejected in favor of a corresponding American custom, or abandoned entirely. American influence, which has been gaining momentum and scope in the Philippines steadily since, 1898, predis-

*The Philippine *barrio* is a village. Towns are composed of groups of barrios. The great bulk of the Filipino population is distributed among the barrios, and there are few cities of consequence outside of Manila.

poses the Filipinos to adopt and adapt to American ways.

The vast majority of the Filipinos immigrating to Hawaii have been single men or men whose families have remained in the Philippines. The adult sex ratio is about 5 to 1 in favor of the men. The lack of women and the scarcity of families among the Filipinos in Hawaii explain to some degree the constant shifting of the population which tends to disorganize and weaken the force of the old mores. There are, however, in the neighborhood of two thousand families, and among them many of the old traditions are followed, especially those relating to the crises of life.

Ancient customs relating to childbirth still survive and are rigorously practiced by the more superstitious. Those who have come from the more remote rural districts of the Philippines, and who have not yet succumbed to modern American influences due to prolonged isolation among their own people in the rural areas of Hawaii, are following the customs of by-gone generations, which hark back beyond the Spanish era to the days of Malay supremacy.

The prospective mother must be protected from the *anitos*, or evil spirits, which beset her, particularly at the time of delivery. All doors and windows are tightly closed to prevent the entrance of anitos; the woman is placed on an improvised bed which stands about three feet above the floor and is inclined so that the head is somewhat higher than the feet; a small stove is kept by the bed constantly burning charcoal, regardless of climate or room temperature, and made to emit smoke by pouring incense on it which is supposed to drive away any anitos who may have crept in. This procedure is continued for a week or more. The infant is bathed and rubbed with a concoction of Philippine herbs, and certain boiled herbs are given the mother to drink. A hot compress wrung out of herbal water is placed on the abdomen of the child several times a day irrespective of the temperature or the condition of the child.

In the Philippines where the country houses are built of bamboo and nipa, and there are wide interstices between the bamboo rods which form the wall, and those of the floor, ventilation is assured even when the windows are closed to prevent drafts. But in the wooden plantation houses of Hawaii, whose small glass windows offer the only source of air, the mother and child invariably suffer from over heating and lack of oxygen when the old customs are followed; and the high infant mortality among the Filipinos may in many cases be attributed to them.

Survival of the child under these circumstances seems a blessing of the gods, and is in fact so celebrated. An elaborate christening party is given, usually a *lechon* (barbecued pig), an all day affair in true Philippine style to which all friends are welcome. Social prestige as well as religious observance is a motive, and also the old Malay idea of introducing the child to the village and assuring community interest in his welfare. The baptism occurs at the church the morning or evening before the party in most cases. Filipinos are largely Catholic, Catholicism having been introduced in the 16th century, and the Philippines is the one Christian nation of the East. After the religious ceremony is finished the occasion becomes one of gaiety and abundance, with feasting, speeches, music and dancing. One or two orchestras may be employed. The expense is very great, and a unique method has been evolved to meet the high prices in Hawaii where chickens and pigs are well nigh as much per pound as they are per head in the homeland, and where one must buy at the market instead of depending on generous

gifts of the neighbors' produce and livestock. In the Philippines two sponsors are invited to stand with the child at the christening, a godfather and a godmother. In Hawaii this number has been increased to as many as two hundred, and averages perhaps thirty per christening. These numerous godparents of course share in the expense and labor involved in the feast.

At a recent christening party at Ewa plantation attended by the writer, there were sixty sponsors, fifty-four men, and six women. Participation in christenings seems to offer an opportunity for establishing the home and kindred ties so precious in the Philippines, and provides a vicarious parenthood for the large numbers of single men that form the bulk of the Filipino population in Hawaii. After the dinner and program the sponsors gather around the mother of the baby and place money, or envelopes filled with money, in the tray on her lap. Two dollars is the approved amount, although the sum varies from fifty cents to as many dollars on the part of particularly generous or close friends. The priest also reaps a harvest for his church, the usual requirement being fifty cents from each sponsor. Some of the Filipino protestant churches on the plantations have found it profitable to adopt the same custom.

Marriage rites are celebrated with similar festivities. The service and bridal costumes are usually American, but the celebration is in Philippine style with feasting, dancing, speeches, and music. An interesting folkway still frequently practiced is the solo dance of the bride and groom, who tread their way among the guests to the tune of applause, music, and the clink of coins tossed at their feet. A plate is placed near the center of the floor, and bills as well as change collect there. A couple may receive from forty to fifty dollars in this manner.

Some odd marital situations arise from the keen competition of the many bachelors for wives, and from the conflict between American born and American educated daughters and their strict parents who wish to arrange their marriages for them according to the Philippine tradition. The family with an eligible daughter or two is on its way to prosperity in Hawaii. Presents of all kinds from hopeful suitors pour in: everything from grocery supplies to automobiles, and of course jewelry and personal gifts for the girl. Money is loaned and favors and requests cheerfully carried out by the suitors, and everything goes swimmingly unless the daughter suddenly dives off into the sea of matrimony on her own initiative. Several such cases have been observed by the writer, one of them with amazing results.

A leading family at X plantation had three daughters, each remarkably bright, attractive, and determined. They were very popular and had many suitors. Everything progressed well up to a certain point. As long as it was merely a matter of receiving presents and entertaining callers in the parlour under mother's chaperonage according to Philippine tradition, the girls were amiable. But when marriage came in view and they were ordered to accept prosperous but middle aged and uneducated, unprepossessing husbands, they rebelled. The eldest, a promising student in her sophomore year at an American state university, eloped with a waiter rather than marry her mother's choice. The youngest daughter refused to wed a poc-marked bank roll and left home, despite threats, to go to work as a maid. The other sister, an exceptionally beautiful girl remained the sole hope of her parents. She was kept under rigid surveillance, not allowed to go out alone, and above all never permitted to see or hear from

the young man of her own choice. She was pledged perforce to a suitor to whom her family was heavily indebted, and the date set for the wedding. The evening before she escaped and married her young man, and has now been living happily with him for some five years. The situation for her scheming mother was not so happy. The unfortunate suitor, cheated of his last wifely prospect, lost his patience and his head and threatened to kill himself and the mother for not keeping her promise. As the only solution the mother divorced her husband and married the boy, some 20 years her junior, herself. They now have one child.

Marriage is regarded as sacred in the Philippines and among the old school Filipinos in Hawaii, and there is no divorce, because, according to the old proverb: "Marriage cannot be compared to a morsel of rice which one can spit out when hot!" In Hawaii where the unbalanced sex ratio gives the woman undue advantage and where the foreign milieu undermines Philippine mores, there is considerable shifting of husbands, and making of matches without legal formalities. One middle aged couple at Y plantation with a 21 year old son, invited the writer to their house one Saturday night to attend a wedding. Upon arrival at the home with the customary gifts of food, and congratulations for the son, the latter was nowhere to be seen. The group proceeded to the church and lo and behold it was the solemn parents, dressed in their Sunday best, who had chosen this particular time to be married themselves, as a courteous gesture, no doubt, to their five children.

A christening or a wedding does not measure up to Filipino standards unless there is a lavish celebration. The same is true of their funerals, and the family and friends of the deceased often go deeply into debt to hold services which will evince their respect and affection and assure the departed a safe journey. The deceased is still accorded a vital role in the family functions, especially if he was an elder member. He is considered as a member in absentia, his last wishes are executed to the letter, and the moral ties between him and the survivors are sometimes stronger than relationships between the living. Ceremonial rites after death are strictly observed by the Filipinos of Hawaii and are among the most marked of the culture traits transplanted.

Nine-day prayer meetings are held and relatives and friends assemble to do honor to the dead and comfort the living. Meals are served, and on the ninth day a great fiesta is given. Some groups prepare special dishes for the returning soul on the night of the eighth day. The dishes are placed on a special table in the room last occupied by the deceased, and may not be touched until the following day when the final feast takes place. Among some groups another feast is given in honor of the dead on the fortieth day, preceded by nine more evenings of prayer. At the end of the year a huge feast terminates the mourning period. An exceptionally religious family may continue to give an anniversary feast thereafter, usually for not more than three years.

Among the older people these funeral traditions are revered and followed strictly. But the young people enjoy the feast, and, forgetting the solemnity of the occasion, make merry and even dance instead of mourning. To the elders this behavior, which they attribute to American freedom and individuality, is immoral and sacrilegious. But it is simply one of many illustrations of the changing attitudes and customs through which the Filipinos of the younger generation are responding to their new environment.

Fifty Aged Puerto Ricans

By KUM PUI LAI

High indices of social disorganization among the Puerto Ricans*(1) in Honolulu may be accounted for by historical and cultural forces. Social welfare workers, juvenile probation officers, and police officials have always found these immigrants to constitute a disproportionate share of their cases. Ever since the arrival of the main group of immigrants in 1901, they have been in conflict with the mores and folkways of the American community and have suffered the legal penalties and discipline of the courts.*(2) At present the Puerto Ricans rate highest per thousand of the population 18 years of age or over in the annual number of convictions for murder, manslaughter, robbery, burglary, and sex crimes.*(3) and consequently increase the case load of social agencies. In this preliminary study the writer will deal only with the aged in the Social Service Bureau.

MIGRATION

Several factors were responsible for the migration of these former Spanish subjects who traveled over 5,000 miles from their homeland to sign contracts for plantation work in a foreign environment. Porto Rico, densely populated (3,435 sq. m. for 953,243 peo. or about 277 persons per sq. mi.) in the late eighties and nineties, was far from a "rich port". The Porto Ricans by then a hybrid race consisting of Borinquens, Indians, Negroes, Spanish, and other Europeans were chiefly peasants tilling the soil, and working on sugar cane, and banana plantations, coffee fields, and their own farms. Over four centuries they had been under the domination of the Spanish whose harsh treatment especially by the mounted police is still talked about by the aged Puerto Ricans when they reminisce about their experiences in the homeland.

On August 8, 1899 one of the most disastrous hurricanes took a toll of 3,369 lives and caused property damage amounting to millions of dollars. An epidemic of the smallpox came about the same time, killing many, and brought the population to extreme poverty and starvation. With homes broken, families separated and their farms destroyed, these immigrants gladly accepted the timely offers to make their fortunes on the plantations of Hawaii and to return in a few years after a reconstruction period in their country.

From December 23, 1900 to October 19, 1901, the Porto Ricans migrated to Hawaii in eleven expeditions. About 5,000 immigrants arrived; 2,930 were men and the remainder women and children.*(4) The following excerpts from case studies mention the causes for migration to

*(1) By an act of Congress approved on May 17, 1932 the name Puerto Rico was changed to Puerto Rico.

*(2) See Governor Letters, *Executive Book 5*, p. 34 for A. M. Brown's (High Sheriff) Analysis of Tables of Arrests and Offenses of Porto Ricans, 1901-1902.

*(3) Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* 1933 pp. 48-57, and *Annual Report*, Police Department, City and County of Honolulu, 1934.

*(4) Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1902, pp. 25-33.

a totally strange land:

"R. is a fair Puerto Rican, resembling a Frenchman in appearance. He was born in San German, Porto Rico, Oct. 1864. His father was F. L., his mother C. R. Man uses his mother's family name. There were two brothers and three sisters in the family who all died in Porto Rico in a smallpox epidemic which swept the island. When he was 10 years of age his parents died and he went to live with an uncle. When twelve, he started to work in the coffee and sugar plantations as a laborer.

"He married C.M. in Porto Rico and had three children. The wife and children died before he left for Hawaii. He was told that if he would come to Hawaii he could work for 3 years, earning $15 a month the first year, $16 the second year, and $17 the third year. He thought this would improve his financial condition as Porto Rico was witnessing a period of hard times just after the Spanish-American War and the disastrous hurricane in 1899."

"N. was compelled to work as a sailor as he did not cultivate enough crops from his garden and fields in his native land. He occasionally worked on Spanish plantations which paid him only fifty cents a day. He stated that there were banana and coffee fields, sugar, and rice plantations. However, treatment by the Spaniards was not very encouraging. As there were hurricanes and great winds which destroyed most of the crops man decided to throw his lot with the group coming to Hawaii."

"A.S., who had charge of a small group of laborers on a plantation at Ponce, earned seventy-five cents a day. He was attracted to the Hawaiian Islands as labor agents spread the news that things were cheap in Hawaii. He would be able to purchase a pair of shoes for fifty cents, a pair of trousers for twenty-five cents, and shirts for fifteen cents a piece. In 3 years time he would be able to return to Porto Rico rich from his labor."

SOCIAL CONFLICTS

The Puerto Ricans were isolated socially from most of the other ethnic groups in Hawaii by cultural and language barriers. They found that their conception of common-law marriages was not accepted in the American moral order. Their matronymic system whereby children take the mother's name confused other racial groups accustomed to the patronymic classification. The traditional habit of carrying a weapon for protection also was at variance with the American civil laws. Excerpts from several case histories of the old Puerto Ricans point to the above conflicts:

"When asked about the marriage customs in Puerto Rico, B. G. remarked that it cost seven dollars in his days to procure a civil license and extra money to be married by a priest also. The peasants lived together thru mutual consent."

"B. P. when asked about his common law relationship with a Hawaiian woman replied in his broken English: 'I no get money for marry license. Too much Porto Ricans same house stop, they no marry. Before all same in Porto Rico.' "

"J. R. justified taking over his mother's family name as follows: 'Before me small time, my father another lady like. My mother, she get too much angry. Long time I no see my father I shame get his name so I follow my mother's name."

"J. C. stated that in Porto Rico it was the custom to carry a small knife for protection. Revolutions were frequent and stabbings occurred often during election days. They were encouraged by some Spanish to conceal weapons for self-defense."

AID AND ADJUSTMENT OF THE AGED

Thirty-five years after their arrival, these immigrants, now aged, are largely dependent upon the financial support of social agencies. The writer, as a social case worker, had occasion to interview and to know intimately about fifty aged Puerto Ricans and 25 more casually in the course of the work. The age distribution for the 50 is as follows:

	Frequency
40-44 years	3
45-49 "	2
50-54 "	7
55-59 "	9
60-64 "	8
65-69 "	12
70-74 "	3
75 & over	6

This means that the majority came in their prime of life. Although 55 is the arbitrary year for classification of the aged, there are several who are disabled in their forties and fifties. There were in 1930 only 134 Puerto Rican men over the age of 50 in the City of Honolulu and it is not likely that the number has since increased very much. Thirty-eight Puerto Rican men over the age of 55, or approximately 28 per cent of all those in Honolulu proper, were receiving aid from the Social Service Bureau in January, 1936.

These fifty old men are found in three types of residence. Seven or 14 per cent, among whom are the more senile and sick, find solace and security in private boarding homes. Several Spanish and Puerto Rican women who have extra rooms in their homes receive monthly board and room allowances from the Social Service Bureau for the indigents. Twelve or 24 per cent lodge with families whom they contacted since their arrival in Hawaii. In addition to having regular meals these men find companionship in others placed in the same home and also with the children of the boarding mothers. The other 31 or 62 per cent prefer to live alone in rooming houses. They usually pay from $5.00 to $6.50 for a furnished room. Areas of high concentration include Kauluwela Lane, Palama, and the Kukui and Liliha districts.

The family or marital status of these cases reveals a "familyless" group, and a loose family relationship. Twenty-eight or 56 per cent were recorded as single men;* eleven or 22 per cent, separated from their wives; five or 10 per cent, widowers; three or 6 per cent, married; and three or 6 per cent, divorced.

In contrast to the aged Oriental, who prefers to die in his ancestral village, the Puerto Rican has rarely expressed any desire to spend his remaining years in Puerto Rico. Sometimes he idealizes it, although he left Puerto Rico in a period of social disorganization and has had no contacts with the home country during the intervening years.

"A.A. states, 'Porto Rico before good place. Sometime big wind but fruits too much sweet. Porto Ricans no fight like here. All good people. The kids over here get too easy time. After school they go swimming and play ball all afternoon. In Porto Rico they worked

*Several of these men had wives for a few years about 25 to 30 years ago, but are now classified as single men as they have had no family contacts during the intervening time.

on the farms and helped their parents. The young girls, they obey their mother. They no marry early as here. I like go back for visit but too far to go. No money.' "

He is less apologetic in receiving relief. In explaining his application A. B. who had worked over 25 years on the various plantations remarked:

"Every time pay day come we use to spend too much. We get no family and nothing to do and no worry. So sometime we gamble and lose. Sometime we go out with all kind of wahine (women). Too bad now, no can help ourself."

To summarize, the high ratio of the aged Puerto Ricans dependent on society in 1936 may be explained by the migration of these immigrants from their home country at a time when historical, cultural, and natural forces helped to create social habits and attitudes unfavorable to order and organization.

ARTICLES IN PRECEDING ISSUE OF SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

1. Diagnosing Social Processes in Hawaii ..... Kum Pui Lai
2. Voting in Hawaii ..... Andrew W. Lind
3. The Racial Future of Caucasian-Hawaiians: A Genealogical Study ..... Margaret M. Lam
4. The Chinese-Hawaiian Mixture ..... Richard Chow
5. Attitudes Toward Intermarriage ..... Leatrice and Marion Wong
6. The Marginal Man in Hawaii ..... Everett V. Stonequist
7. Occupational Succession on the Plantation ..... Clarence C. Robinson
8. The Life History of a Portuguese Immigrant ..... Hideko Sasaki
9. Types of Japanese Marriages in Hawaii ..... Amy Akinaka
10. Japanese Etiquette in Hawaii ..... James Kashiwahara
11. Some Violations of Japanese Etiquette by Social Groups in Hawaii ..... Observations by Introductory Sociology Students
12. Some Forms of Chinese Etiquette in Hawaii ..... Alice K. Y. Lee
13. The Natural History of the Chinese Language School ..... Kum Pui Lai
14. Current Vital Statistics ..... Andrew W. Lind
15. Sociological Research at the Univ. of Hawaii ..... Andrew W. Lind

Copies of the preceding issue may be obtained thru the department of sociology, University of Hawaii. The price is fifty cents.

Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese

By CLARENCE GLICK

The student of race relations expects to find in any large city of the United States rather clearly defined areas in which non-white residents are segregated. In Eastern cities he looks for "Harlems" and "Black Belts"; in the South and Southwest he expects a "Niggertown" or a "Mexican quarter;" in the West he seeks the "Chinatowns" and "Little Tokyos". The code of race relations which carries with it a general segregation pattern is so widespread that it is not surprising that white Americans commonly accept the pattern as natural and inevitable. All too easily they reverse matters and use the evidence of segregation as justification for their own attitudes toward members of other races.

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.

These observations lead to some common questions: What has happened to Chinatown? Where are the Chinese living, if not in Chinatown? Were the Chinese ever really concentrated in a Chinatown in Honolulu anyhow? While these questions cannot be adequately answered within the limits of this paper, at least some facts bearing upon them can be presented. The last question, a historical one, may be dealt with first.

The first Chinese to live in Honolulu appears to have been a trader who arrived with his stock of goods in 1823. The census of 1853 reported 124 Chinese men—no Chinese women —living in Honolulu, but gave no information concerning their distribution within the city. By 1866 the Chinese residents had increased to 370, in a city of 13,521—a population made up of 10,681 native Hawaiians, 619 "half-castes," and 1,851 "other foreigners" (mostly whites), in addition to the 370 Chinese. Of these Chinese, 201, or 54 per cent, were concentrated in what is now known as the "downtown section," including the lower-lying land north of the present business district, an area which came to be known as the "Chinese quarter" or "Chinatown." Forty-one, or 11 per cent, lived directly south of the above mentioned area, nearer the mouth of the Honolulu harbor in a section which then was also a part of the general business district. One hundred others, most of the remaining Chinese residents, were reported as living in those parts of Honolulu which were the chief residential areas of the *haole* inhabitants; undoubtedly, nearly all of these were domestic ser-

vants in *haole* homes. A comparatively small number were on the outskirts of the city, engaged in farming, or trading with the Hawaiians, who made up the main group in these districts.

The earliest available business directory of Honolulu was published in 1869; in this directory 69 Chinese business sites were reported. According to a preliminary analysis, it appears that each one of these businesses was located within the area which is customarily called "Chinatown."

The main body of Chinese migrants came to Hawaii between the early 1870's and 1900, when, with the Annexation, the American "Exclusion Act" became effective in the Territory of Hawaii. Thousands of Chinese were imported to work on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose first Hawaiian residence was in the rural districts, an increased migration from China directly to Honolulu, and the natural increase of the Chinese group subsequent to the establishment of Chinese families in the city, resulted in the rapid rise in the number of Chinese in Honolulu. (See Table I). From a mere 3 per cent of the Honolulu population in 1866, the Chinese group, by 1884, came to make up 26 per cent of the city's population. At this period the anti-Chinese agitation in Honolulu was at its height. This was the time, also, when Chinese residents were most definitely thought of as being concentrated in a "Chinatown." One of the claims frequently repeated by those antagonistic toward the Chinese was that the Chinese lived among his own kind rather than becoming a part of the general community. A news item on January 8, 1886 remarked that "new buildings go up at a fabulous rate of speed on the Chinese end of King Street." Later in the year there occurred what the newspapers called "the Chinatown fire." Over thirty acres of buildings in the "congested Chinese quarter" burned down with a loss to the Chinese estimated at $1,500,000. A subsequent item, however, reported that "a few days later, the Chinese merchants began to rebuild the stores, and the whole Chinatown resumed its original state within a year."

While there was a large concentration in one section of the city at this time, the Chinese were by no means located entirely in Chinatown. A sample of 687 Chinese individuals taken from the directory of Honolulu residents for 1884 (as they appeared in alphabetical order) showed that 449, or 65 per cent resided in that area; 68 others, a tenth of the sample, were living in the central business district of Honolulu; 122, more than a sixth of the group, resided in the areas which were largely *haole* residential districts, nearly all of this number being reported as domestic servants in *haole* homes. There must be considered, also, the fact that within the district which from census to census has been referred to as "Honolulu" there have always been several hundred acres of land used for farming. In the eighties most of this land was farmed by Chinese. The 1884 Census reported 1,060 Chinese farmers within the "city" of Honolulu, out of a total Chinese male population of 4,712. *

In 1884, then, the general distri-

*Since 1884 part of this land has been subdivided for residential uses; part of it has been taken over by farmers of other racial groups, especially Japanese. The number of Honolulu Chinese whose occupations in 1930 were returned as farmers or farm laborers was only 275.

TABLE 1

GROWTH OF TOTAL POPULATION AND CHINESE POPULATION OF HONOLULU 1866-1930

Date	Total Honolulu Population	Chinese Population in Honolulu	Per Cent
1866	13,529	370*	3
1872	14,852	632*	4
1878	14,114	1,299*	9
1884	20,487	5,225*	26
1890	22,907	4,407*	19
1896	29,920	7,693	26
1900	39,306	9,061	23
1910	52,183	9,574	19
1920	83,327	13,383	16
1930	137,582	19,334	14

*Foreign-born only.

bution pattern of the Honolulu Chinese appears as follows: a "Chinatown section" containing the greatest number of Chinese men, together with most of the Chinese women and children; the "*Haole* districts" holding many male Chinese servants; a few isolated Chinese firms in the non-Chinese areas; and a large non-urban group within the nominal "city limits."

But what has happened to "Chinatown"? First, however, it must be pointed out that even the Chinatown of the eighties was never composed exclusively of Chinese. Writers during that period frequently referred to the large numbers of natives who lived in the "Chinese quarter." Many Hawaiians and some "half-castes" were left homeless by the 1886 fire. The second "Chinatown fire," in 1900, affected not only Chinese and Hawaiians but large numbers of Japanese and many Portuguese.

The territorial distribution of racial groups in Honolulu is provided in the 1900 Census. Unfortunately, for our purposes, this Census was taken about three months after the second Chinatown fire. It showed a total of 9,061 Chinese in Honolulu, but in the enumeration district which included the "old Chinatown" section, as well as most of the rest of the central business district, there were only 633 Chinese, 108 Japanese, 44 Part-Hawaiians, and 4 Hawaiians together with 331 of other groups. In a few years the "old Chinatown" section was rebuilt; the Chinese remained the dominant population group with other races interspersed among them. In 1920, the next year for habitants. Of these, 1358 were Chinatown" area had a total of 2,525 inhabitants. Of these, 1358 were Chinese and 971 were Japanese. These two groups comprised over 92 per cent of the total, but there were also a number of Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians, Filipinos, and members of other racial groups. (See Table II). With the encroachment of the central business district, Chinatown was in 1930 declining as a place of habitation. The Chinese group, however, declined even more rapidly than the population of the area as a whole and, although still the dominant group, made up only 47 per cent, of the total number. The visitor in Honolulu's

TABLE II
RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN "CHINATOWN" AND AREA ADJACENT TO "CHINATOWN"**

RACE	"CHINATOWN"				AREA ADJACENT TO "CHINATOWN"					
	1920	%	1930	%	1900	%	1920	%	1930	%
ALL RACES	2525	100.0	1806	100.0	4011	100.0	9961	100.0	9846	100.0
Chinese	1358	53.8	851	47.0	1774	44.2	3487	35.0	3225	32.7
Japanese	971	38.4	662	36.5	937	23.4	3728	37.5	4162	42.3
Korean	3	0.1	28	1.6	.....	.....	410	4.1	396	4.0
Filipino	34	1.3	60	3.4	.....	.....	494	5.0	656	6.7
Hawaiian	80	3.2	119	6.6	476	11.9	759	7.6	582	5.9
Caucasian-Hawaiian	14	0.6	6	0.3	330†	8.2	222	2.2	114	1.2
Asiatic-Hawaiian	26	1.1	28	1.6	.....	.....	401	4.0	315	3.2
Portuguese	14	0.6	5	0.3	.....	.....	132	1.3	92	0.9
Spanish	1	.....	2	0.1	.....	.....	38	.4	7	0.1
"Other Caucasian"	21	0.8	41	2.3	479*	11.9	130	1.3	70	0.7
Porto Rican	2	0.1	3	0.2	.....	.....	118	1.2	206	2.1
Other Races	1	.....	1	0.1	15	0.4	42	.4	21	0.2

*"Caucasians"; †"Part-Hawaiians".

**Based upon U. S. Census data in files of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

"Chinatown," therefore, finds that more than half of its inhabitants are Japanese, Hawaiians, Filipinos, *Haoles*, Koreans, or of other races.

Even before the migration to Hawaii of many of these racial groups (Koreans, Porto Ricans, Spanish, Filipinos, and to a certain extent the Japanese) who now have large representations in Honolulu, the first generation Chinese were beginning to spread into the area northward from the "old Chinatown" away from the central business district. This area consisted of low-lying land, subject to damage from flooods, and was least desirable of the residential areas located close to the central business district. At first the Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians were the chief non-Chinese groups living in that part of Honolulu. The area, about one-fifth of a square mile in size, was used partly for commercial purposes but principally for residence. (It came later to include the largest and worst "tenement district" of the city.) The 1900 Census showed that in this section there were 1774 Chinese. Although the most numerous group, still they made up only 44 percent of the total. (See Table II). Like the "old Chinatown" section itself, this "area of second settlement" showed an increase of Chinese population in 1920, but by 1930 the number of Chinese was declining, slightly more rapidly than the population of the area as a whole. Within the district were to be found, in 1930, over 4,000 Japanese, as well as several hundred Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, Koreans, Filipinos, Porto Ricans, and a few Caucasians.*

The fact that the number of Chinese in the so-called "Chinatown" as well as in the area adjacent to it declined between 1920 and 1930, even

*The reader should see Lind, A. W., "The Ghetto and the Slum," *Social Forces*, Vol. IX (Decemmber, 1930,) pp. 206-215. *Cont'd. on next page*

though the Chinese population in Honolulu increased from 13,383 to 19,334—nearly 6,000—leads to a consideration of the more recent trends in the pattern of distribution of the Honolulu Chinese group as a whole. A study of these trends must make use of data collected for the U. S. Decennial Census, and in Honolulu, as in most other cities, the boundaries of the census enumeration districts have been set arbitrarily, often without regard to "natural areas" or local communities. In addition, many of the boundaries have been changed from decade to decade, making it impossible to compare area by area for the entire city. Nevertheless, it will be worthwhile to point out some conclusions which can be drawn from the data.

The census district boundaries are such that one may fairly well separate from the rest of the city what the sociologists call Zone I (central business district) and Zone II (the zone in transition—"slum" and "ghetto" section.)*(1) Within the area which contained, approximately, these two zones of Honolulu, there resided, in 1920, 6,247 Chinese, constituting about 47 per cent of the total Chinese population of the city. By 1930 the percentage of Chinese living in this area had dropped to 31. The actual number reported for the area in 1930 was 5,959, a decline of only 288 since 1920, but during that ten year period the Chinese population of Honolulu had increased by 5,951, (an increase of 43 per cent) over the 1920 total.*(2) Contrary to the situation in American cities, where the majority of the Chinese customarily live within these two more central and less desirable zones of the city, in Honolulu less than half of the Chinese were residing in these zones in 1920, less than one-third in 1930, and the dispersion of the Chinese inhabitants from these zones has continued since the last census date.

Where, then, are the Chinese living, if not in or near a Chinatown? The census enumeration districts for 1920 and 1930 have been grouped so as to divide the city of Honolulu into areas corresponding as closely as possible with the various local communities of the city,*(3) the first most

*Within local communities, such as the one considered, which on the surface seem to be highly and indiscriminately polyglot and cosmopolitan, one finds small enclaves of members of a single racial group, racial "ghettos" of one or a few tenement buildings, rarely as large as a single block, which maintain a surprising degree of social isolation from representatives of other racial groups living in the same general neighborhood.

*(1) See Burgess, E. W., "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXX (November, 1928,) pp. 105-115.

*(2) The difference between 1920 and 1930 would have appeared still greater but for the fact that within the boundaries of the area spoken of here, there are included a few blocks at one point along the periphery which cannot properly be classed as an integral part of "Zone II," and many Chinese moving from the less desirable Chinese sections between 1920 and 1930 moved into these particular blocks; which are more typical of the "zone of working-men's homes."

*(3) The total area of the residential part of Honolulu is approximately 24 square miles. The size of the 24 areas used here varies considerably. A few of them, chiefly those in the more densely populated districts, are as small as one-third to one-half square mile.

obvious fact which appears is that in neither 1920 nor 1930 was there a local community in which there were no Chinese residents. In both census periods all but two of the areas contained at least 100 Chinese. While it is true that a few of the areas show heavy concentrations, the person who is accustomed to finding groups like the Chinese or Mexicans or Negroes highly segregated within the city will at once observe that the distribution of the Chinese in Honolulu tends toward a pattern of dispersion. Moreover, a comparison of the 1930 data with the 1920 data shows that the dispersion had increased considerably during the ten year period, both in terms of absolute numbers and percentages. Thirteen areas in 1920 reported the presence of at least 200 Chinese individuals; in 1930, 21 (all but 3 of the 24). Two-thirds of the areas reported at least 300 Chinese, one-half of them at least 500. It is generally recognized in Honolulu that in three or four of the newer residential districts there are larger numbers of Chinese families than in other good residential sections, but none of these can in any way be thought of as a "Chinese area." Neighbors of the Chinese are as likely as not to be Japanese, Hawaiian, Part-Hawaiian, Portuguese, or *Haole*. Even within the seven areas in which, in 1930, the *Haole* group was the largest single group represented, 3,115 of the 32,766 residents were Chinese.* In only one of the 1930 areas were the Chinese the most numerous racial group, and in this community, of a cosmopolitan, lower middle-class character, the Chinese made up only 31 per cent of the total inhabitants.

Our picture, then, of the "residential history" of the Chinese in Honolulu is not one similar to the customary "segregation pattern" of most American cities. There was a time when there was some justification for speaking of a Chinatown in Honolulu, but even at the "peak" of Chinatown's career from one-fourth to one-half of Honolulu's Chinese were living outside Chinatown. In the last sixty years, along with the growth and decline of the first-generation Chinese, and the growth of the second- and third-generation groups, has taken place the rise and gradual decline of Chinatown as a place of residence. Subsequently there have occurred the growth and less gradual decline of a Chinese "area of second settlement," the growth of less solidly Chinese sections in the lower middle-class residential parts of the city and, on a wider scale in recent years, a greater and greater dispersion of the Chinese residentially, concurrently with the improved economic status and greater acculturation of the Chinese group. While not to be taken as typical of the whole Chinese group as yet, nevertheless the following comments of a third generation Chinese girl whose family moved a few years ago into a middle-class residential area, are significant for those who tend to accept the "segregation pattern" of the races as inevitable:

> "With our neighbors, we are friendly with those surrounding

*True enough, the *haoles*, together with the Japanese, have remained fairly exclusive from the other racial groups in their residence. Within five of the seven communities just mentioned, aside from servants, there are sections which are solidly of *haole* residents; resistance to the entrance of other racial groups as homeowners or residents is strong in these sections. On the other hand, in 1930, there were at least a few *haoles* found in each of the local communities of the city.

us, with certain ones we are intimate. Mother is the one who has most to do with the women neighbors. They visit with each other most anytime, chat for hours, and often pass dishes of food back and forth or carry plants home. With them I am friendly, but not as intimate as mother. Father and brother are friendly too, riding to work with one or two different neighbors in the morning, while mother takes their wives around during the day. Two of these neighbors are Japanese, one is Portuguese with a Filipino husband, and another is Caucasian."

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

Adams, Romanzo — *"The Japanese in Hawaii; a Statistical Study Bearing on the Future Number and Voting Strength and on the Economic and Social Character of the Hawaiian Japanese."* N. Y. National Committee on American Japanese Relations, (1924).

" " — "Some Statistics on the Japanese in Hawaii", *Foreign Affairs*, II (1923), 310-18.

" " — *"The Peoples of Hawaii"*, Institute of Pacific Relations, (Honolulu, 1925, 1933).

" " — "English in the Public Schools," *Hawaiian Educational Review*, VIII (Honolulu, 1925), 100-102.

" " — "Functions of the Language Schools in Hawaii", *The Friend*, XCVI (Honolulu, 1925), 178, 179.

" " — "Hawaii as a Racial Melting Pot", *The Mid-Pacific Magazine*, XXXII (Honolulu, 1926), 213-216.

" " — *"The Education of the Boys of Hawaii and Their Economic Outlook."* University of Hawaii Research Publication, No. 4 (Honolulu, 1928).

" " — "The Meaning of Chinese Experience in Hawaii", *The Chinese in Hawaii.* I (Honolulu, 1929), 10-12.

" " — "Further Developments of Race Contacts in Hawaii," *Institute of Pacific Relations, Data Paper.* (Honolulu, 1929)

" " — "Laughing at the Wrong Place", *Pacific Affairs*, VII (1929), 415-417.

" " — "Juvenile Delinquency in Honolulu", *Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime*, (Honolulu, 1931), pp. 161-177.

" " — "Studies in the Trends of the Population of Hawaii", Exhibit D. *Hearing before U. S. Senate Committee on Territories*, 72nd Congress, (Washington, 1933) pp. 99-110.

" " — "The Unorthodox Character of the Race Doctrine in Hawaii," *Race and Culture Contacts*, Edited by E. B. Reuter (McGraw-Hill Co. 1934).

Continued on Page 38

The Chinese Store as a Social Institution

By BUNG CHONG LEE

The Chinese merchandise business and the rice industry in Hawaii have been closely inter-related during the greater part of their history. During its peak, the rice industry employed over 5,600 Chinese laborers, and it was largely operated and controlled by Chinese proprietors. The rice planters depended on the merchants for the supply of capital, merchandise, and equipment, while the stores looked largely to the rice plantation workers for the purchase of their goods. The store served also as a market for the produce of the planters. In 1896 there were in Honolulu 118 Chinese general merchandise establishments and 35 retail grocers, of which 72 were located in Chinatown and presumably catered chiefly to Chinese. Gradually, however, the rice industry has declined, the Chinese population have largely concentrated in Honolulu,* a Hawaiian born generation have supplanted the immigrants, and the Chinese stores have changed and slowly lost their once unique functions.

The foremost function of the Chinese stores was to serve as a bank. Chinese immigrants had been largely of the illiterate class. Very often letters were written and read for them by the store keepers. A postal system was developed by the stores whereby large sums of money and bundles of letters were sent to agencies in Hongkong, relayed to inland cities and then distributed to the designated parties in the villages. On each envelope the amount to be remitted, the district, the village, the names of the sender and receiver were written. The immigrants were charged a small fee for every letter sent to China. In former years the fee was as low as forty cents for sending a ten-dollar gold piece. This was the only way by which the immigrants could send their money and letters to the village. In the first place, there was no postal system service between the villages. If money was sent through the banks to Hongkong, the villagers could not afford to take a trip to the city to receive it.

In many instances the stores served as depositories. The immigrants because of their inability to use English and their unfamiliarity with the American banking institution often deposited their earnings without interest with the store-keepers and frequently borrowed money from them. The store-keepers were persons who had status and commanded the respect of the immigrants.

The stores became social centers whenever a boat came to Honolulu from China. Hundreds of letters would be disposed of within a few hours after their arrival. The store-keepers did not deliver the letters but the immigrants came in for them. Each receiver contributed what general news there was in the letter for the information and discussion of the many immigrants. The letters brought joy as well as sorrow. They revived cherished memories from home. The life of the village was relived in Hawaii. The reputations of villagers were discussed and their morals were gossiped about.

The appearance at the store of an immigrant who had been home to

*Nearly 75 percent of all the Chinese in Hawaii, resided in Honolulu in 1930.

China for a visit was as important as a personal letter. He also brought news and family tidings from the village to the immigrants in Honolulu. He could relate events with a personal touch and could give his views on village gossip. Sometimes he brought small bags of herbs, beans, or yam flour, or sweets* from the wives, parents, mother-in-laws, or god-parents to the immigrants. The returned immigrant also helped to refresh memories of the village as shown by the following conversation heard in a store:

Immigrant: E--hee! (as he enters the stores and sees the returned immigrant). So soon come back? You went how long?

R. Immigrant: I used up the few bits (money); have to come back. Went home for thirteen months.

Immigrant: Have son born?

R. Immigrant: Picked a daughter.

Immigrant: Also good. Have pregnancy when you come?

R. Immigrant: Don't know. Your family everyone peaceful. Ah Wah (the immigrant's son) very nice. Studies at the village school. Your wife asked you send a little more home—not enough to spend.

Immigrant: I make not enough! For a time, no work. Village peaceful?

R. Immigrant: Very peaceful—but some small burglaries. Last month Ah Sai Pak lost a coop of seven chickens. Somebody said Ah ——— stole them. Don't know. Now in the village many young men have nothing to do. Very bad. They do whatever bad. Much gambling and eating opium.

The store was a club where the immigrant had status. His words found meaning; he could be understood and his conversation appreciated. He could talk at length and be listened to. He could boast of his catching the largest cricket on a certain hill and of seeing the largest snake in a certain rice field in China. He talked of his achievements; he shared his sentiments, his experiences, his memories with his fellow-villagers. Every little nook, hill, and lane, the temple, the goddesses, and the many village legends were reviewed in intimate detail. Through gossip in the stores, the village mores were reenforced, and the immigrant's life was organized.

When the immigrant from the rural district went to Honolulu he sought out the store of his fellow villagers. He could have a meal or two, and could find lodging for the night without paying a fee to the store-keepers. This hospitality accounted for the absence of hotel life of the Chinese in Honolulu. The store-keepers were always hospitable to their fellow villagers. Newcomers or returned immigrants from China always found the stores a place where they could stay till they were accommodated elsewhere. The store-keepers also gave a hand in finding employment for them.

In most cases the employees of the stores were made up of fellow-villagers or relatives of the partners or owners. It was not uncommon to find that all of the personnel of the store were immigrants from the same village. Through their personnel the stores were often known as the stores of certain villagers. The Chinese in searching for a countryman of a certain village could always go to the particular store where there were fellow-villagers of the person sought.

Besides the economic and social

*These articles have small intrinsic value, but they symbolize the unbroken home ties. The herbs, beans, or yam flour are used for curing or preventing minor illness such as cold, headache, or fever and as purgatives.

functions, the Chinese stores served as meeting places for the oversea village clubs. Though the Chinese have organized district societies, benevolent societies, family tongs, guilds, unions and a few village clubs with their society halls, many village clubs did not own any halls. The stores also acted as agencies for Chinese community subscription of various sorts. The stores rotated in taking charge of the memorial services of the Chinese cemeteries.*(1) They gave large shares to welfare work, helped to support the Chinese schools and responded to subscription campaigns for local and homeland causes. In some cases the stores had served as headquarters for the Chinese political revolutionary movement.*(2)

The Chinese stores in Honolulu are gradually losing their economic and social functions in the community. As long as the Chinese community consisted chiefly of the first generation, the economic basis of the Chinese store was secure.

The Chinese took their three meals of Chinese foods daily and used many things which were imported, such as salted eggs, preserved ducks, and sausages.*(3) But the first generation immigrants have either returned to China or are fast disappearing in Hawaii. In 1930 only 7,468 or 27.5 per cent of the total Chinese population in Hawaii were foreign-born. The second and third generations are losing taste for Chinese food and use American products more and more. They enjoy their toast, cereals, and milk, chocolate, or coffee in place of Chinese sausage*(4) or Chinese canned goods and rice in the morning. The consumption of Chinese goods tends to be less and less as the number of young Chinese in Honolulu increases, and the number of first generation decreases. Food products to the value of $353,-688 were imported from China from July, 1930 to June, 1931. This is an average import value of only $12.97 per Chinese resident of Hawaii.

Chinatown during the Chinese New Year enjoys a period of business fervor when the old and young do their

*(1) For 1936 the memorial service or "Ching ming" which fell on April 5 was handled by Kwong Wah Chong Co., and M. C. Lum Co., both being merchandise stores.

*(2) Kwong Chong Lung Co. which was closed a few years ago had been a store of this type. Among the notables who found abode in it for a time were Mayor Wu T'ieh-Ch'eng of Shanghai and President Lin Sen of China.

*(3) Chinese food can be classified into two classes, one being delicacies and the other ordinary goods. Under delicacies there are two kinds, sea delicacies (hoi-mee) and dried delicacies (larb-mee). Sea delicacies include shark's fin, bird's nest, abalone, mushroom, sea-"cucumber," fish-bladder, fish-intestine, sea moss, dried oyster, dried cuttlefish. Dried delicacies (during winter season) include dried ducks, dried chicken, sliced duck meat, dried pork, dried chicken liver, dried rice sparrow. These delicacies are used largely for banquets and feasts. For ordinary purposes, the Chinese use salted fish, salted cabbage, salted eggs, vermicelli, dried cuttle fish, bean curd, bean stick, shrimp sauce, yams, canned fish, bamboo shoots, (canned or dried). Occasionally such delicacies as mushroom, oysters, dried pork, sliced duck are used in ordinary diet.

*(4) Chinese sausages are now imported chiefly from Vancouver, B. C. and not from China.

shopping of Chinese delicacies but this prosperity is brief. Many of the traditional festivals have lost their flavor and the consumption of Chinese goods has suffered in proportion.

The decline of the rice industry has severed one of the principal market channels for Chinese goods. Surplus goods can no longer be dumped into the rice plantations. Today there are five ranking importers of Chinese goods in Honolulu but a large part of their business is with non-Chinese. Seven smaller stores deal chiefly with the Chinese population and in another decade this number may be further reduced. More and more the Chinese merchants, of whom there were 160 in Honolulu in 1934, are catering to Americanized and Hawaiianized tastes.

In addition, Chinese banks have developed where the Chinese can deposit their earnings and some even deposit with banks in Hongkong. Many buy insurance policies, bonds, stocks and other investments. The earnings of the Chinese are no longer deposited with the store-keepers. However, the postal system of sending letters and money still remains, for no responsible system has emerged in its place.

The Chinese store of today is only a shadow of the once unique institution. Its original economic support has largely disappeared and many of the stores have changed their character to meet the demands of a non-Chinese clientele. A very few of the stores remain where the old Chinese men still gather in the familiar atmosphere to relive memories of the past.

Continued from Page 34

Bergen, Margaret	"A Study of Juvenile Delinquency", *Report of Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime*, (Honolulu, 1931), pp. 147-149.
Lai, Kum Pui	"Chinese and Language Schools in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, XX (December, 1935.)
" " (editor)	*Social Process in Hawaii*, I, Honolulu, May 1935.
Lam, M. M.	"Intermarriage in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII (1932), 159-166.
" "	"Baseball & Racial Harmony in Hawaii", *Sociology and Social Research*, XVIII (1933), 58-66.
Lam, M. M.	Racial Myth and Family Tradition - Worship Among the Part-Hawaiians, *Social Forces*, XIV, (Mar., 1936), 405-409.
Lind, A.W.	"Occupational Trends Among Immigrant Groups in Hawaii", *Social Forces*, VII (Dec. 1928), 290-299.
" "	"Occupational Attitudes of Orientals in Hawaii", *Sociology and Social Research*, XIII (Jan. 1929), 245-255.

Continued on Page 45

Leaves from the Life History of a Chinese Immigrant*

By ELIZABETH WONG

LIFE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE

"Lucky come Hawaii? Sure, lucky come Hawaii," said Mrs. Teng, pushing back her black hair with her hands which showed signs of hard labor. "Before I come to Hawaii I suffer much. Only two kinds of people in China, the too poor and the too rich. I never can forget my days in China," said she, her mouth falling into a smile revealing a pretty good set of teeth. She is proportionally built for her five feet four.

"In a small crowded village, a few miles from Hong Kong, fifty-four years ago I was born. There were four in our family, my mother, my father, my sister, and me. We lived in a two room house. One was our sleeping room and the other served as parlor, kitchen, and dining room. We were not rich enough to keep pigs or fowls, otherwise, our small house would have been more than overcrowded.

"How can we live on six baskets of rice which were paid twice a year for my father's duty as a night watchman? Sometimes the peasants have a poor crop then we go hungry. During the day my father would do other small jobs for the peasants or carpenters. My mother worked hard too for she went every day to the forest to gather wood for our stove...

"Sometimes we went hungry for days. My mother and me would go over the harvested rice fields of the peasants to pick the grains they dropped. Once in a while my mother would go near a big pile of grain and take a handful. She would then sit on them until the working men went home. As soon as they go we ran home. She clean and cook the rice for us two. We had only salt and water to eat with the rice. Today when I hear my children grumble about the food I wish they could experience what I went through and what the children in China are doing to relieve their hunger.

"Father was suffering from dysentery so my mother went out to look for herbs. My father told me to take the baby out to play and not to come back until late. Being always afraid of him I gladly took the baby out. We were three houses away watching a man kill a chicken. Pretty soon a man came to call me to go home for my father is dead. I ran with my brother on my back and stopped at the door of our house. I took one look at my father dangling from the ceiling and started to run to where I don't know . . .

"Poor people are buried in mats but mother bought a coffin for my father. She had asked the carpenter to give her a few weeks to pay for the coffin and the man agreed. My mother called me to her and put me on her lap.

"Do you want me to remarry or will you be a good girl and go to stay with a certain lady," she said. I told her that I do not want her to remarry but I will go with the lady so that she will have money to pay for my father's coffin. If she did marry again I would have a hard

*(I am using a fictitious name for the lady who has given me her life account. She has used broken English and Chinese. I shall translate her Chinese accordingly and shall try not to change her style.)

time looking for her when I came big. I leaned my head against her breast and if I knew that was the last time I would be so near to her I would have let my brother cry alone.

"I heard my mother tell this go-between lady that she wants me put in the hands of a lady or man who would come to Hawaii because she has heard Hawaii is a land of good fortune. All the other people who went to Hawaii sent money home every time. ("My mother has never told me that I was being sold as a slave until I came to Hawaii my mistress called me names.")

"My mother took off my mourning robes, dressed me in a colored dress with a red string on my hair. I went with this lady to the big house of Mr. Chin, two miles from our village. He was to look me over and I seem to be his choice for he took out ninety dollars to give to my mother. Every year in my age was worth ten dollars. I wished I were older than nine so that my mother could get more money.

"Before the actual parting I was happy and glad to go because I knew I was helping mother. When my mother and me went out of the house I took one look behind and did not want to go. I cried and begged and asked to stay at home. For once I had the sympathy of the neighbors. They cried and told me that I must be a good girl and go so that my mother can get the money to pay the coffin. I quickly wiped my eyes and went with my mother. When we got to this place we went to give our offerings to the temple god. It was eleven o'clock when we came to the gate of Mr. Chin's house. We stayed outside until it was twelve. It is said that it is bad luck to enter a master's house when the time is odd, it must be even time. Again the parting was hard. I ran after my mother but my master held me. He gave me a silver spoon, a jade bowl, sweets, and cakes —all that I always longed for. I was glad to stay forever. Next time when my mother came I did not care to go with her. I was so poor for a long time that those sweet and pretty things took a great hold on me.

"A lady in that house told me that Hawaii had big, fat, very sweet sugar cane—it was better than honey. I crazy for cane that I just waited for the day to come to Hawaii. She also told me that there was hardly anything to do but after I came I found out that this was not true.

LEAVING THE ANCESTRAL VILLAGE

"In 1891 my master and me sailed on the "Billy Jack" to go to my new mistress in Hawaii. We slept on canvass cots and had cheap meat and cabbage for every meal. We could not land in Honolulu because there was small pox on board ship. We went directly to San Francisco and stayed there for two months. I never saw the shape of the land for I was below the ship. When we came back to Hawaii I was locked in the immigration office for three weeks. How happy I was when my boss came to me. I went to meet my mistress who was never pleasant to me.

"The first thing I asked my master was a piece of sugar cane. He said that there is none around the place where we live. How sad I was for I expected cane to be all around.

"Mr. Chin was the owner of a large carpenter shop on Nuuanu street. He had many workers. They cooked our meals and they ate in the shop. I always took the meals home for the family. We lived behind the shop. I had to wash clothes, clean the house and the basin. I also waited on the table and when the family was served then I took my bowl to my master for food. I always ate sepa-

rately from the family table. Whenever I go back for a second helping my mistress would glare at me. Being afraid I used to press the rice in my bowl so that I had my fill and avoided her glare. Although she called me a "slave girl," a good for nothing girl, and beat me unmercifully I was happy to be in Hawaii. At least I had food in my stomach and ate with a silver spoon.

ON THE ROUGH ROAD TO WESTERNIZATION

"Being a "China Jack" I was tempted by the good taste of the first cookie my mistress gave me. I saw her hang the can on the kitchen wall. As soon as she left the house I helped myself to a cookie and a cup of tea. In my little party she caught me. She took the ruler and beat my fingers to and fro, to and fro. They were all black and blue and she kept on until the ruler broke.

"One day after I had swept the house, washed the clothes I went out to play with the neighborhood children who wanted to have some fun with the "China Jack." I was having a good time when my mistress yelled "slave girl" at me. I went into the house expecting and prepared for the outcome. Afraid that the children outside would hear she stuffed my mouth with a dirty rag and beat me with a bamboo rod. I struggled but of no use. After her anger or jealousy was satisfied she made me clean the house again.

"Before I was real dumb. I was afraid to go to school on account of my mistress not giving me money to buy tablets and pencils. I didn't know how to explain to the teacher that my mistress would not give me money for books. I used to hide from the teacher. My mistress said that a "China Jack" like me need not go to school. I sorry I no go before.

"I used to go to a shoe maker's and take needles from him for my mistress refused to let me use her needles. Behind her back I learned how to sew. When I was sixteen she went to China for four months. I made sure I learned how to sew dresses for myself. Every ten cents that I earned for sewing button holes for the neighboring tailor I saved to buy materials. When my mistress returned from China she wanted me to sew for her. I wasn't very eager because she, herself, wanted to stop me from learning.

"The following year the plague invaded Honolulu. Chinatown was burned down. All I can remember is that we went to live at Kalihi then to Vineyard. We had little to do.

MARRIAGE — A RELEASE FROM RESTRAINTS

"I believe the turning point of my life came when I was eighteen. One morning I overheard my master scold my mistress for wanting to marry me off to a man not of my same group. He said that long ago my mother made him promise that I be married to someone of my own group—Pun Dee. He said that it is only fair to present the recent case to me. I hurried away from the door and waited to be called any minute. I went before them. My master who was always nice to me said that my mother would be happy to know that I am married and on my own. He said that merchant, a Mr. Teng, from Wailuku, Maui, is looking for a bride. He is well-to-do but is forty years old. You are only eighteen. I leave the matter up to you. If he told me that the man was sixty I would have gladly said "yes." Here was my chance to escape from the harsh words of my mistress. Better than suffer some more I accepted.

How he looks like I did not know but with that thought of freedom in mind I slept peacefully for the first time.

"As a fee for my master's successful match making my future husband sent him one hundred fifty dollars, a roast pig, five hundred cakes, a half dozen bottles of wine, and a half dozen chickens. All day I was buying things to take up to my new home. A lady took me down to the boat and when I landed at Kahului I was met by my brother-in-law who took me home to my husband. I became Mrs. Teng. My husband was almost bald but he was very nice to me.

CONTACTS WITH THE HOME VILLAGE

"Right after my marriage I asked my husband to write back to my village in search of my mother. Lucky he asked my former boss for help. I told him of my hard times and how I came to Hawaii. He sent my mother fifty dollars along with that first letter. I was very happy that I cried when I received my mother's letter telling me that my brother is eleven and is watching cows. I wrote home and sent her money to send my brother to school. I only longed to see my mother again. I think I would fall in her arms and cry for days but I never had that chance. She died a year after my husband's death in 1921.

BETWEEN TWO CULTURES BUT ADJUSTED PHILOSOPHICALLY

"The young people of today are very much changed. I cannot understand my daughter-in-law who never trusts me with her son. I am his grandmother. She is so afraid that I might put germs on him. When I have a slight cold I can not go near him. How can I put germs on him? If he is healthy he gets no germs. The small children in China don't have enough to eat and no clothing and yet they don't die. The children in Hawaii have all the good food and clothing so why should they get sick."

With a wistful smile she went on commenting about her mistress. She said that no matter how rich you are or how much better you are than the other person never look down upon him because some day you may be in that person's position. "Today, my mistress lives in a one room house on Vineyard street. Her husband, three sons, and two daughters are dead leaving a son-in-law who told her to get out of his home. Now she know what poor means. She gladly calls me her "daughter" and even if she was mean to me I let that be forgotten. When I see her in town I give her a dollar or two. If she was nice to me maybe I would have been a little more glad to help her.

"My children call me a "jew" because I do not spend for clothes or other unnecessary luxuries. It is not that, I shrudder at the thought of being poor. I was poor for a long while, that much suffering is enough for me. I can not spend here and there because someday I want to buy a new refrigerator, pay for doctor's bills, and pay for any emergency. I must save so that I may have money on hand.

"I am proud of my children. They are very good children and have helped me lots. I am looking forward to the day when I will have my sons, daughters, and in-laws, and grandchildren with me. At present they are scattered on Maui, Kauai, and Oahu. I lucky come Hawaii."

Familial Survivals in Rural Hawaii

By SHIKU OGURA

Kona, Hawaii, is an isolated coffee farming district with a population of about 5,000 Japanese. The geographic isolation with Mauna Loa mountain on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the wide stretches of "pahoehoe" and "a-a" lava on the north and south extremes, precludes active contacts with the outside and makes possible the preservation of certain familial practices. Kona is sometimes referred to as "Little Nippon" in Hawaii. Marriages, funerals, celebrations, religious observances are practiced similarly to those in Japan thirty or forty years ago.

Marriage is still arranged with the usual formalities. The middleman or *nakodo*, is an important figure in the Kona community, for without him, any marriage is considered an elopement, and the couple's parents lose caste in the community. The romantic conception of marriage, idealized in the American community, sometimes leads the second generation to make their own arrangements, but to save the family's "face" in the community, a middleman steps in as a matter of form. An expert middleman of Kona spoke of the situation as follows: "Sometimes the boy and girl marry without the parents' consent, or without getting a middleman, but I step in as a matter of formality. In some cases, the boy's parents ask me and sometimes I offer my services. Otherwise, the couple would be criticized by the people in the community and would be disowned by the parents. Thus the family relationship is lost."

There are three ways of securing a middleman in Kona. First, the best friend of the family may offer his services; second, the boy, who has reached a marriageable age, may ask a close friend of the girl's family, preferably of the same prefecture; and third, the boy's parents may ask a close friend or neighbor of the girl's family. The last named is the common practice. One middleman said, "Out of fourteen couples whom I have matched, the boys' parents have asked me to act as go-between in three fourths of the cases;" and another middleman said, "I have already matched two couples, and in both cases the boys' parents came to see me to act as a middleman. I have done it as a personal favor."

The parents ordinarily prefer early marriages for their children. Married young people are usually more steady than those without family responsibilities of their own. Furthermore, a daughter-in-law in the house is a great help with the daily chores. But the youngsters today prefer to delay their marriage until they have saved some money. One middleman said, "Nowadays, the youngsters prefer to marry late. Occasionally, the parents get worried over their sons and ask me to encourage them to get married." A young man of twenty-two years said, "My father wants me to marry soon. He tells me that he married when he was thirty-five years old and now he is having a difficult time financially. He wants to retire early and to depend upon me. But I don't want to marry yet. I want to see more of life. I won't marry until I'm thirty or thirty-five years old. My father tells me that if I don't get married soon, I'll fool around girls and drink. I want to show him that I can wait a little longer and

not get into trouble. I think he wants my wife to help the family, but when I get married, I don't expect to live with him." Another young man said, "I didn't want to marry so early; I was planning to continue my education, but my parents were not in a position to support me through school, so I remained at home and worked in the coffee field. My mother wanted someone to stay at home and help her around the house and the field. They found a middleman and arranged for my wedding. I had not seen the girl before."

The task of a middleman is not an easy one. It requires time, tact, and patience. Some friends consider this to be a rare honor and despite hard times and a busy coffee season, willingly offer their services. The majority accept it as a matter of obligation. When the time approaches for matchmaking, the middleman takes the boy to the girl's home under the pretense of buying some chickens or pigs in order to get a view of her home and personality. Of course, this is not necessary if the boy and the girl are already in love or have seen each other before. In some cases the mother suspects the mission of the middleman and the boy. She invites them in and serves them tea and cookies. No mother consents to give her daughter away at the first proposal. She tactfully refuses by saying that her daughter is needed at home for sometime. To give a daughter at the first call would lower the dignity of the family. Another middleman reveals his method of creating the situation. "Sometimes there are cases where the boy and the girl have never seen each other. Then I make an arrangement whereby the boy can meet the girl on her shopping trip to a store, at a picnic, a party, or a social gathering. If they like each other, the other tasks are easy and only the parents' approval is required."

The middleman carries on his work with the greatest secrecy. Sometimes it takes more than a dozen calls before the parents' approval is secured. One matchmaker made twenty-seven calls before he secured consent. One matchmaker was so disheartened after making several unsuccessful calls that he wanted to commit suicide. He said, "Somehow an agreement could not be reached, so I went to a cafe with another middleman and got terribly drunk. I came home and felt like cutting my stomach." This shows how seriously a middleman regards his obligation.

Certain principles are observed in matchmaking. First is a careful scrutiny of the lineage or "blood." The presence of leprosy or tuberculosis in the family kin is a serious hindrance to marriage. The second is a high regard for family social status in Japan. A prison record of a relative in Japan is regarded as a serious obstacle to marriage. The third consideration is the character and status of the brothers, sisters, parents, and relatives in Hawaii. Due to the difficulty in securing records from Japan and the fact that these matters can be easily learned from fellow villagers in Kona, investigation of the "koseki" or family registry in the ancestral village is rarely practised. In the better families this investigation is still made. "When I got married, my girl's parents wrote to my relatives in Japan and in Kona to find out everything about me. It took over three months. They also wrote to local people to find out about me," said a young man.

Time and conditions have altered the qualifications for marriage. Formerly it was thought important that both bride and groom should come from the same 'ken' or prefecture in Japan, but now little thought is given to this factor. One middleman said,

"People pay very little attention to the 'ken' nowadays. But the Okinawans still marry within their own 'ken' and the 'eta' among their own class. Character and personality are far more important. We consider the boy's character first and not the 'ken.' If a boy is hard-working, he has no difficulty in getting a wife." Records in Kona show that from 1925 to August 1935, 46 per cent of the Japanese marriages were between persons of the same prefectural background, 43 per cent were between persons of other prefectures, and 11 per cent were with persons of other races. This breakdown in custom is due to two reasons: first the young people of today favor romantic love; and second, the parents are losing contact with their relatives in Japan and are resigned to live in Kona permanently.

When the parents' approval is secured, the groom presents the bride with a set of wedding gowns called "montsuki". This has a significance similar to that of the wedding ring in American marriages. Despite hard times many people still measure the social status of the couple in terms of the lavish display at the wedding, and huge wedding feasts costing hundreds of dollars are frequently given. One middleman said, "These folks must have a big feast to feel that it is a wedding, otherwise, they think that something is missing. They like to eat and drink and make merry. They make it an elaborate affair in order to impress upon the couple that it is the most important event in their lives. This puts them under a moral obligation to make good and forgive each other's petty grievances." Some families give such a great feast that it leads to bankruptcy. In the past the popularity of the groom's parents was measured by the number of gift bags of rice piled in front of the house, but this practice is slowly being modified. A small sum of money is usually enclosed in an envelope. Kitchen utensils or household gifts are also sent. To neglect to send a gift is a sign of questionable friendship. A family that sends out two hundred invitations is thought to have a huge wedding party. As in most rural districts, the "kumiai" (local neighborhood club) members play an important role in the preparation and arrangement of the wedding feast.

The middleman arranges all details for the wedding. However, his obligation does not end with the culmination of marriage. He is the permanent advisor of the couple and will be called upon in case of a family quarrel or a sign of divorce.

Continued from Page 38

Lind, A. W. "The Types & Trends of Delinquency & Crime in Hawaii", *Preparatory Studies Annual Conference Social Workers of Hawaii*, (Honolulu, July, 1929), pp. 3-12.

" " "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (Sept. 1930), 206-220.

" " "The Ghetto and the Slum", *Social Forces*, IX (Dec. 1930), 206-215.

" " "Some Measurable Factors in Juvenile Delinquency in Honolulu", *Report of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Crime*, (Honolulu, 1931) pp. 183-192.

Continued on Page 49

The Taxi Dance Hall in Honolulu

By VIRGINIA LORD and ALICE W. LEE

THE TAXI DANCE HALLS

Clustered in a rectangle, two by eight city blocks in size, in the less elite business district, are Honolulu's seven taxi-dance halls. "C.L." is most popular with slumming parties, groups of people out to see the sights of the "underworld," and often students, who like to feel they are doing something they should not. "C. L." caters almost exclusively to service trade, its patronage being made up mostly of sailors. It prides itself in being a "high-class joint," and excludes such people as Filipinos, on the grounds that they are not properly dressed. It is a hall upstairs, with a wide straight, well-lighted stairway connecting it with the sidewalk. Around the entrance sit sellers of leis, corsages, and boutonnieres. The ballroom is just a large room, whose floors are heavily painted, varnished, and oiled, and beginning to show signs of wear. Lining the walls are benches where the girls sit and wait for dances, or chat with the men. In one corner is a counter and an ice-box, where soda pop is sold. A peek into the ice-box reveals about a dozen leis and corsages, presented to the girls by admirers. They are not worn because, in the stuffy smoky room, they wilt quickly, and because they offer too much incumbrance to the hopping around of the girls. On a raised platform, decorated with a gay, orange moon, tinsel, silhouettes, and palm trees, the orchestra, numbering about seven, holds sway, blazing forth old and tried melodies, in a blatant and yet compelling fashion. When a lull occurs, the customers are scarce, the girls pair off, and rather than let the music go to waste, dance together, displaying an amazing series of intricate steps, slides, dips, twirls, and backbends. Because they have to be able to follow anyone, they display rare ability and grace. They are marvelous dancers!

Even when a cop, happens to drop in, discovers a sailor pouring a little "oke" into a cup half-filled with coca-cola—to pass around to his friends, and delivers a reprimand, good-natured humor still prevails. The air is more that of a private dance than that of a commercialized institution, where feminine friendliness is for sale.

Very similar to "C. L." in atmosphere, but with a more varied trade, is the "C." Here one buys his tickets in a cubby-hole in the wall on the level of the street. A clock is in plain sight on the wall; there is a balcony from which one may view the sights of an alley, or hide to sneak a sip from a flask, the lights are a little dimmer, the floor feels a little more as if it had sand on it, there are no garlands of crepe paper festooned from the chandeliers to the wall, but otherwise in general aspect—the "C." and the "C. L." are very much alike.

Dance halls that cater to Filipinos waste no money on overhead. The Filipinos have a need for feminine companionship, and accept it under any conditions. They are offered partners, room to dance, and exceedingly "hot" music. These halls are smaller, darker, more crowded, and to a considerable degree, more odorous.

"D.", is one of these—and across the street, down a cobble-stoned alley, is the "L."—patronized by Filipinos only — and probably the most picturesque of the halls.

From within the walls of a roughly built, and unpainted, one-story, wooden structure, behind the corner stores of a busy intersection comes bizzare music—American jazz with a Filipino accent. No other sound—no laughing or shuffling of feet — as is heard from the streets around the other dance halls—can be distinguished. Located over a swamp—this, one can easily discover for himself from the peculiar odor—it has a series of hazardous steps, rickety, unpainted, gaping, and literally besprinkled with sputum and tobacco juice, leading to the hall. Sitting on the benches against the walls, hanging out the windows that extend all around the room, are the patrons—Filipinos who are smoking, idly scratching their heads, or picking their noses. Four painted Filipino and Porto Rican girls, each one with dangling earrings, constitute the dancers. In the background, four older women slouch—the mothers of the girls, who accompany their daughters every night to their employment. Of the old school, they believe in chaperones and are wary and watchful.

Even though the orchestra—on a platform decorated with faded streamers and bunting, and a picture of President Roosevelt—is banging away most noisily, few pay much attention—neither dancing, nor smiling, nor speaking. The gloomy, sullen expressions of the men, numbering about thirty, do not change even when the proprietor bellows "free dance." There is a rush toward the girls at this cry and the twenty-six who have no partners dance with each other. There seems to be something sinister in the atmosphere—for those blank, immobile expressions conceal strong emotions and fearful purposes. Down at the police station is an array of metal implements—brass knuckles, knives, and guns—most of which were "lifted" from the Filipinos of this particular district. They even include a harmless cap pistol and a queer wooden instrument arranged to eject a bamboo dart, powered by the winding of a heavy rubber band. Here is where most of the knifing affrays take place, with lots of serious injuries.

Half way between these two extremes—the "C. L." and the "L." is the "R."—with its heterogenous patronage—composed of every class—from soldiers to Filipinos. It is on the ground floor of a building having several chop sui houses and beer "joints." A narrow passageway leads from the street to it, covered by a red and yellow striped canvas. With its lei sellers squatting in the passageway, and its crowds of all nations—Portuguese, "haoles," Japanese, Hawaiians, Porto Ricans, Koreans, Chinese, Filipinos,—it has a sort of carnival air. Hanging from the ceiling is a large ball made of metal and brass which catches the light and sparkles. The windows are always lined with people, peering in from the alley that flanks one side of the building.

The remaining two halls are the "V." and the "R.", both very dirty and crowded, both cater to all nationalities.

*THE TAXI DANCER**(1)

The taxi-dancers are all much alike in appearances. The average age is twenty-two years, with eighteen as the lower limit and thirty-eight as the upper, most girls being around eighteen years. Out of about three hundred girls,*(2) forty are Portuguese, thirty-one are Filipino, twenty-eight are

*(1) The writers interviewed girls for this term project for the introductory course in Sociology.

*(2) See table on page 50.

pure Hawaiian, twenty-seven are Hawaiian-Chinese, twenty-four are Japanese, fifteen are Korean, and twelve are pure Chinese. No girl admits having either Negro or Jewish blood. The older dancers are of the Caucasian races, and the reason is an obvious one. They come from the mainland where dance halls have been operating for years and they are old hands at the game, whereas in Honolulu, dance halls are a comparatively new development. There has not been time for our native-born to grow old in the business. Some pretty queer combinations appear in the mixtures of nationalities. For instance, there are several Japanese-Korean girls, a Hawaiian-Hindu extraction, and a Portuguese-Russian...

One distinguishing characteristic of the taxi-dancer is the inevitable permanent wave. This, added to plenty of mascara and eye shadow, rouge and lipstick, is supposed to render her sexually attractive. She usually chooses a dinner, or cocktail dress, of clinging form-revealing lines, and of medium length, worn with sandals — for comfort and for durability.

The girls enter taxi-dancing for many and various reasons. The majority of the taxi-dancers have lived in the city and have homes in the city. Their family life is not usually ideal. As the girl reaches her adolescent period, she desires better clothes and since she cannot obtain these through her parents, she is forced to seek employment. Previous to becoming a taxi-dancer, the girl works in the pineapple cannery, in private homes as a house maid, or in a restaurant as a waitress. Monotony, long hours and little pay are the rewards of these positions. However, at this period, she still retains her neighborhood or childhood friends. Through another taxi-dancer or a patron of the dance hall, probably just a chance acquaintance or a friend of recent development, the girl gains her introduction to this vocation . . . More than one girl is working to save enough money to go back to school. Several go to business college during the day, and work all night. Some young girls who marry into the service, to live a married life for a few years, find themselves deserted when their husbands are transferred. To support their children, they enter dance halls. Other girls have orphan brothers and sisters to support, and more than one has a drunken parent on her hands.

One of the girls tells part of her story: "After my step-mother went to the Orient, I ran away from my father because he treats me mean. He blames me for the desertion of my step-mother because she had always scolded me. I always obeyed her and worked hard—washed all the clothes, ironed, swept and mopped the house, and even cooked. All she did was to sew and very little at that. I worked in a "haole" house for almost a year until I met a girl who is a taxi-dancer. She used to work as a housemaid before. Boy! the first night in the dance hall was a thrill. I danced every dance, I was not neglected as at school dances where I was a wall-flower most of the time. Besides dancing every dance and enjoying it, I got paid for it too. Well, I was at it for almost a year when I fell for a guy, a soldier. He was very nice to me and I liked him, but when I had to get married, he would not do it. I know that he couldn't cause his folks in the states doesn't want him to. So I didn't mind not getting married cause he helped me pay for the hospital and doctor bill and he still gives me things. My baby boy is up Kaimuki in the Boys' Salvation Army home. I go up to see him once in a while. I still dance, but I don't make

as much money as before. But I get along all right if I dance with the Filipinos. I hate to dance with them, but I have to, cause you know, I have to live."

Another girl states: "I was married at thirteen years of age to my husband who is ten years older than I. I am eighteen years old now and my oldest child is four years old. I have two other children. My husband does not have a steady job. He works in the cannery when they need him, only during rush times. Since the cannery is two blocks from my home, I used to work there and hurry home to cook lunch and return to work. My neighbor who lives in the next two partitions of our building worked at nights in the dance hall. She saw how hard it was for me to care for my children and work in the cannery besides. So she told me about taxi-dancing. She taught me how to dance and dressed me up with makeup and a cheap evening gown. I learned how to dance rhythmically. I earned more in one night than in three days working in the cannery. Besides that, I can stay home all day and take care of my children."

Continued from Page 45

Lind, A. W.	"Voting in Hawaii," Exhibit E. *Hearing Before U. S. Senate Committee on Territories*, 72nd Congress, (Washington, 1933), pp. 110-113.
" "	"Some Modifications of Hawaiian Character Since the Advent of the White Man," *Race and Culture Contacts*, Edited by E. B. Reuter, (McGraw-Hill, 1934)
Lorden, Doris	"The Chinese-Hawaiian Family", *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (1935), 453-463.
Masuoka, Jitsuichi	"Race Preference in Hawaii." *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (1936), 635-641.
Park, Robert E.	"The University and the Community of Races", *Pacific Affairs*, V (1932), 695-703.
Reinecke, John E. and Mrs. Aiko (Tokimasa)	"The English Dialect of Hawaii", *American Speech*, (February and April, 1934), pp. 48-58, pp. 122-132.
Reuter, E.B.	"The Social Process, with Special Reference to the Patterns of Personality Among the Chinese in Hawaii," *Publications of American Sociological Society*, XXVI (1932), 86-93.
Smith, W.C.	"Pidgin English in Hawaii", *American Speech*, VII (1933), 15-19.
" "	"Changing Personality Traits of Second Generation Orientals in America", *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1928), 922-29.

Continued on Page 55

RACIAL ANCESTRY AND AGE OF HONOLULU'S TAXI DANCERS 1935

AGE	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	36	37	TOTAL
Hawaiian	1	2	5	3	8	4		2	2				1					28
Hawaiian-Chinese	5	6	3	3	3	3	1	2					1					27
Hawaiian-Japanese		1		1														2
Hawaiian-American			1		1	1	1				1							5
Hawaiian-Portuguese	1			2		1												4
Hawaiian-Spanish			2															2
Portuguese	8	5	4	2	5	8	1	1	1		2	1		1	1			40
Portuguese-English		1			2												1	4
Portuguese-French			1		1													2
Spanish		1	1	1		1					1					1		6
Spanish-Portuguese	1	1	1	1	2		1			1								8
Spanish-Mexican		1	1															2
Spanish-American		1	1															2
Spanish-Filipino				1		1												2
Porto Rican	1	1	3	2		1												8
American			2			1		2		1								6
Irish				1		1			1				1					4
English					1										1			2
Russian			1		1													2
English-German					1		1											2
French-Italian				1		1												2
Chinese	3	3	4		1					1								12
Japanese	7	4	5	2	4		1	1										24
Japanese-Korean	1			1														2
Korean	4	1	4	1	1	1			1	1	1							15
Filipino	10	5	1	2	6	3	3			1								31
Others	3	3	2	7	4	2	2		3	3	1							30
TOTAL	45	36	42	31	41	29	11	8	8	8	6	1	3	1	2	1	1	274*

*Police Registration for Approximately 72 Girls (Dancers) is Incomplete. Complete Lists Total About 350.

OTHERS (One Each)	AGE
Ger.-French	18
Chinese-Korean	18
Ger.-Jap.-Eng.	18
Norwegian	19
Jap.-Spanish	19
Ger.-Haw'n	19
Haw'n-Chi.-Port.	20
Haw'n-Indian	20
Port.-Ger.-French	21
Irish-Hawaiian	21
Belg.-American	21
Chi.-Filipino	21
Port.-Korean	21
Ger.-Haw'n-Chi.	21
Jap.-Port.	21
Ger.-Dutch	22
Chi.-German	22
Fil.-American	22
Haw'n-Jap.-Span.	22
Port.-Russian	23
Indian-Irish	23
Jap.-English	24
Italian	24
Haw'n.-Filipino	26
Cuban	26
Port.-Italian	26
Span.-Indian	27
Samoan	27
Swed.-Dutch	27
Haw'n-Chi.-French	28
French-Norwegian	34
French	38

Population Trends In Hawaii

By ANDREW W. LIND

Hawaii's population continues to grow rapidly thru the excess of births over deaths. During the year ending June 30, 1935 there were 9431 births and 3679 deaths, leaving a net gain of 5752. The very high ratio of 256 births per 100 deaths reflects a population which is youthful and healthy. According to the 1930 census, Hawaii is deficient in the older age groups in which the proportion of deaths is normally high, and it is moderately well supplied with women of child-bearing age. Death rates are low in the age groups between 20 and 45, which constituted 40 per cent of the total population of Hawaii in 1930.

All of the various racial groups in Hawaii are still biologically "healthy" in the sense that the number of births exceeds the number of deaths, but this ratio, the vital index as Raymond Pearl calls it, is lower now for most of the groups than it was ten years ago. Depending upon a variety of factors, including the age and sex structure of the population and the length of residence in the Territory, births and deaths in each of the racial groups tend toward equilibrium.

It is noteworthy that the Polynesian stocks are today in a more favorable position for biological growth than they were ten years ago. During the past five years the Hawaiian population increased by 6924 thru the excess of births over deaths, or 2.5 per cent annually. The ratio of births to deaths has likewise increased among the Filipinos. The period of maximum natural increase of the immigrant groups in Hawaii has not occurred immediately after their entry

Table I Births, Deaths, and Vital Indices by Racial Groups, *(1) 1921-25 and 1931-35

Racial group	6-30-25 Births	Deaths	Births/Deaths X100	Av. 5 yrs. ending ~~June 30, 1935~~ Av. ~~5 yrs. ending~~ June 30, 1935 Births	Deaths	Births/Deaths X100
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	1948	1063	183	2370	985	241
Caucasian	1601	611	262	1376	795	173
Puerto Rican	298	98	304	220	91	241
Chinese	781	313	250	581	297	195
Japanese	5639	1383	408	3890	1036	389
Korean	234	82	286	132	75	177
Filipino	1074	587	221	1366	509	268
Total *(2)	11596	4158	278	10036	3611	277

*(1) Birth registrations were 86 per cent accurate in 1920 and 93 per cent in 1930, when Hawaii was admitted to the Birth Registration Area. It has been in the Death Registration Area since 1917.

*(2) All others included.

to the Islands and it is probable that the vital index of the Filipinos will continue to increase for some time while that of the earlier immigrant groups declines. The Japanese are still most favorably situated to add to the population but with the passing of the first generation mothers and the changing age and sex structure of the population, the rate of natural increase will diminish. The average annual increase of population thru the excess of births over deaths during the years from July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1935 was as follows: Hawaiian and Part Hawaiians, 2.5 per cent; Caucasians, .7 per cent; Chinese, 1.0 per cent; Japanese, 4.0 per cent; Koreans, .9 per cent; Filipinos, 1.3 per cent and total 1.7 per cent. Owing, however, to the excess of departures over arrivals, particularly among the Chinese and Filipinos, the actual rate of increase was as indicated in Table II.

In common with most portions of continental United States, Hawaii's refined birth rates are falling. The birth rates of the immigrant groups, corrected for age and sex, correspond rather closely with the average length of their residence in the Islands, the Filipinos having the highest rates and the *Haoles* the lowest. The number of births per 1000 females aged 15 to 44 in the total population decreased from 185 in the years 1928-1930 to 162 in the years 1933 to 1935. Although this rate is still high as compared with continental United States, it may be expected to approximate the mainland standard as assimilation continues.

An interesting correlate of the

Table II Population by Race in Hawaii, 1930 and 1935, and Average Annual Rate of Increase.

	April 1, 1930 *(1)		June 30, 1935 *(2)		Av. Annual Rate of Increase
Racial Groups *(3)	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	1930-35
Hawaiian	22,636	6.1	21,710	5.6	—0.8
Caucasian Hawaiian	15,632	4.2	18,742	4.9	3.6
Asiatic Hawaiian	12,592	3.4	17,236	4.5	6.2
Portuguese	27,588	7.5	29,530	7.7	1.3
Spanish	1,219	0.3	1,267	0.3	0.8
Puerto Rican	6,671	1.8	7,368	1.9	2.0
Other Caucasian	44,895	12.2	50,258	13.1	2.4
Chinese	27,179	7.4	27,264	7.1	0.1
Japanese	139,631	37.9	148,972	38.8	1.3
Korean	6,461	1.8	6,668	1.7	0.6
Filipino	63,052	17.1	54,668	14.2	—2.7
Others	780	0.3	754	0.2	—0.6
Total	368,336	100.0	384,437	100.0	0.8

*(1) Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1930

*(2) Territorial Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics

*(3) Due to the arbitrary classification of mixed blood children, certain groups, notably the Other Caucasian, and the two part-Hawaiians, are artificially augmented.

Table III Number of Pupils Enrolled in Public and Private Schools of Hawaii According to Ancestry.

Racial Groups	Dec. 31, 1930 Number	Per Cent	Dec. 31, 1935 Number	Per Cent
Hawaiian	3,850	4.4	3,545	3.5
Part Hawaiian	10,309	11.7	13,107	13.1
Portuguese	7,878	9.0	7,840	7.8
Puerto Rican	1,278	1.5	1,719	1.7
Spanish	309	.4	360	.4
Other Caucasian	5,186	5.9	6,293	6.3
Chinese	7,959	9.1	8,611	8.6
Japanese	43,775	49.7	48,981	48.8
Korean	2,048	2.3	2,321	2.3
Filipino	4,126	4.7	5,784	5.8
Others	1,117	1.3	1,849	1.8
Total	87,835	100.0	100,410	100.0

declining birth rates has been the fall in infant mortality. Hawaii's rate of 64.53 per 1000 births in 1935 is considerably lower than the rate in other plantation regions for which data are available and it compares favorably with the 1934 rate of 59.9 in continental United States. Hawaii's infant mortality rate has declined rapidly during the past 20 years, from 160 in 1916 to the present rate of 64.5. This improvement has by no means been uniform in the several racial groups in Hawaii. The pure Hawaiians still suffer from a very high proportion of deaths among infants, owing in part to their resistance to modern medical practice. The Puerto Ricans and the recent arrivals from the Philippines have high rates of 124 and 111 respectively, while the groups with a longer experience in Hawaii have comparatively low rates. Less impressive changes have occurred in the corrected death rates from some of the more important diseases, such as tuberculosis.

Reverberation of the shifting character of birth and death rates are found in the population load of Hawaii's public and private schools and in the corresponding costs of education. The first grade population in both public and private schools reached its peak in 1932-33 with 10,860 students, and it has been steadily declining since. The total school population in the first six grades showed its first decline this year when the enrollment dropped to 62,102 from the previous year's peak of 62,150.

MISCEGENATION

Hawaii continues to live up to its reputation as a racial melting pot. In spite of rising nationalistic sentiments and more normal age and sex distributions in most of the ethnic groups, the proportion of mixed racial marriages and of births of mixed racial ancestry is increasing in Hawaii. Of 10,938 marriages in the four years ending June 30, 1935, 3,098 or 28.3 per cent were between members of different racial groups, using the conventional eleven fold classification of peoples in Hawaii. (Table IV) This ratio of

Table IV Marriages According to Race in the Territory of Hawaii for the 4 Years Ending June 30, 1935.*

Race of Groom	RACE OF BRIDE													
	Hawaiian	Caucasian-Hawaiian	Asiatic-Hawaiian	Portuguese	Puerto Rican	Spanish	Other Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Others	% of outmarriages of Grooms	Total
Hawaiian	274	99	123	21	4	1	9	13	9	5	0	3	51.2	561
Caucasian-Hawaiian	96	286	162	75	2	4	50	22	17	3	2	6	60.6	725
Asiatic-Hawaiian	74	143	134	37	3	2	13	62	14	2	3	4	72.7	491
Portuguese	36	90	41	753	26	9	69	11	17	2	3	9	29.4	1066
Spanish	1	1	1	12	3	7	4	1	0	0	1	0	77.4	31
Other Caucasian	52	158	58	342	23	19	1344	25	35	14	4	20	35.8	2094
Puerto Rican	7	9	3	27	184	4	9	2	2	0	2	2	26.7	251
Chinese	20	27	68	14	3	3	7	514	26	6	2	3	25.8	693
Japanese	18	30	37	20	0	2	8	37	3317	7	1	0	4.6	3477
Korean	3	4	7	4	1	0	0	5	3	107	0	2	21.3	136
Filipino	98	41	79	86	50	6	24	10	48	10	908	7	33.6	1367
Others	3	9	7	6	1	1	5	2	0	0	1	11	76.1	46
% of outmarriages of Brides	59.8	68.1	81.4	46.1	38.7	87.9	12.8	27.0	4.9	31.4	2.0	83.6		
Total	682	897	720	1397	300	58	1542	704	3488	156	927	67		10938

*Based upon figures secured from Bureau of Vital Statistics, Territorial Board of Health.

inter-marriages was 27.8 per cent in the preceding five year period, while in the five years 1912-1916, it was only 14.1 per cent. The classical role of Hawaiian women as wives of the womenless foreigners shows no sign of decline, and even the proportion of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian men who outmarry is increasing. The Oriental groups have undergone a varied experience with regard to outmarriage depending upon their length of residence, their age and sex ratios, and their family mores and cultural values. The small but increasing proportion of outmarriage among the Japanese, and a major part of the larger outmarriage among the Chinese and Koreans represents a positive movement away from the traditional controls.

The proportion of mixed-blood children born is naturally not as large as the percentage of mixed marriages, owing to the higher ratios of pure-blood marriages in the past, but during the year ending June 30, 1935, 2284 or 24.6 per cent of all the children born were of mixed ancestry. In the year ending June 30, 1932, this ratio was 21.3 per cent and the following year it was 23.1 per cent. In the population tables (II), however, all of these mixed blood children excepting those of part-Hawaiian ancestry, are classified as pure bloods. As a consequence the part-Hawaiian population appears to be increasing rapidly.

Continued from Page 49

Smith, W. C. "The Hybrid in Hawaii as a Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (1934), 459-68.

Stonequist, Everett "The Problem of the Marginal Man", *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 1-12.

Thompson, Edgar T. "Population Expansion and the Plantation System", *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 314-26.

Race Relations in Hawaii

(A Summary Statement)

By ROMANZO ADAMS

1. The race mores of Hawaii are, or tend to be, the mores of racial equality. That is, the social ritual symbolizes equality and the doctrines correspond.
2. Hawaii's system of race relations seems to be a consequence of the special historical conditions that have existed in the islands.
3. The fact that the social ritual symbolizes equality is important as affecting the character of economic, political, educational and general social opportunity for all the peoples.
4. Interracial marriage is legal and there is no public opinion adverse thereto. (There is considerable adverse sentiment on the part of individuals, or, even of social groups too small or too weak to be considered as the public.)
5. All racial groups are participating in the general process of amalgamation through intermarriage, but not all at the same rate.
6. The proportion of out-marriages for the various races seems to be correlated inversely with numerical size and with group morale and directly with abnormality of sex ratio.
7. In the past, differences in language, religion, family system and other culture traits have been more important as affecting the rate of out-marriage than differences in color or other biological traits have.
8. As there has been an approach to a common culture there has been an increase in the rate of out-marriage.
9. In the case of the Caucasian-Hawaiians and the Asiatic-Hawaiians, the development of group-morale tends to increase the rate of in-marriage.
10. For a while the mixed-blood children of any particular type constitute merely a statistical, not a social, group. Socially they are allied to one or the other parent groups or to both.
11. But when the mixed-blood become sufficiently numerous they acquire a moderate sense of social solidarity. Common memories, common traditions and common interests serve as a basis for the development of group morale.
12. The mixed-bloods have an especial role in relation to the further process of cultural assimilation of the parent groups and in relation to further amalgamation. This is because of their intermediate position.
13. The social status of mixed-bloods is good and will remain so if local influences prevail.
14. Now that the period of important immigration seems to be at an end, the outlook is for a rapidly increasing population of mixed ancestry. Before the end of the present century the mixed-bloods may be expected to outnumber any other group and, after two hundred years, few will be able to give a correct statement as to their racial origin.