

They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai'i

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Miles M. Jackson
Guest Editor

*They Followed the
Trade Winds*
African Americans
in Hawai'i

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Department of Sociology
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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Executive Editor

Kiyoshi Ikeda

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University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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"To engage in a serious discussion of race in America, we must begin not with the problems of Black people but with the flaws of American society—flaws rooted in historic inequalities and longstanding cultural stereotypes. How we set up the the terms for discussing racial issues shapes our perceptions and response to these issues."

Cornel West
Race Matters, 1993

Contents

- ix **Foreword**
KIYOSHI IKEDA
- xi **Acknowledgments**
- xiii **Introduction**
MILES M. JACKSON
- 1 **The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i**
KATHRYN WADDELL TAKARA
- 24 **"There is One Black Man, Anthony D. Allen..."**
MARC SCRUGGS
- 53 **Prelude to a New Century**
MILES M. JACKSON
- 70 **Carlotta Stewart Lai: An African American Teacher
in the Territory of Hawai'i**
ALBERT S. BROUSSARD
- 89 **Cabo Verde, West Africa, and Hawai'i**
EDGAR C. KNOWLTON, JR.
- 95 **Hawai'i: A Multicultural-Multiracial Society or a Fragile
Myth? A Look at Contemporary Hawai'i from a Black
Perspective Based on 2000 U.S. Census**
LEON RICHARDS
- 123 **The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in
Twentieth-Century Hawai'i**
DAPHNE E. BARBEE-WOOTEN AND MILES M. JACKSON

148 **Let Us Pray: African Americans in Hawai'i
and Experiences of Worship**

MICHAEL STEPHENS

162 **Healing the Sick**

PAUL WERMAGER

189 **A Different Drummer: African Americans
in the Military in Hawai'i**

MILES M. JACKSON

209 **Transitioning to Paradise—A Challenging Journey:
African American Military Experiences in Hawai'i
Public Schools**

KIMETTA R. HAIRSTON

232 **Striving Towards Community**

MILES M. JACKSON

237 **Labels: A Kanaka Maoli Perspective on the Black Presence
in Hawai'i, A Conversation**

MARSHA ROSE JOYNER AND PŌKA LĀENUI (HAYDEN BURGESS)

251 **Selected Bibliography**

MILES M. JACKSON

255 **Contributors**

Foreword

Through the years *Social Process in Hawai'i* has been a forum for the social dynamics that occur among people living in Hawai'i. Social scientists have viewed the islands of Hawai'i, with their multiracial/multicultural population, as a living laboratory. In the islands Polynesians and other Pacific Islanders, Asians, Caucasians, Hispanics and Blacks are living and working together. Despite the stresses and conflicts that might occur when different racial and cultural groups interact Hawai'i has shown to the world that people can live together in relative harmony. Romanzo C. Adams and Andrew W. Lind, both professors of sociology at the University of Hawai'i and now deceased, viewed race relations more than fifty years ago as a key factor in building a successful society in Hawai'i. This work is a continuation of their vision.

The story of the Black presence in Hawai'i has been sorrowfully neglected in the written social history of Hawai'i. Yet, there has been a presence since the 1790s. Miles M. Jackson and his colleagues have made a giant step in collaborating on *They Followed the Trade Winds*. Their work is presented here and follows the tradition of earlier special editions of *Social Process in Hawai'i* devoted to individual ethnic groups in Hawai'i. Readers will have an opportunity to read about the Blacks who dreamed of finding a place for themselves in these islands in the middle of the Pacific.

Kiyoshi Ikeda
Executive Editor

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There are many individuals who have been involved in some way in making this project a reality. It would have been impossible to successfully complete a project of this magnitude without those who believed in the vision of producing a definitive work on the Black diaspora and Hawai'i. I am grateful to those authors who accepted my initial request that they prepare manuscripts and also accepted most graciously suggestions for content changes in their manuscripts during the editing process.

Special thanks goes to Tia Ballantine and Mark Nakamura for sharing their years of experience and professional expertise in helping to fit the pieces together to make a meaningful manuscript.

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The opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Hawai'i Council for the Humanities or the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Miles M. Jackson
Guest Editor

Introduction

The seeds for this work were sown many years ago in 1947 when I was stationed in Honolulu. On a visit to the base library, I requested a book or anything in writing about Blacks in Hawai'i, and after a search, was told by the base librarian that no such published information could be found. Fifteen years later while working for the Government of American Samoa, I stopped in Hawai'i and visited the State Library and University of Hawai'i Library, again seeking information on Blacks in Hawai'i; once again, my search was frustrating and very little information was found. While in Samoa, I had heard stories of men of African ancestry who had lived in Suva, Fiji and Apia, Samoa as well as in Pago Pago, American Samoa and on other remote Islands of the South Pacific. Where did these Blacks come from? Did they have families? What circumstances had brought these men of African ancestry to the far away South Pacific?

The Islands of Hawai'i and the South Pacific have always fascinated adventurers, merchants, sailors, missionaries, and those with their own soaring dreams of paradise. When these foreigners stepped onto the beaches of Hawai'i, the *Kānaka Maoli* received them with the open arms of warmth and hospitality just as the land itself had once welcomed them. The Hawaiian people are Polynesians, descendants of courageous navigators who had earlier settled in the many Islands known now as the "Polynesian Triangle" bounded by New Zealand to the Southwest, Easter Island to the Southeast, and Hawai'i to the North. Sailing freely from the South Pacific to the North, navigating by the stars, the movement of the ocean currents, and by following the flight of migrating birds, Polynesian peoples eventually landed ocean-going canoes on Hawaiian shores sometime during the sixth century and, finding the Islands pleasant and inviting, decided to settle. It was not until the eleventh century that others, sailing regularly from the Marquesas, joined these initial settlers. These early voyagers had planned well both for survival of the hardships of such long trips and for the rigors of settling anew in unknown lands. Travelers carried with them their religion, food supplies, which included chickens, pigs, plants and cooking and storage containers, and plants that might allow them to create the tools needed for settlement, including rope, bark cloth, utensils, etc.

Travel between Tahiti, the Society Islands and Hawai'i stopped around 1275 A.D. When the Englishman, James Cook, arrived in 1778, he met Polynesians who had been living in Hawai'i for over a thousand years and who had, for much of that time, been living a life isolated from other Polynesians of the Pacific. Cook's lieutenant, James King, estimated that there were 400,000 Hawaiians at the time of Cook's arrival, but contemporary historian David Stannard suggests in *Before the Horror* that his study of Hawai'i's population revises that earlier estimate to 800,000 inhabitants living in Hawai'i in 1778.¹ Cook believed that those whom he encountered on the shores of Hawai'i resembled the Polynesians he had met earlier during his visits to the Islands South of Hawai'i. They had similar physical features, cultures and life styles. During his visit to the Islands, Cook encountered highly developed societies that were both politically and socially organized,² but, unfamiliar with either the history of the Polynesians or with their complex philosophic systems, Cook reported his initial encounters with the people of Hawai'i using the language, the vision, and the tools of a very different culture. Although a scientist trained to acutely observe, Cook observed with a lens that was ground by a European community that as yet had little or no understanding that equally valid societies might exist in the world that did not share European goals or values. Whatever Cook thought of the peoples he encountered, there can be no question that life was never the same after Cook arrived in Hawai'i.

Cook commented in his journal that he and his men entered

their ports without daring to make opposition, we attempt to land in a peaceable manner, if this succeeds, it's well, if not we land nevertheless and maintain the footing we thus got by superiority of our firearms....³

Cook may have felt that he could rely for protection on the power of guns, but his last visit to the Islands in 1779 was cut short by angry warriors at Kealakekua Bay on the Island of Hawai'i. One of the larger, single-masted dinghies from the *H.M.S. Discovery* had been taken by several Hawaiians, and in retaliation Cook threatened to hold elderly chief, Kalaniopu'u, as hostage. Enraged, warriors attacked and killed Cook along with four of his men.⁴

Captain Cook's final layover in Hawai'i was brief, but that visit left a mark on Hawai'i that it is noted even today. Cook's marines did use firearms against the Hawaiians, and won few friends with that action, but perhaps more devastating to the Hawaiian people were the European diseases that these English sailors brought with them. Syphilis, tuberculosis, small pox, and

even the common cold were previously unknown in the Islands. Hawaiian immune systems were not prepared to overcome these new diseases, and no medicines were readily available to combat illness.

After sailors returned to the West with stories of the Pacific, word spread rapidly about the fortunes that could be made in Hawai'i, and more adventurers began to arrive on Pacific shores. King Kamehameha I at first welcomed these foreigners, but history tells us that many of these whom he welcomed did not perhaps deserve such trust and hospitality; too many of these first visitors were not a credit to the human race. These early "entrepreneurs" have been referred to as "rascals of the Pacific,"⁵ or described as losers "who were miserable, human flotsam and jetsam."⁶ Ships from other nations, especially from New England, sailed into Hawai'i's ports and brought with them the best and worst of the West. The whaling ships arrived seeking supplies and to leave goods for trading, and other American ships stopped en route to China to load their hulls with fragrant sandalwood, which was in demand in China. Sugar, foreign trade, whaling, and shipping offered the greatest opportunities for Pacific adventurers, but not all early sailors engaged in business enterprises that were ethical or even legitimate. Always, there were men willing to do anything to make money. When the Christian missionaries arrived in Honolulu in 1820, they discovered a raucous seaport overrun with drunken sailors and nightly brawls.

This work describes a few of the early settlers of African ancestry, decent men who stepped ashore and decided to stay in the Islands, despite the brawls, despite the drink, despite the unruly behavior of many, mainly because they had a vision that in these Islands there might be the chance for a better way of life. After enduring the harshness of slavery and the racism that lingered on after slavery was finally abolished or after spending equally hard years at sea, these early Black travelers saw Hawai'i, a land populated by gracious and intelligent men and women, as a land of possibility. Many Blacks sailed from Cape Verde (Cabo Verde) or from other Portuguese colonies in Africa, and many more were runaway slaves from the American South. In a diary kept while aboard the *Neptune*, Ebenezer Townsend stated that he met five men, two of whom were Blacks on Kaua'i in 1798.⁷

Free Blacks and Blacks from Africa as well as the Islands of the Caribbean also found their way to Hawai'i and remained. As Takara and Scruggs state in their chapters, many of the ships that stopped in Honolulu or Lahaina carried crews that were 50 percent Blacks. When these Black crewmen

joined their shipmates in enjoying the rest and recreation that Honolulu and Lahaina provided, some found it hard to return to the ship. They discovered instead a niche for themselves and remained ashore. During the early years of the nineteenth century, Honolulu provided a community that welcomed Blacks. Sailors who came ashore in Honolulu might have used some of the services of the several Black-owned businesses, including barbershops, a tailor shop, boarding houses, and Anthony Allen's "grog shop," and if they heard music serenading villagers and visitors, that music might have been played by Kamehameha III's Royal Band under the direction of a succession of band directors who were Blacks.⁸

Hawai'i's census, naturalization records, and newspaper accounts show Africans and West Indians living in the Kingdom and becoming naturalized as citizens.⁹ Louis Mitchell, a man of African ancestry, arrived in Honolulu in 1878 from Mauritius and was accepted by Hawaiians almost immediately.¹⁰ He learned the Hawaiian language and participated in the culture and village life of the *Kānaka Maoli*. Mitchell married into a prominent Hawaiian family and later became ordained as a pastor after studying at the North Pacific Missionary Institute. While on a mission to the Gilbert Islands from 1895 to 1898, he was tangled in theological and political disputes between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, but only on rare occasions did any question arise concerning "his dark skin color." When Mitchell returned to Hawai'i, he pastored churches in Kōloa, Kaua'i, and in Hāna, Maui before inexplicably ending his own life. His suicide has never been explained fully, other than he had a serious "internal problem."¹¹

Despite the aversion to proposals in the 1880s to recruit groups of Blacks as contract laborers for Hawai'i's sugar plantations, individual African Americans continued to find their way to Hawai'i as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Albert S. Broussard discusses the amazing story of a Black woman, Carlotta Stewart Lai, who arrived in 1893 with her family and, then, spent more than fifty years in Hawai'i as an educator. Edward Fletcher and Benny Rollins are two Black men representative of those who also came to Hawai'i to find a place for themselves. Edward Fletcher¹² met W. O. Smith who was recruiting workers for C. Brewer Company's plantations on Maui, but when Fletcher arrived on the schooner, *Mary Swan*, in 1877, he went to work as a teamster. He later married a Puerto Rican widow and they had four children, two daughters and two sons. The *Maui News* featured Fletcher on its first page in 1936 when he was 80 years old and still working. Born in Charleston, South

Carolina in 1882, Benny Rollins found his path to Hawai'i. As a youngster growing up in Charleston, he took a liking to horses and was told by a relative that if he wanted to learn about horses he should go to New York State to work as an apprentice at the thoroughbred stables located there. He did just that and never looked back. As a jockey in New York, he met Dr. J. C. Fitzgerald, a veterinarian from Hawai'i who told Rollins that horse racing was becoming very big in the Islands and that opportunities for jockeys were great, indeed. In 1906, Rollins arrived in the Islands and went on to ride in winning races at the Kapi'olani Park race track in Honolulu. Eventually, Rollins became one of Maui's top breeders and worked for millionaire Harry A. Baldwin as manager and breeder of his stables. He met and married Margaret de Rego and raised six children on the Haleakalā Ranch.

I am certain that readers of this issue will find interesting such stories of early Black settlers seeking community in Hawai'i, and I hope that they will also find valuable discussions of contemporary Black community in *Hawai'i nei*. Although there is no specific residential community in Hawai'i where Blacks live, there is an emerging socio-psychological Black community that is influential in the Islands. Although earlier Black settlers before World War II may have intentionally wanted to assimilate and were satisfied to be identified as "cosmopolitan," a polite term used to identify "colored" people, later arrivals to Hawai'i preferred not to be identified as the faceless "other" and wished instead to maintain racial and cultural identity. The struggles of these later settlers to maintain that sense of identity and pride are included here.

As we see the essays by Wermager, Barbee-Wooten, and Jackson, following World War II most Blacks who migrated to Hawai'i entered the existing social structure, as their education, skills and experience allowed. Those who came to Hawai'i through their own initiative and not as members of the military were apparently as successful in their fields as they might have been on the Mainland and entered the growing Black community in Hawai'i, worshipping in Black churches and celebrating Black holidays, including Kwanza, which means "first fruits" in Swahili and is celebrated at the beginning of a new year as a secular holiday. Kimetta Hairston shares with the reader the cultural and racial insensitivity challenges faced by some dependents of military families stationed in Hawai'i.

Despite the differences of opinion among social scientists, something dramatic has been happening in recent decades in Hawai'i. We learn from Leon Richards in his discussion of the dynamics of interracial marriage that

individuals in Hawai‘i have been marrying outside of their own ethnic groups: Hawaiians, Cape Verdeans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Portuguese, Filipinos, African Americans, Europeans, and others have been mixing it up for over 200 years. There are those who see Hawai‘i’s multicultural and multiracial environment as a “melting pot” and those who argue that Hawai‘i’s people are more like a rainbow, where all colors are distinct, yet necessary to one another; their beauty arising both from singular vividness and from proximity and connection to one another. Indeed, for many, the racial issue by and large is not as sensitive in Hawai‘i as elsewhere because many people often don’t know with which race they want to identify.¹³ There are those who argue that the concept of “race” has no place in twenty-first century society, that it has been used in the past solely as a social and political construct, and that the time has come to abandon such divisive thinking. Marsha Joyner and Pōka Lāenui discuss the dynamics of interracial relations between Hawaiians and Blacks in Hawai‘i and the politics of race in their conversation. In general the message in these pages note that what is happening among Hawai‘i’s people might very well be a blueprint for future more enlightened communities in the United States.

Blacks in the Pacific Islands

Very few people are aware of the fact that people of African ancestry arrived in the South Pacific Islands during the nineteenth century, but with the expansion of the whaling industry into the Pacific, African Americans and others of African ancestry settled in Melanesia and to some extent in Polynesia. Idyllic climates, abundant fresh food, friendly people, and the relative peace of these Islands enticed many crewmen to abandon their ships while in port and to seek refuge from a demanding life at sea. Indeed, many were encouraged to remain ashore when the ships set sail. Many local Island chiefs attempted to adopt skilled members of a crew, especially those who understood munitions, who wished to remain in the Islands, and Black men were frequently amongst those skilled crewmen. R. A. Derrick, the noted Pacific scholar states in his *History of Fiji* that “Negroes who were sometimes landed from American ships, were even more prized than white men.”¹⁴

While in Fiji on a Fulbright research and teaching project at the University of the South Pacific in the late 1970s, Hazel M. McFerson,¹⁵ a professor at George Mason University, interviewed descendents of these early African American settlers of South Sea Islands, discovering both contemporary attitudes towards Blacks in the Pacific and their long established history as

Island residents. Hailing from New Bedford, Massachusetts, John Brown, for example, arrived in the Lau group of Islands on the *Phantom* around 1860 and became a successful trader on the coast of Vatulale. In recognition of his having lived many years in Bua, Brown was awarded a Crown grant of a small piece of land for his home and gardens where he lived for many years with his Fijian wife from Vaturua and their several children. Another sailor, H. B. Williams, left his ship in Samoa to open a “grog shop” in Apia. In 1865 Williams moved to Suva and remained there until his death in 1909. Jacob Andrews also arrived on a whaling ship from New Bedford in the late 1800s and settled in Tavenui as a supplier to local area chiefs of guns and ammunition. Andrews’ wife was the daughter of a popular local chief who gave him land in Rewa, and one of the Andrews’ sons, Phil, moved to the United States and served in World War I. Families in Fiji whose ancestors are proud to identify with their African American ancestry include those of Williams, Brown, Burrows, Dunn, Andrews, Radigan, Rogers, and Butts. There are also descendants of persons of African ancestry scattered throughout French Polynesia, Cook Islands, Western Samoa, Tonga, Kiribati, Nauru, and Papua New Guinea.¹⁶ During World War II, thousands more Blacks arrived in the Pacific, and although most later returned to the United States, some remained and made their homes in the Islands.

The Blacks who came to the South Pacific and to Hawai‘i were both rascally men of adventure and sober men who wished to escape the restrictions placed on them in their own countries. Many African Americans settled on Pacific Islands only hoping to leave behind the harshness of racism, poisoning too many communities in the United States. This desire to seek a better and more secure life is the bittersweet story of the people who still live in the African diaspora.

A Special Note

Readers might note that several authors refer to Hawai‘i as a “colony” subject to “colonialism” by the United States before 1900. The use of these terms might be problematic for some readers since the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was an independent nation. Use of these terms in the broader sense have political implications involving the overthrow of one nation by another nation. Although the Kingdom and the Republic of Hawai‘i was not invaded by the U. S., the government was overthrown by a group of American businessmen residing in Hawai‘i who nonetheless enjoyed the unofficial support of the U. S. military. Also, cultural and intellectual domination occurred when the

two cultures collided in the nineteenth century and settler culture became pervasive. This type of domination of a people and their culture can have the same results as if they were invaded and colonized in the traditional sense of being usurped by a foreign nation.

Also, in this collection of papers the use of "Black" and "African American" are acceptable terms to describe a person of African ancestry. Readers will also find the terms "colored" and "Negro" in quotations from cited sources. Both of these terms were used historically in the United States, but are no longer used, to describe individuals of African ancestry. In several articles "*haole*," the Hawaiian word meaning stranger is used, but in contemporary Hawai'i it is used to describe a "White" person. ❖

Notes

1. David E. Stanard, *Before the Horror* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Social Science Research Institute, 1989), 30.
2. For more information see Edward Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i* (Wellington, N. Z.: Polynesian Society, 1958; reprint, Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1972).
3. John Beaglehole, ed., *Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol. II (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1955), 493.
4. John Beaglehole, ed., "Introduction," *Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol. III (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1955); see also Christine Holmes, ed., *Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), 107–117.
5. James Michener and A. Grove Day, *Rascals in Paradise* (New York: 1957).
6. Gavan Daws, *Shoals of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968), 46.
7. Ebenezer Townsend, Diary, 12 August to 31 August 1798, 21, Hawaiian Historical Society.
8. George Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979), 18–21.
9. Hawai'i State Archives, *Index to Naturalization Record Books* (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, n.d.). See also microfilm records.
10. Nancy J. Morris, "Hawaiian Missionaries Abroad, 1852–1909" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 1987), 401–404.
11. Ibid.
12. *Maui News*, 25 April 1936, 1–2.

13. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 22 April 1991, D4.
14. R. A. Derrick, *A History of Fiji*, vol. I (Suva: Printing and Stationery Department, 1950), 47, n33.
15. Hazel M. McFerson, "Part-Black Americans in the South Pacific," *Phylon* 34 (1982): 177–180.
16. One of my students from Papua New Guinea informed me that her name was Nigerian because her grandfather came to Papua as a Protestant missionary from Nigeria in the late 1890s and later married a local woman.

The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i

KATHRYN WADDELL TAKARA

Survival Space

What pulls a person
to a family
to a group?
What does one seek
in a place?
If there is no family
no group
of one's own
How does one satisfy
the taste?
Mechanical to seek
Inevitable to greet
Those others from
Another tribe and place.
Survival is the aim
Communication tames
And trust, not fear
Fills the space.

—KATHRYN WADDELL TAKARA

Changing Constructions of Color

To recover nineteenth-century Black history in Hawai‘i is like trying to solve an answerless riddle, or like going on a treasure hunt at night without a flashlight and unaware that the treasure has already been spirited away. In the early 1800s, well before the development of the plantation economy and the subsequent importation of significant numbers of Asian contract laborers, foreign Blacks (*haole ‘ele‘ele*) represented nearly 25 percent of the admittedly miniscule numbers of foreign settlers, yet the history of Blacks in the early years of post-contact Hawai‘i differs significantly both from the recorded immigration experiences of other subsequent ethnic groups, such as plantation workers from Asia, and from parallel Black history on the continental United States. There are relatively few written accounts of experiences of Black people in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i, yet those accounts—and the fact that there are so few accounts—reveal and document an unexplored dimension of race, immigration, and class history.

The presence of Blacks in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i and their absence in most written histories of Hawai‘i leads one to interrogate the changing meaning both of racial designations and of the deteriorating race relations between Blacks and the local residents during the accelerating White settlement process of domination and forced assimilation. Before the explorers, missionaries, merchants, and sugar planters reached the shores of the Hawaiian Islands, the color of a person's skin seemed to be irrelevant. Unlike some of other nations and other times, Hawaiians seemed to disregard Blackness as an indicator of status and intelligence. History suggests that the *aloha* of the Hawaiians, that spirit of sharing represented by the sacred breath, meant that all people were generally respected. Social distinctions were not based on skin color, but on

traditional hierarchies and religious-political alliances connected with place (*āina*) and an elaborate kinship system. Black was, indeed, beautiful.

For example, renowned Hawaiian historian Samuel M. Kamakau, in writing of the last days of Kahekili (ruling chief of O‘ahu, Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i, and Maui), notes the royal practice of using black tattoos as signifiers of the brave, fierce, noble qualities possessed by the most honorable warriors. Although it is likely that tattoos during this period came in only one color, there is reason to believe that black carried connotations of strength and bravery, perhaps even nobility. It seems that this practice of black tattooing included both warriors and chiefs from O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, and Maui, including the great chief Kahekili and his renowned fighting force, much feared and respected for its outstanding bravery and fighting skills. Kamakau describes Kahekili as “the ruling chief of Maui, a very old man at this time and strange in appearance because of his black tattooing”¹ and also reports that during the great war and before his death in 1793, “Ka-hekili selected a type of soldier new to O‘ahu called ‘Cut in two’ (*pahupū*), strange looking men tattooed black from top to toe.”² Kamakau goes on to suggest that “had the black negroes who came later to Nu‘uanu arrived at that time, they might have been made favorites and given the lands of black waters (Waipouli) and daubed black (Hono-mā‘ele)!”³ His statement does seem to suggest that prior to the radical changes that took place in Hawai‘i during the nineteenth century, those with darker skin, including Blacks from America and elsewhere, because of their resemblance to the great warriors of Kahekili may have been more easily accepted into Hawaiian society.

Not only was black associated with strength and courage, but for Hawaiians the rich density of the color black may have also served as a reminder both of the power of creation as found in *pō*—the deep darkness that for Hawaiians is the source of all—and of the necessary compassion that comes with an awareness of the creative space of *pō*. A powerful man like Kahekili might choose to be tattooed black as symbolic of that power or of the compassion demanded from those who possess power:

He elected to have his skin black; one half of his body from head to foot was tattooed black, and his face was tattooed black, and this became an established law with him: Any person taken in crime who passed on his dark side, escaped with his life.⁴

During this period in Hawaiian history, darker skin was a marker for dignity, strength, and courage; it was neither a justification for success nor a cause for failure.

After the arrival of the missionaries, it appears that lighter color and skin tone started to have more significance within Hawaiian society. Whether paler skin was valued in Hawaiian society or whether the white skin of these new settlers was originally thought of as beautiful is debatable; it was acknowledged as unusual and worthy of notice. For example, Kamakau reports that when the missionaries came ashore, the people “exclaimed over the pretty faces of the white women... ‘How white the women are! What bright-colored eyes! What long necks! But pleasing to look at! What pinched-in bodies!’”⁵ Kamakau also describes the chiefess Kaheiheimaile—daughter of two fathers, the great chiefs Ke‘eaumoku and Kanekoa—as a “large, plump, and handsome child, tall for her age at twelve, and at fifteen perfectly proportioned with light skin and pleasant brilliant eyes.”⁶ Not surprisingly, Kamakau also notes the fair skin of Kekauluohi, the first born child of Kaheiheimaile,⁷ when he describes her as “a girl with a fine physique, pretty youthful features, a fair skin...”⁸ Although Kamakau’s descriptions of these two women suggest an admiration for light skin or fair skin as handsome, pleasant, pretty, favorable, positive, and perhaps desirable, it is difficult to decipher whether these descriptions were indeed a reflection of long-seated Hawaiian values or of new values presented by those he thought interested in his accounts and who did value paler skin tones. It is clear, however, that the more divisive attitudes towards race that developed in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i resulted in unfortunate societal disruption.

After the arrival of the missionaries and the beginnings of American immigration to Hawai‘i, the social climate in Hawai‘i underwent radical transformation for many reasons, one of which is that developing social, economic, cultural, and political institutions of colonialism echoed the legacy of slavery. The history and consciousness of violence, racism, and White supremacy influenced how people of African descent, who had been initially welcomed to the Islands, came to be perceived by the mid-1850s as inferior by the Hawaiians. By examining early writings concerning the Black presence in the Islands as well as writings by missionaries and Americans about the dark-skinned Hawaiians, one can clearly see both how the discourse on color was altered by a changing leadership and how the darker skinned inhabitants were categorized, labeled, and treated during the nineteenth century. Changing attitudes about Blacks and Hawaiians during the monarchy and missionary periods (late 1700s to 1893) can be traced through commercial documents and in literature, and those traces show that race, in Hawai‘i as in so many other places, began to be used as a tool “to create and maintain a social hierarchy, cultural hegemony,

political dominance, and a system of socioeconomic subordination based on the presumed natural superiority of those classified as White.”⁹

In light of both the history of racial attitudes and the racial mythology carried by early *haole* settlers to Hawai'i, one can challenge the oft-touted claim of Hawai'i as a racial paradise or as a model of relative ethnic harmony and racial peace. The identification of the color “black” with words such as “uncivilized,” “ugly,” “savage,” and “heathen” influenced the many ways of speaking about and marginalizing Blacks during and after slavery, and Euro-Americans used a similar racial discourse and vocabulary when speaking about Hawaiians; both vocabulary and attitude entered into the discourse that affected the structuring of post-contact Hawai'i society. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Hawaiians began to change their attitudes toward skin tone or color in an effort to gain respect within what soon became a powerful *haole* society in Hawai'i. In their efforts to assimilate and maintain/regain power, some Hawaiians, especially *ali'i*, began to intermarry with the Whites, to adopt their attitudes, and slowly to distance themselves from Blacks so as not to be labeled as indeed they might have been labeled had they chosen to continue an association with Blacks. Not only did these Hawaiians accept the religion of the Euro-American, but perhaps as a means to power through association and assimilation, they may have paradoxically accepted aspects of the racial ideology of White supremacy. How much of this imported racial ideology was embraced by Hawaiians is difficult to determine. What can be seen is that despite missionary efforts to transform Hawaiian society and to alter Hawaiian cultural practice and although Hawaiians did seek, in many instances, to ally themselves with the *haole* newcomers, they did, nonetheless, experience different consequences of the exclusion and marginalization that resulted from imperialism than did Blacks in Hawai'i. Unlike the Hawaiians, Blacks were *haole 'ele'ele*, Black foreigners; Hawai'i was not their native land. As society changed, Blacks, as foreigners, may have experienced social and economic pressures to adapt greater than those experienced by the Hawaiians who were at home in their own lands. Although many Hawaiians continued to honor genealogical heritages and to celebrate *'ohana* (family), even as they adopted new Western ways, when Blacks intermarried, they often ignored their African ancestry. By the 1860s and the Civil War, Blacks had simply ceased to migrate in significant numbers to the Islands. Those changes in immigration patterns occurred partly because of the gradual demise of whaling, but also, because of the changing attitudes about Blacks both in America and in Hawai'i where a pattern of exclusion had begun to take shape. Fueled by

pressures of assimilation, this exclusion of Blacks from post-contact Hawaiian society may have at first been subtle and variable, but later, legislation was passed discouraging the immigration of Blacks to Hawai'i.

In 1882, due to the “Yellow Peril” hysteria, that anti-Chinese sentiment which produced the Chinese Exclusion Act, U.S. Secretary of State Blaine had urged the importation of Blacks to help replenish the dwindling Hawaiian population. This proposal was met with resistance by many Southerners, who, in search of cheap labor and land, sought to expand the sugar industry from the American South to Hawai'i after the Civil War but were reluctant to employ Blacks. Some members of the Southern planter class served as advisors to the Hawaiian monarchy, and later became part of the territorial government after the overthrow in 1893. Mass immigration of Blacks was formally rejected in 1882, when the Honorable Luther A. A. A. introduced in the Legislative Assembly a resolution that efforts to repopulate the Islands with Blacks be discouraged.¹⁰

In spite of such blatantly racist actions, Blacks have sustained a small, under-represented, but significant presence in Hawai'i since the 1800s. Several notable African Americans did participate in politics and government and make the Islands their home before and after annexation in 1898. Among them was T. McCants Stewart, an attorney, who helped in drafting the Organic Act of the Territory of Hawai'i after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and who, also, on several occasions, aided Hawaiians in regaining their lost *kuleana* land. Carlotta Stewart Lai accompanied her father to the Islands in 1898, graduated from the elite Punahou School in 1902, and later became an outstanding educator and school principal in the Islands.¹¹ Available resources suggest that in sharp contrast to the prevalent racism and system of slavery found in much of the American continent of the time, initially early Black immigrants from the African diaspora were warmly welcomed in the Islands and found Hawai'i to be a place where they might work with dignity. If in the early 1800s, when very few foreigners lived in the Hawaiian Islands, the permanent Black residents in Honolulu made up probably a quarter of the population of foreigners—a sizable visible presence, what then were the factors that caused this visible presence of the early nineteenth century to fade to near invisibility by the twentieth century?

Although Blacks had demonstrated a willingness to assimilate and to adopt the ways of the dominant culture, paradoxically that assimilation process of Blacks in Hawai'i compares poorly with that of other ethnic groups.

176

Aupuni o ko Hawaii Eae Aina.

Ó KA MEA, i kakauia koma inoa malelo nei, he Kanaka no

i nolio iho nei ma

ua hoohiki maluna o ka Euaelio Homolele, a ma keia hoohiki ana olélo mai la E kokua

mau no wau i ke Kuunukaulawai a me, na Kaulawai o ko Hawaii Eae Aina, a e lilo maoli no

wau i Kanaka no ka Moi Kamehameha Eeima, ke Eii.

Government of the Hawaiian Islands

THE UNDERSIGNED, a native of *Africa*

residing in *Hono Kaula* being duly sworn

upon the Holy Evangelists, upon his oath declares that he will support the Constitution and

Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty KAMEHAMEHA FIFTH,

the King

Moses Allen

Subscribed and sworn to this *1st* day of *October* A. D. 1869

BEFORE ME

Chas. J. Tufek

Chief Clerk Int. Dept.

Moses Allen's certificate of citizenship of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, listing "Africa" as his native land, October 1, 1869. Courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives.

Two contradictory factors readily come to mind that might have contributed to this record of poor assimilation. The political economies of nineteenth-century Hawai'i created a need for cheap and controllable labor, but due to the violent history associated with slavery, dominant negative stereotypes about Blacks as unmanageable, lazy, untrustworthy, and violent prevailed, thus creating the previously mentioned reluctance to recruit Black laborers as potential immigrant laborers. It is also possible that, as Eleanor C. Nordyke argues, because of the great slavery debate in the United States, local missionaries and abolitionists opposed to contract labor intentionally excluded Blacks from the list of immigrant groups proposed in the 1850s to work in the Kingdom of Hawai'i.¹² Either one of these social notions might have contributed to the fact that, although the presence of Blacks in downtown Hawai'i was initially significant in the small business sector, Blacks did not flourish in Hawai'i, and their population did not grow after the middle part of the nineteenth century.

It is also possible that Blacks ceased to immigrate to Hawai'i because the subtle exclusion and erasure from the early history of Hawai'i permitted them only an uncomfortable invisibility within Hawai'i's growing society. Without a significant number of people from the African diaspora present in Hawai'i, social exclusion due to lack of familiarity may have resulted, and that exclusion and its resulting invisibility may have then led to an unfortunate construction of "otherness" accompanied by fear, apprehension, and the diminished genuine respect that is generated by such unfounded fear. Perhaps yet another reason was scientific racism and the vilification of Blackness so common during the nineteenth century. Any historical study of Blacks in Hawai'i is necessarily complicated by the need to acknowledge and address all these factors. Although it may be extremely difficult to know how Blacks were categorized and perceived in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, by examining the lives and circumstances of those who did come to Hawai'i and by searching for evidence of how Blacks were publicly discussed at this time, we may learn some of the dynamics responsible for the Black experience in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, both positive and negative.

Seamen, Musicians, and Entrepreneurs

In 1819, a year before the missionaries from New England arrived, whalers of African descent began regularly landing in Honolulu Harbor with crews from the East Coast—Nantucket and New Bedford. Shortly

thereafter, African Portuguese arrived in the Islands from the Cape Verde Islands off the West Coast of Africa, a port of call for Atlantic whaling ships bound for South America's Tierra del Fuego where they would then enter the Pacific to sail to Hawai'i. Between 1803 and 1856, many Black seamen, renowned for their seamanship and bravery, worked on ships that sailed from Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; many became sought-after harpoonists on whaling crews in the Pacific.¹³ In 1852, more than two hundred whaling ships docked in Honolulu and more than three thousand crewmen came ashore.¹⁴

Black sailors, particularly in the whaling industry, were numerous, and they traveled along the Eastern shore of the colonies to the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, the Pacific Northwest, and then, across the Pacific to Asia. After the American Revolution in 1776, about 60,000 Blacks gained their freedom,¹⁵ but since free Blacks found it difficult to acquire productive land, and met with discrimination in most trades, free men of color discovered seafaring as an occupation where they could earn a livelihood, "act with a manly bearing," and gain the respect of their fellow men.¹⁶ Hungering for freedom from their difficult lives first in the colonies and then in the United States, they recognized that working as a sailor, although hard work, might provide them with freedoms not available in the more closely organized land-based communities which were often structured around ideas of stability, ownership, and profit. Working on a whaling ship may not have been the most stable or the best existence, but it was the stuff of dreams, providing men with numerous opportunities to display bravado and real courage while testing their abilities to work collectively as a team.

Hard work, for Black sailors, often paid off. As Jeffrey Bolster states in his book *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, Blacks could be promoted to positions of responsibility, and, if life on the whaling ship didn't work out, pirates were quite willing to appoint "skilled seamen of color to positions of authority."¹⁷ Bolster goes on to describe how Blacks were encouraged to work as seamen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, first as slaves, and then as freedmen, especially by those men and women along the Eastern seaboard who labored to destroy the institution of slavery and to free the slaves:

[This] turn of events proved fortunate for young Blacks with a penchant for the sea, especially those who met the abolitionist minded Quakers. Quakers' experience of rejection by the descendents of the Puritans combined with their

own religious philosophy to make the Society of Friends sympathetic to the disenfranchised, and they had a long history as anti-slavery advocates. Blacks on Nantucket were emancipated as early as the 1770s. Captain A. F. Boston (grandson of the emancipated Prince Boston) and Samuel Harris, another Black navigator of note, led the crew in a parade through town, shouldering harpoons, whale spades, lances and other whaling gear to celebrate their arrival back on shore with such handsome "lays" (shares in the profit).¹⁸

The whaling industry may have, at times, provided Blacks with greater freedoms than were available in the land-based communities, but the industry was not color blind, nor did it always provide as much space for freedom as imagined. Free Black whalers were not always treated like everyone else aboard the ships. At times, aboard the ships were "White sailors [who] boasted they would make their Fortunes by selling them [free Black seamen]" into slavery,¹⁹ and many actual slaveholders did hire out their slaves as seafarers—about 15 percent of the sailors at this time were Black seamen—especially for travel to St. Domingue and Haiti between 1790 and 1826, and those bondsmen were treated aboard ship as slaves.²⁰ However, many working as bondsmen returned to land to gain their freedom; some found freedom in Haiti.²¹ Even on the best of ships with the best of crews, as Bolster suggests, "throughout much of the eighteenth century, when most mariners of color were slaves, racial stereotyping defined Black men's roles aboard ship."²² He further posits that "their distinction from the seamen proper...hinged to some degree on Whites' belief that Blacks should fill certain service positions—ashore or at sea."²³ Many Blacks worked as deckhands, performing the heaviest of tasks.

Despite these hardships, away from structured land-based society, ships may have had, in some respects, a necessarily cooperative atmosphere, as sailors had to work collectively if they wanted to survive the hardships of life at sea. Indeed, the fact that, to ensure personal survival and for successful voyaging, life aboard a ship required such active cooperation with other crew members may have been one reason that many Blacks chose to participate in a seafaring lifestyle; such requirements are ennobling. Certainly, as Bolster suggests, these sailors "constantly crossed cultural and geographic boundaries as they maneuvered between White and Black societies ashore and maritime society afloat."²⁴ Working aboard whaling ships in whatever capacity, as deck hands, cooks, or pilots, Black sailors did experience personal and even economic success that was not as easily available on land. As whaling became an important industry in the Pacific in the 1840s, Black sailors could find work aboard whaling ships, but as the industry became more competitive, the cost

of whale blubber plummeted and so did wages, adding to social stresses and detracting from possible social successes at sea. According to Bolster:

Whaling ships offered the best chance for promotion and responsibility to Blacks, but they were notorious for poor pay, and conditions aboard the floating factories that butchered and processed whales were abysmal.... New England whalers' real pay deteriorated more substantially in the antebellum years than did that of merchant mariners in ports such as New York, and black men (on a per capita basis) were about twice as likely as whites to work in whaling ships.... Declining pay on whaling ships thus hit Blacks especially hard. The peculiar nature of the whaling's share system, which was skewed to protect shipowners' profits, meant that at the end of a two-or-three-year voyage, whalers might earn nothing or even owe the ship. Their plight foreshadowed that of sharecroppers after the Civil War.²⁵

Nonetheless, occasionally as sailors, Blacks found it possible to move into positions of leadership as skilled pilots, navigators, and captains.²⁶ Black whalers also filled positions as skilled coopers and blacksmiths and were often sought as cooks, since many, during times of privation, had gained enviable culinary skills necessary for creating wonderful meals from scant provisions. Although Black cooks were, at times, demonized by crew members who feared that they might be poisoned, a fear that reflected the suspicion with which Blacks were sometimes regarded,²⁷ fear did not always rule the roost. Some Black sailors were remembered for their songs and stories, often informed by politics of race and class, with which they entertained their fellow crew members during long months at sea.²⁸ Such improvisational music and dance, essential elements in the cultural expression of the African oral tradition, were as much appreciated on land as on sea. Black sailors who settled early in Hawai'i found use, appreciation, and respect for many of their musical skills as members of their new community. Indeed, Black musicians play an essential role in Hawai'i's musical history.

The Royal Hawaiian Band, the only musical organization in the United States founded by royalty and one of the last living links with Hawai'i's former monarchy, has played a major role in the development and preservation of Hawaiian music, particularly in the area of the classical style developed during the latter years of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Four Blacks formed a royal brass band for Kamehameha III in 1834, with America Shattuck as first master and Davis Curtis as second master. According to the official list, in 1836 a man name "Oliver" was the bandmaster, and between 1845 and 1848, another Black musician, George Washington Hyatt served.²⁹ In 1837, The *Sandwich Island*

Gazette reported that these Black musicians toured California in 1836.³⁰ Hyatt later organized a larger band of six musicians in 1845 with Charles Johnson as a band leader.³¹ It was not until much later in the century, in 1871, that a young Prussian bandmaster, Captain Henry (Heinrich) Berger who had been recruited by Kamehameha V arrived in Honolulu to introduce European music into the Monarchy, providing a cultural change within the popular Royal Hawaiian Band.³² This band, under the direction of Heinrich Berger may be the band most instantly recognized as "the" Royal Hawaiian Band, but history reminds us that the first royal brass band was composed of Black musicians. Perhaps, they played on occasion songs of the sea.

The earliest recorded settlers of African ancestry—mostly male seamen, often working on whaling ships—arrived in Hawai'i well before the missionaries' 1820 arrival. One man, called Black Jack, or Mr. Keaka'ele'ele, was perhaps of African descent; history seems to suggest that is the case. According to historical sources, Keaka'ele'ele was already living on O'ahu when Kamehameha conquered the Island in 1796 and was an active and notable member of the community. Samuel Kamakau reports that "before the battle of Nu'uaniu there were living on 'Oahu with Ka-lani-ku-pule, Mr. Oliver Holmes, Shomisona, Mr. Lele, Mr. Mela [Miller], Mr. Keaka-'ele'ele [Black Jack], and some other foreigners.... [Later] Mr. Miller and Mr. Keaka built a red stone house for Queen Ka'ahumanu... in Lahaina."³³

By 1833, Blacks were so numerous in Honolulu that they had begun to feel the need for community organizations. During this period the village of Honolulu had over twenty Black residents, and possibly half of the whalers who docked in Hawai'i were African Americans. According to a flyer from the Mission House in Honolulu, an African Relief Society Rally was held in Honolulu in 1833. This type of benevolent society was first organized by free Blacks along the East Coast of the United States, but the origins of the society have been traced to mutual aid associations founded in West Africa. One of the primary functions of the organization operating in Hawai'i was to assist Black seamen who visited the Islands aboard maritime fleets sailing from Africa, the West Indies, the Cape Verde Islands, the United States, Spain, and England. Before 1850, it is estimated that fifty percent of the maritime industry was manned by men of African descent in the United States, and since there were no unions to protect seafaring men, when they were ill or injured, they were often abandoned at the nearest port without funds or friends. As Marc Scruggs notes in his essay, "There is One Black Man, Anthony D. Allen....," Allen, a

former slave, arrived on the island of O'ahu in 1810 or 1811, bringing with him valuable medical knowledge and training that he may have acquired from his former owner whose son, Dr. Dougal, practiced medicine in the United States.³⁴ Born in Schenectady, New York in 1774 or 1775, Allen became a free man in 1800 and spent the next ten years at sea before settling in Honolulu where he contributed enormously to the growing community there, founding a hospital to treat indigent mariners and operating a burial ground for those too sick to recover. Another function of the African Relief Society was to make burial arrangements for indigent sailors who died in Honolulu.³⁵

Not just the sick and the dying stayed on in Hawai'i. Quite a few hale and hearty Black seamen decided on arriving in Honolulu or Lahaina to leave the demanding life of the sea and settle in the Islands, often marrying Hawaiian wives and raising families.³⁶ Some of these early Black settlers in Hawai'i predictably found jobs as blacksmiths and mariners, according to previous experience. Other Black men were active in the early Hawai'i business community, and some were active Prince Hall Masons. "William the Baker" owned an eating establishment which he sold in 1834, and Joseph Bedford, also known as Joe Dollar, opened a boarding house in 1826 and operated it as a successful establishment for almost twenty years. Lewis Temple, a Black resident of New Bedford who had made a name for himself by inventing an improvement for harpoon design, retired to Hawai'i in the 1830s as a veteran of many Pacific voyages from New England.³⁷ "Black Jo," no doubt another sailor who had reached Hawai'i and decided to stay, was a long time resident trader and Sail Master for one of King Kamehameha II's trading vessels. According to Levi Chamberlain, who had business dealings with Black Jo, he also worked for many years with the King as an advisor and interpreter before dying in 1828.³⁸

Blacks are also mentioned in Hawaiian historical sources both as men working at ordinary but essential tasks and as men whose work was perhaps less ordinary, including those noted as traveling in the circles of the highest political and spiritual powers. The first edition of the *Sandwich Island Gazette* lists William Johnson as a Black man who owned the "Shrine of Adonis" barber shop, where anyone, regardless of race, could have their hair neatly trimmed.³⁹ After his death in 1838, Spencer Rhodes took over his barber shop. Frederick E. Binns had his own barber shop by 1845, and Charles Nicholson worked as a successful Black tailor, sewing clothes for Islanders from the 1840s until 1861.⁴⁰ As Paul Wermager notes in his essay, "Healing the Sick," many of

these barbers also provided medical services to the community. James Smith, another African American, laid the cornerstone of the Chamberlain House, the home of the Bishops which would later be known as 'Iolani Palace. Kamakau mentions the presence of another Black man, Kinikona, possibly East Indian, who joined Kamehameha's voyaging party during his historic first return visit to the Island of Hawai'i since becoming King of the Hawaiian Islands: "[Kamehameha] was preceded, by two days, by a Black man (lascar) by the name of Kinikona who had made an oath to leave his hair in the keeping of Pele and who had then joined the king's party."⁴¹

These early Black settlers in Hawai'i lived in an environment that appears, by all historical accounts, to be relatively unrestricted by the more extreme forms of social divisioning by race, but, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, Hawai'i's social climate was changing, and such divisioning was becoming more noticeable and troubling. Although many missionaries who settled in Hawai'i opposed slavery and theoretically believed in the equality of all humans, not as many were fully capable of practicing what they preached. Some established and were active in the abolition society in Honolulu, but others held fast to the American attitude of "Manifest Destiny," deeming it their moral responsibility to civilize the backward "Others" while using the lands and resources of these people. Such moral hypocrisy is neither unusual nor uncommon. Unfortunately, often those who assume moral superiority have difficulty recognizing that other cultural values and practices embraced by other peoples of other lands may have as much validity as the "morally superior" values held up as examples, but, in Hawai'i not all missionaries were so short-sighted. Indeed, not all missionaries were White. Some were Black, and one in particular was a Black woman.

An Extraordinary Woman

The first available history of a Black woman in Hawai'i is that of young Betsey Stockton, who arrived in 1823 with the second company of Christian missionaries. According to Takara and Scruggs, Betsey Stockton was an ex-slave, one of the first foreign settlers in the Islands, and the first known African-American woman to round Cape Horn. Born in 1798 in Princeton, New Jersey, as a slave owned by the family of Robert Stockton, *Esq.*, Betsey Stockton was presented as a gift to the Stockton's eldest daughter and her husband, the Reverend Ashbel Green, who was then the President of Princeton College. Although her master did not favor educating his servants beyond proficient training as domestic nurse, seamstress, and cook, Stockton's son-

in-law, perceiving Betsey's thirst for knowledge and innate intelligence, gave her books and encouraged her to use the family library. She later attended evening classes at Princeton Theological Seminary, where she was especially brilliant in English and Theology.

A friend of the family, a certain Charles S. Stuart, also learned of her exceptional character and her devoted Christian life. It was not long before Betsey Stockton expressed openly to him both her great desire to be useful in the mission and her interest to accompany Stuart and his new bride on their foreign mission. Betsey Stockton was granted her freedom and accepted by the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions. On November 20, 1822, she sailed for Honolulu on the *Thames* from New Haven, Connecticut. The twenty people in this second group of missionaries to sail for the Hawaiian Islands arrived in Honolulu on April 27, 1823, and, then, proceeded on to Lahaina, Maui on May 31, 1823.⁴² During Stockton's brief stay in Honolulu



Betsey Stockton, ca. 1798–October 24, 1865. Photo courtesy Notable Women of Hawai'i, ed. Barabara Bennett Peterson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984).

she visited Anthony Allen who tells her she is the first "colored female" he had seen during his thirteen years in Honolulu.

Mr. Stuart's plan was to establish a mission in Lahaina, but Betsey Stockton was most interested in establishing a school for the education of Hawaiians. Since most missionaries were occupied exclusively with the instruction of their own families and those of the chiefs (*ali'i*), Betsey Stockton founded a school for *maka'āinana* (common people) and their wives and children. Miss Stockton quickly learned the Hawaiian language, and began to offer classes at the first school for commoners on Maui, where she spent two years between 1823 and 1825 as a teacher of English, Latin, History, and Algebra.⁴³ The well-known Lahaina Luna School is today located at the site of Stockton's school.

Miss Stockton, always seen in a turban and moving about in a dignified and regal manner, was well-trusted, and her advice and opinions were often sought in many matters, even those of personal and family concern. Intelligent, industrious and frugal, she was aptly described as a devoted Christian, not only because of her constant attendance at church and her faith in God, but also because she supported the interests of the church, secured clothes for her students, and helped to heal the sick while continuing her domestic work to help the Stuarts. Because of the serious illness of Mrs. Stuart and the family's subsequent return to the United States, Miss Stockton's stay in Hawai'i ended after only two and a half years, but, in those two short years, she had contributed much to the people of Maui.⁴⁴ She subsequently worked with Native Americans in Canada before moving to Philadelphia where she spent the final years of her life teaching Black children.⁴⁵ By establishing a school on Maui, Betsey Stockton set a new direction for education in the Islands. Stockton's school was commended for its teaching proficiency, and later served as a model for the Hilo Boarding School and also for the Hampton Institute in Virginia, founded by General Samuel C. Armstrong. Betsey Stockton died in October 1865 in Princeton, New Jersey.⁴⁶

The Racialization of Hawaiians

Why did Hawai'i's Black community fail to grow with the speed that other ethnic communities enjoyed? Why were so few Blacks in Hawai'i for so many years? In *Around the World with a King*, William N. Armstrong, an advisor and Minister of State who accompanied Kalākaua on his travels in 1881, displays an attitude of condescension toward non-Whites, and certainly that attitude, so prevalent during the nineteenth century, also affected the

construction of society in Hawai'i. Armstrong opens his book with a less than objective account of a disagreement Kalākaua had with his "White subjects, who held the brains and most of the property."⁴⁷ He soon states that although the Kingdom of Hawai'i was recognized as "civilized" and that Kalākaua had established "the etiquette of civilization in his own court," he was able to do so only because of "the unselfish labor of the American Missionaries and their allies, who had created the framework of an institutional government and placed the administration of law in the hands of intelligent and honest White men."⁴⁸ Earlier Hawaiian monarchs are referred to as "savage,"⁴⁹ and Armstrong consistently separates the "White subjects" of the Kingdom from "native subjects, who had fallen far behind their White neighbors in the march of progress, because as one of the King's predecessors had frankly said, they were 'shiftless, lazy, and incompetent.'"⁵⁰ As for the King himself, Armstrong describes him as "a 'colored man,' unusually dark for a Polynesian and several of his features suggested Negro inheritance"⁵¹ and then reports that the Tokyo press called Kalākaua a "dark, almost Black King." These statements may be interpreted as descriptive; Kalākaua was indeed an extraordinarily handsome man with dark skin and bold features, but when Armstrong also recounts that, because Kalākaua's retinue included a high percentage of White men, these same Tokyo reporters

suspected that the White men had already become dominant in his kingdom and that he was only a figurehead. It typified to them the coming supremacy of Anglo-Saxons in the Pacific regions.⁵²

He reveals an attitude of assumed superiority based on race that appears to be shared by these writers in nineteenth-century Tokyo. That an attitude of racial superiority is both embraced by Armstrong and also inherent in much of his account of Kalākaua's historic trip around the world is amply supported by the more blatant racist statements he makes in his book. Comparing the "civilizing" task of the British in India against that of the Americans, he writes:

The eight millions of American negroes speak the English language, outwardly conform to Christian doctrine, and have the habit of subservience to the stronger race, which is more effective than law. The task of controlling and molding these eight millions of simple blacks, important as it is, is a bagatelle in comparison with the greater task of reconstructing the defective civilization of two hundred and fifty millions of people...who suffer from the dry rot of ancient and unchangeable customs and habits.⁵³

Armstrong, a powerful figure in Hawai'i's government, makes no attempt to conceal his racist statements; he assumes that his readers will share

his views. No doubt, when he initially voiced these views as he jotted down his musings in the last decades of the nineteenth century, many did agree with him, and sadly, in 1904, when his memoir was first published, there were still others who nodded in solemn agreement, but as Glen Grant states in his introduction to the 1995 edition, "Armstrong's perception of the superiority of the Anglo Saxon race to the 'weaker,' 'crude,' 'superstitious mind' of a Polynesian race and king completely distorts his appraisal...of his royal traveling companion."⁵⁴

As part of his attempt to preserve the Hawaiian Kingdom against imperialism and the "Manifest Destiny" ideology of the Americans as they marched Westward into the Pacific, Kalākaua, the first modern monarch or national leader to go around the world, visited the heads of state in nations of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. Before this journey ended, Kalākaua had also visited Hampton Normal and Agricultural School, later known as Hampton Institute, a historic Black college in Virginia established after the Civil War, by William N. Armstrong's brother, General Samuel C. Armstrong, and modeled after Betsey Stockton's Lahaina school.⁵⁵ As Helena Allen writes in her biography of Kalākaua, the king wanted to "let the world know that Hawai'i was an independent nation, self-governed, open to commerce and social interchange with people."⁵⁶

According to Armstrong, upon his return, Kalākaua desired to "unite the half-savage tribes scattered through Oceania into some federal union, of which he would be Primate"⁵⁷ and thus went about "increasing their loyalty" by reviving "some of the ancient vile and licentious practices of the savage times," an activity which caused Armstrong to end his service to the King.⁵⁸ Shortly after the coronation, Armstrong resigned and left the country, never to see Kalākaua again, since the King died two years later in California. In speaking of Queen Lili'uokalani, who succeeded her brother to the throne, Armstrong wrote that she "had all of his defects of character"⁵⁹ and approvingly reported that her kingdom was soon overthrown and that there were soon "laid the foundations for a high civilization in which the natives took little part."⁶⁰ Armstrong, who worked closely with Kalākaua and even saw himself as a friend of the King, nonetheless, personified the patriarchal attitude of White supremacy so prevalent in nineteenth-century America, and if we are to accept his first-person account as an accurate portrayal of life in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, an uncomfortable picture emerges of a developing society in possession of these same patriarchal attitudes and also of a not too subtle enmity towards Blacks and other dark-skinned ethnic groups.

With her discussion of Kalākaua's life, Helena G. Allen highlights nineteenth-century American racism Hawaiians encountered during travels abroad and thus opens a window to understanding how Hawaiians and Hawaiian leaders might, as mentioned previously, paradoxically accept the racial ideology of White supremacy. Americans such as Armstrong had their attitudes about Polynesians and Indians and any one else with dark skin, and they also made it quite clear that Black was different from Hawaiian or Polynesian, and that such difference demanded segregation. Citing the journal of young Prince Liholiho, who writes of an incident in Philadelphia while traveling with his brother, Allen suggests that Americans classified Hawaiians as Black and therefore subject to segregation: "the princes were mistaken for Negroes and had been relegated to the last car on the railroad."⁶¹ Allen also reports controversy conflating race and genealogy that raged about succession to the throne after Kalākaua's death. Since "Kalākaua was of a darker color than his sister and had some Negroid features, as many Hawaiians had," some began to claim

that he was Negroid, and a rumor began that his father was not Kapa'akea but a Negro Blacksmith named John Blossom, even though Blossom had not come to Hawai'i until Kalākaua was thirteen years old.⁶²

In speaking of the political downfall of Kalākaua, Allen describes a vicious "genealogical trial," conducted only in the streets and in the press, concerning his suspected African blood,⁶³ reporting the rumors that it "was told" that before his death Kapa'akea had denied being the father of all Keohokalole's children except Lili'u Kamaka'eha, and that "someone was supposed to have testified that she had seen Kaohokaloli in sexual relations with Blossom, a Negro coachman and blacksmith, and from the union had come Kalākaua."⁶⁴ Although Michael Dougherty states in his 1992 book *To Steal a Kingdom* that "Hawai'i's White property owners...[had] discovered a method of directly attacking Kalākaua on a racial basis without offending the Hawaiians who still represented the majority at the ballot box,"⁶⁵ for many Hawaiians, this issue was not one of race but of genealogy. Genealogical awareness is foundational to Hawaiian culture and society; hierarchical structuring based on color of skin is not. If Kalākaua had a different father, his links to *wohi* chiefs would have been erased. These two issues—genealogy and race—are easily conflated and confused, and those who were interested in acquiring greater political and economic power in Hawai'i exploited that confusion. By creating suspicions of Kalākaua's genealogy and thus of his royal authority, the authority of the Hawaiian nation was attacked, and

that attack was strengthened by further exploiting the growing desire of Hawaiians to distance themselves from potential identification as Black, a desire fueled, in part, by a recognition of the severe discrimination and prejudice directed towards Blacks in America, such as that experienced by Liholiho and others during travels through post-Civil War America. The linkage of Kalākaua's debated genealogy to race, created a doubled negativity that gravely impacted the Blacks in Hawai'i. When speaking of Whiteness in literary language, Toni Morrison explains that "the choice of words" contains "indirect and direct revelations of that (White) power" Certainly, nothing highlights "freedom" like slavery, nothing highlights "purity" like sinfulness, and nothing highlights "Black" like White.⁶⁶ When rumors were circulated to accuse Kalākaua of being Black, the accusations identified "Black" as undesirable and allowed "White" to surface as desirable.

Kalākaua's desire for Hawaiian sovereignty—"Hawai'i for the Hawaiians"⁶⁷—and for the resurrection of the Hawaiian language and culture have led historians to conclude that the efforts to slander him by accusing him of African ancestry were attempts to discredit his vision, to destroy his great popularity amongst the Hawaiian people, and to throw doubt on his leadership abilities. That the very possibility of being Black could threaten to depose a king in late nineteenth-century Hawai'i, a land where prior to Western contact "Black" had symbolized the greatest political and spiritual powers, should indicate just how much had changed in less than 100 years.

Conclusion

The connections between racial hierarchy, exclusion, and the contested status of Blacks as true Americans help in part to explain the relative absence of Blacks in Hawai'i immigrant history. As illustrated in the writings of William N. Armstrong and other early settlers, tropes of darkness, sexuality, paganism, and heathenism of the non-White Other which permeated colonial and national literature during the nineteenth century also helped to establish, expand, and perpetuate an architecture that supported the new White man as the real, pure, Christian American whose complicity in the fabrication of racism was either ignored or justified as a necessary tool of Manifest Destiny.⁶⁸ In *Souls Looking Back*, Gibbs discusses how racism shapes a socialization agenda and how effective in that shaping are the consequences of victimization by omission as people struggle for balance in a world dominated by Eurocentric Christian values and racial oppression.⁶⁹ African Americans live in Hawai'i today, yet they seem nearly invisible despite their historical contributions to the political,

educational, socio-economic and cultural tapestry. Such invisibility in the face of presence can be understood as the result of nineteenth-century imperialism, including Manifest Destiny, and of the changing attitudes in Hawai'i toward race and color significantly influenced by White authority, including advisers to the monarchs, plantation owners, and religious authorities. The absence of an acknowledged Africanist presence in the written history of immigration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Hawai'i may have significantly affected subsequent migration patterns. It is also clear that Blacks' exclusion from the plantation experience (except for a brief period in the early 1900s) can help to explain the virtually ignored, though not insignificant, presence and history of African Americans within a larger Island mosaic of historical ethnic experiences. That presence can no longer be ignored. ♦

Notes

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 166.
5. Ibid., 247.
6. Ibid., 385.
7. Ibid., 391.
8. Ibid., 394.
9. Jewel T. Gibbs, "The Social Construction of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture," in *Souls Looking Back: Life Stories of Growing Up Black*, ed. Andrew Barrod, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 75.
10. Kay Brundage Takara, "Who is the Black Woman in Hawai'i?" in *Montage: An Ethnic History of Women in Hawai'i*, ed. Nancy Foon Young and Judy R. Rush (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, College of Education, General Assistance Center for the Pacific and State Commission on the Status of Women, 1977), 87.
11. See Albert S. Broussard, "Carlotta Stewart Lai: An African American Teacher in the Territory of Hawai'i," in this volume.
12. Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The People of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1977), 39.
13. W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 235–6.
14. Ethel M. Damon, *Samuel Chenery Damon: Chaplain and Friend of Seamen* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1966), 75.
15. Bolster, 153.
16. Ibid., 158, 176.
17. Ibid., 14.
18. Donald Brown, "Black Whalers: They Were Great While It Lasted," *American Visions* (August 1987): 27.
19. Ibid., 94.
20. Bolster, 145.
21. Ibid., 148.
22. Ibid., 32.
23. Ibid., 32.
24. Ibid., 35.
25. Ibid., 177–9.
26. Ibid., 96, 133.
27. Ibid., 82.
28. Ibid., 90.
29. David W. Bandy, *Royal Hawaiian Band, America's Royal Legacy: Music—Hawai'i* (Honolulu: International Society for the Promotion of Band Music, 1993), 168.
30. *The Sandwich Island Gazette*, February 4, 1837.
31. R. A. Greer, "Blacks in Old Hawai'i," *Honolulu Magazine* (November 1986): 183.
32. Bandy, 69.
33. Kamakau, 174.
34. See Marc Scruggs, "There is One Black Man, Anthony D. Allen...." in this volume.
35. Bolster, 173.
36. Romanzo Adams, "Census Notes of the Negroes in Hawai'i Prior to the War," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 9–10 (1945): 24.
37. Brown, 30.
38. Levi Chamberlain, Daybook, vol. 20, January 1836, 10, Hawai'i Mission Children's Society.
39. *The Sandwich Island Gazette*, July 1836.
40. Greer, 183.
41. Kamakau, 284.
42. Takara, 86.

43. Ibid., 87.
44. Ibid., xx.
45. Carol Santoki, "Bersey Stockton," in *Notable Women of Hawai'i*, ed. Barbara Bennett Peterson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984), 356–360. Betsey Stockton's journal was published in *Christian Advocate* 2 (May 1824): 233–235; *Christian Advocate* (December 1824): 563–566; *Christian Advocate* (January 1825): 36–41.
46. Ibid., 359.
47. William N. Armstrong, *Around the World with a King* (New York: F. A. Stokes, 1904), 1.
48. Ibid., 11.
49. Ibid., 10.
50. Ibid., 6.
51. Ibid., 15.
52. Ibid., 47.
53. Ibid., 160.
54. Glen Grant, introduction to *Around the World with a King*, by William N. Armstrong (Honolulu: Mutual, 1995).
55. Armstrong, 217, 275.
56. Helena Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1994), 89.
57. Armstrong, 285.
58. Ibid., 286.
59. Ibid., 288.
60. Ibid., 289.
61. Allen, 22. See also Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968), 284; Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 132, 147.
62. Ibid., 26.
63. Ibid., 151.
64. Ibid., 152.
65. Dougherty, 147.
66. Ibid., 38.
67. Ibid., 41.
68. Tony Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 15.
69. Gibbs, 75.



Benny Rollins, horse trainer and breeder for Haleakalā Ranch, Maui, 1922. Photo courtesy of Ludvina Rollins Abrew.

“There is One Black Man, Anthony D. Allen...”

MARC SCRUGGS

Introduction

On May 13, 1800, Anthony D. Allen, a 24-year-old man of African descent, began a most amazing journey that would take him from slavery in Schenectady, New York to Cuba, France, Bengal, Batavia, China, the Aleutian Islands, and Hawai‘i. Over the next decade, his life would be filled with incredible adventures including shipwreck, incarceration, pirate attacks, and a reunion with his father. When he finally left the sea in 1811 and settled on O‘ahu, Allen found himself in the company of kings and queens, high priests, sailors, and American missionaries. He astutely navigated the diverse cultures of these people and garnered both their respect and esteem.

Allen established what appears to be the first resort in Waikīkī, a compound that attracted not only “gentlemen” seaman, but also the Hawaiian monarch King Kamehameha II. After installing the first nine pins bowling alley in the Islands, Allen entertained half the population of Honolulu, but recreation was not that occupied his time. He also served the community by farming, maintaining a hospital, running a dairy, boarding horses, and by breeding cattle, goats and dogs for the foreign and native populations respectively. He also provided a burial ground for indigent sailors.

Of the dozens of people of African descent from England, Spain, France, Portugal, and the United States who settled in Hawai‘i during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Anthony D. Allen is the best known. His name appears in personal journals of contemporaries, in published travel accounts, and in newspaper and magazine articles of the day. One of the earliest descriptions of Allen appears in the journal of a newly arrived American Protestant missionary in 1820:

There are many white residents here—the most pay an outward respect, sending us little presents of fresh pork, corn, beans and the like....There is one black man, Anthony Allen, brought up in Schenectady, New York,

who I believe lives the most comfortably of any on the island—has a wife and two pretty children, the eldest of whom he has taught its letters. He has been very kind to us, sending us potatoes, squashes, etc. As often as once in two weeks, a goat or kid nearly dressed—every morning, two bottles of goat’s milk, and many things I cannot mention....¹

Other American missionaries also noted Allen’s generosity, neighborliness, and his stalwart character. Their individual comments tell little about Allen, but when pieced together a more detailed portrait of this remarkable man appears. This essay casts a spotlight on that portrait of Anthony D. Allen, also known in Hawai‘i as Alani and is based on fragments of information about Allen scattered throughout the writings on early Hawai‘i,² including published and unpublished writings of missionaries, the journal of Allen’s long time friend Stephen Reynolds, and the comments of visitors to Hawai‘i who wrote about Allen. Another important source is the surviving portion of a letter Allen sent to Dr. Dougal, the son of his former owner, in 1822 describing his liberation from slavery, his adventures as a seaman, and his life in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.³

Early Life

According to Allen’s obituary published in *Seaman’s Magazine*, Allen “was born on the German Flats, in New York, in 1774.”⁴ This is the only recorded date for Allen’s birth. An index of slave births in Schenectady, the administrative center for German Flats at that time, lists only one child named Anthony, with no surname, born June 15, 1772, two years earlier than the date stated in Allen’s obituary.⁵ The baptismal records at St. George’s Church in Schenectady reveal two Anthonys; one was baptized in 1772, and the other on August 13, 1775.⁶ Neither entry offers dates of birth or surnames. If the second Anthony’s baptism took place shortly after his birth in 1775, rather than 1774, he would have been 24 in early 1800, the age of Allen when he became free, according to Sybil Bingham.⁷ In the letter Allen wrote to Dr. Dougal, the son of his former owner, he gave May 13, 1800 as the date of his departure from Schenectady and confirms the age that Bingham reported.⁸

Little is known about Allen’s family of origin. The only family member whose name has survived is Diana, a sister. The *Sandwich Island Mission Journal* entry gives her name and states she had two children.⁹ No record has been found of other siblings. Some information is available about his father. In the letter to Schenectady, Allen discusses his father’s sea adventure on the Northwest Coast, a disagreement he had with him about his step-mother,

and his father's debts and poor business sense. Allen's comments about his search and reunion with his father in Boston suggest that the senior Allen had been either a free man or a refugee for some time. A passing reference to his mother is made by Allen when he describes his successful attempt to arrange for a new slave master. Allen feared that his old master's widow might be forced to sell him, and that he would have to leave his mother. In an attempt to manipulate, if not control, his own life, Allen found a man in Schenectady willing to buy him from Mrs. Dougal for \$300. No other mention was found of his mother.

Refugee from Slavery

In the letter written to Dougal, Anthony Allen gives a graphic account of his flight to freedom. The route he took, coincidentally, is the reverse of what would become one of the most heavily used "underground railway" routes to Canada by Southern refugees from slavery in the mid-nineteenth century:

To begin the story of the wanderings & adventures of your poor unworthy servant, I left Schenectady on...foot, passed Albany & Troy...went up to Bennington, called at Dewey's...went over the Green Mountain to Charlemont. Being short of Provisions I stopped at Hanks and worked a day...Went on to Ely Cooley's in Deerfield where I worked 6 weeks then on to Farmington, Conn. and worked there some time for Eben Gleason. At Hartford I went on board Sloop Henry, William Wickam master & worked my passage to Boston....¹⁰

Thus, Anthony D. Allen joined the growing ranks of free Blacks. His escape from slavery came at a time when Americans of all races and classes were converging on Boston and other port cities looking for jobs and opportunities. Possibly one reason Allen went to Boston was to find his father. Another possible reason was because Boston was a free city. New York City was more accessible to Schenectady by river, but New York was still a slave state and did not begin the emancipation of slaves until 1799.¹¹ The courts of Massachusetts, however, had declared slavery unconstitutional in the early 1780s when two slaves in separate cases sued for freedom.¹² Boston's slave-free status and thriving port attracted a large free African American population in the years following the Revolution.¹³ Those men and women settled in Boston on the North side of Beacon Hill and along the waterfront where they owned many homes, schools, churches, and businesses. In 1796, the Boston African Society was founded, one of the first African relief societies in America.¹⁴ It is likely that the African Relief Society in Honolulu that held a parade at Allen's place in 1832¹⁵ was modeled after that organization.

In 1800, the year Allen first arrived in Boston, the authorities of that city began enforcing a 1788 commonwealth statute:

[N]o person being an African or Negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen) shall tarry within this Commonwealth, for longer time than two months.¹⁶

Notification was given that 239 "Negroes" were in violation of the statute. Two men with the surname of Allen were on the list, but their given names were "Richard" and "Rhodes," and their places of origin were Philadelphia and Rhode Island respectively.¹⁷ If Allen's father did not have papers to prove his free status, he may have been one of these men. However, we know from Allen's letter that his father was at sea at the time of the notice.

The Boston authorities were not successful in deporting all Black immigrants. The attempt, however, must have created extreme caution and apprehension among all people of African descent who had regarded that port as a safe haven.¹⁸ Possibly this was one of the reasons Allen went to sea. Many other African Americans worked in the maritime industry during this period as crew members, pilots, cooks, stewards, stevedores, builders, and captains. In the coming decades, Americans with African lineage would account for up to fifty percent of the maritime forces.¹⁹

The only information about Allen's life in Boston comes from the journal of a missionary and from a letter Allen wrote in 1822. After attending a dinner Allen hosted for the Honolulu missionaries, Daniel Chamberlain observed: "Mr. Allen is one of the first rate cooks as he lived in one of the first boarding houses in Boston..."²⁰ In his letter, Allen wrote that he had worked in 1807 during a naval embargo for Widow Watts on Water Street at four dollars a month where he stayed less than a year. Possibly this is the boarding house referred to by Chamberlain who also reported that Allen worked as a ship's steward. In his letter, Allen confirms this by stating that he served the same sea captain for eight years, seven as steward and one as cook. He lists the ships he sailed on, the ports he visited, and his adventures, which included a shipwreck and an encounter with pirates. Once he was arrested in a Southern seaport and barely escaped being sold back into slavery. One of his most extraordinary experiences occurred in 1806 when he unexpectedly encountered his former slave master and was imprisoned as a runaway. One of the owners of the ship Allen had been sailing on paid off the former slave master, and Allen regained his freedom. Allen described the incident:

Coolege [the ship owner] told him [the slave owner] if he would take the 300 doll. [dollars] and think himself well paid he [the ship owner] would give it tho it was a great price to pay for a man, who might die before he could reach the wharf. After some hesitation he [the slave owner] took it, & as he left the place the people snowballed him.²¹

Coolege accepted a note signed by Allen for the ransom he paid in his behalf. After signing the note, Allen sailed for China. For the first time, he had no bounty on his head. He returned to Boston in April 1807, exactly one year later, his indebtedness fully paid.

Allen weaves an intriguing tale while describing some of the events and people he encountered during the years he spent at sea. In France he saw the "Black Liberator" of Haiti, Toussaint L'Overture and the famous British Admiral Lord Nelson. He traveled to China and the Northwest Coast of the United States on a fur expedition, as had his father a few years previous. Twice he sailed on ships, carrying rum between Havana and Boston. He visited Cuba, Santo Domingo, India, Jamaica, France, and Indonesia before visiting the Hawaiian Islands for the first time in 1810 or 1811. After a stint as steward to Kamehameha I, Allen acquired his land in Hawai'i in 1811, and in 1812, after a trip to China, he left the sea for a new life on the Island of O'ahu where he lived until his death in 1835.

The Missionary View of Allen

Anthony D. Allen was well established in the Islands by the time the first company of missionaries arrived in 1820. Shortly after their arrival in June, Allen invited the entire company to his home, and several recorded the event in their diaries and journals. Their accounts provide insights into a life they found comfortable and prosperous. Maria S. Loomis wrote most extensively of the visit:

Among the residents of this Island is a Black man native of Schenectady named Allen. He has been our constant friend, has daily furnished us with milk and once or twice a week with fresh meat and vegetables. He has also made us a number of other valuable presents. A few days ago in compliance with a previous invitation the Mission Family spent the day with him. He lives on a beautiful plain called Wyteta [Waikiki] about two miles from this village. When ready to go our little hand cart which came with us from America was brought that those who were unable to walk might ride. With three or four boys to draw the cart and a numerous retinue to attend us, we left home in good spirits and arrived at Allen's about eleven o'clock. He

stood at his gate to welcome us into a neat little room treated us to wine, sat down with us a short time and left us to prepare for dinner. His *wihena* [wihene, woman] kept in her little bedroom seated on the mat with her babe about 8 months old. His little daughter Peggy a bright child of six years was very attentive to the children helping them to peanuts etc. Dinner being ready we were invited to the eating house. A large table was spread in the American style, with almost every variety, and in the neatest order. Our first dish was an excellent stewpye, after which a baked pig, pork and fowls, mutton, beef, various kinds of vegetables, taro [taro] pancakes, hard poa [poi], a pudding, watermellon [sic], wine and brandy, and water out of an excellent well and I believe the only one on the island. Nothing seemed to be wanting but the presence of our dear friends to complete our happiness. After dinner we walked out to view his territories. He has a large enclosure with 8 or 10 houses, which are an eating, cooking, and sleeping house. The rest are occupied by boarders and tenants, a yard of three hundred goats and a good garden. He has a squash vine in his garden now bearing the sixth crop all originating from one hill....After taking a dish of coffee and some fried cake we prepared to return and with cheerful hearts arrived in safety to our little dwelling.²²

Five other missionaries recorded the excursion to Allen's homestead. The accounts give similar descriptions of Allen's physical surroundings, but each also offers additional information about Allen's compound and the events of the day. Sybil Bingham observes his

territories (which were a large enclosure surrounded by a high fence of poles put into the ground after the native style) we found him at his gate waiting to give us a polite and cordial reception.

Bingham provides more detailed information regarding the use of the ten or twelve dwellings mentioned by Loomis: "Within the enclosure were his dwelling, eating and cooking houses, with many more for a numerous train of dependents."²³ Maria Partridge Whitney noted

in one corner of the room stood a table filled with decanters and the other glasses. He immediately offered us some refreshing cordials, then took his seat with us a short time, and afterwards went to prepare for dinner...When it was ready we were invited to the eating house which was 2 or 3 rods distant from the one in which we sat. We were seated at a large table well furnished with glass and china, and a superfluity of provisions.

Mrs. Whitney added that the meal was followed with "pudding, and watermelon, with wine and brandy."²⁴ The missionaries were obviously impressed with Allen's establishment, dinner, and hospitality. Sybil Bingham

noted somewhat enviously, "It was not missionary fare."²⁵ Another wrote, "We cannot but consider ourselves happy in finding such a neighbor."²⁶

After the dinner, Allen's guests were given a tour of his "territories." Printer Elisha Loomis' journal mentions a fish pond.²⁷ Another journal notes that the pond was valuable and "provides frequent supplies." This entry also mentions a well.²⁸ The missionaries noted the good quality of the water and that Allen's well was the only well on the Island until their own was dug.

After the elaborate feast he prepared for the missionaries, Allen apparently expected to have his children baptized by Hiram Bingham, the head of the missionaries. According to Sybil Bingham, "Mr. B. [Bingham] had sent him a letter the night before, and now by conversing with him alone satisfied his mind that something more was necessary before his children could be thus given up to GOD...."²⁹ The conditions set by Bingham were not recorded, nor was it noted whether they were ever met. Allen's unusual marital status might have concerned Bingham. Allen had two wives and he made no attempt to keep this a secret. He freely dictated that fact to Hiram Bingham in the course of writing to Dr. Dougal in 1822, but perhaps this information was not known to the missionaries in 1820.

[A]nd here I must tell you that according to the custom of the country & practice of some of my white neighbors who settle in these Islands I took me two wives. They were cousins, and were daughters in the two families living on the land that was given me. You Sir may think it strange that I should have Two wives. But most of the foreigners who come here must have at least one, which can be easily exchanged for another, some have two, or three. Isaac Davis had six, and one American gentleman who I could name, kept ten, for two or three years. This is as true as the book of Genesis.³⁰

Given Allen's description of other well-known foreigners, polygyny was not unusual. Allen apparently was not unduly disturbed by Bingham's refusal to baptize his children since he continued to support the missionaries materially and to attend their Sunday evening prayer meetings, at least one of which was held at his compound in 1831.³¹

In 1823, the second company of missionaries arrived, and once again missionaries met and wrote about Allen. One of that company, Betsey Stockton, was the first woman of African ancestry in the Islands. She noted in her journal, "Mr. Allen was very kind to me, and seemed happy to see one of his own country people." Later, while Stockton was settling on Maui, she

confided to her journal her regrets at having to leave behind her new friends, Allen and his wife.³²

Allen's concerns about his children's spiritual needs appear to have been one reason he established a solid relationship with the new arrivals. But his children's educational needs and those of the community at large were also among his primary concerns. Hiram Bingham noted:

He is very friendly to us, and to the objects of our mission...subscribed 15 dollars to the orphan school fund; and offers to build a school house at his own expense, if we will have a school near his residence....³³

Where Allen built the school is unknown, but most likely it was at the site of his compound. Allen's own educational background remains a mystery, beyond his being literate, for which there is ample evidence. Several observers noted this, including Hiram Bingham who wrote: "He [Allen] has...two interesting children....One of them he is now teaching to read."³⁴ Two letters with the signature "Anthony D. Allen" and a receipt signed "A. D. Allen" have survived, and while it appears that the hand that penned the letters is different from the one that signed them, this may be explained by Allen using the services of a scribe, as did many people of his time

Inquiries from Schenectady

On November 23, 1822, Sybil Bingham noted that Allen "came early, one morning, with his two children, to spend the day by Mr. B. whose pen he wished to be employed, while he gave a rehearsal...."³⁵ Allen was responding to a letter he had received from Dr. Dougal of Schenectady, the son of his former owner. After many years without contact with Allen, Dougal had read an article in the June 23, 1821 issue of the *Missionary Herald* which described Allen's generosity and the good circumstances in which he lived in Hawai'i. The content of Dr. Dougal's letter is unknown, but Sybil Bingham wrote that "Allen was much affected" by it. According to Bingham, Allen's reply to Dougal offered a brief history of his life since leaving Schenectady. Allen collected a variety of gifts to send with his letter to Schenectady, which were included in a packet sent by the missionaries to Connecticut. Sybil Bingham attached a letter to the packet in which she explained:

The things which you find with a direction to Dr. Dougal, Schenectady, were committed to our care by Allen of Wititee [Waikiki], as a present from him to that gentleman, and to Allen's sister living at S—[Schenectady]....

Almost as an afterthought she added: "We thought...it might be pleasant to you to see some of the articles...which our means will not allow us to procure..."³⁶ An article in the *Sandwich Island Mission Journal* provides additional detail about the contents of Allen's packet:

Mr. Allen sends to his sister Diana, in Schenectady, a present of 20. doll. [dollars] with a number of articles of the manufactures of this country, given by his wife & daughter to his sister & her children. He presents Dr. Dougal a curious water proof garment manufactured & worn by the natives of Onalaska [the Aleutians].³⁷

Other prominent residents of Schenectady also made inquiries about Allen's welfare after the article appeared in the *Missionary Herald*. The Reverend Charles S. Stewart had visited Schenectady before he came to Hawai'i with the second company. Shortly after arriving in Hawai'i, he wrote: "When in Schenectady I was particularly requested by Dr. Yates to call on Anthony Allen, the African who is settled here, and who was once in the family of a gentleman of Schenectady." Stewart sent a copy of his private journal to the Reverend Ashbel Green of Philadelphia, in which he described Allen's circumstances. Stewart asked Green to convey his detailed account of Allen to those persons in Schenectady who might be interested in him:

I have been frequently at his house and have but just now returned. He is quite a respectable man, and has a very neat and comfortable establishment for this country. His enclosure contains near a dozen good mud houses—one for a sitting and sleeping room, one for eating, a store house, kitchen, milk room, blacksmith's shop, etc. etc. and is a favourite [sic] resort of the more respectable of the seamen who visit Honouururu [Honolulu]. At times his place is quite a hospital, the sick from the ships being generally sent to be boarded and nursed by him. The milk from his large flock of goats is very serviceable to them. With this he also supplies the tables of many of the captains in port, and of the commercial agents, etc. In this way, and by the cultivation of a small plantation, which he holds under the ex-high priest [Hewahewa] of the island, he has accumulated considerable personal property, and makes a comfortable support for his wife (a modest and interesting native) and three children.³⁸

Whether Green made the trip to Schenectady is not recorded. He did, however, publish excerpts from Stewart's private journal which differ from the book later published by Stewart. These excerpts reveal that Allen had shown Stewart a letter he received from Dr. Dougal. Stewart recalled seeing the name of a "Mr. Duane" in the letter, as one of several "gentlemen" from Schenectady who visited Allen in Honolulu after the article appeared.³⁹ The amiable nature

of the inquiries of these Schenectady people about Allen suggests genuine interest in re-establishing ties with a man who had earned their respect.

Stephen Reynold's Favorite Resort

Of all the people who wrote about Anthony D. Allen, Stephen Reynolds left the largest number of notations about him. Reynolds settled in the Islands circa 1823 and kept a personal journal for 32 years. The early journals have been lost, but Reynolds' extant journals contain more than 100 entries about Allen and include notes about business transactions or entertainment while revealing interesting anecdotes about his friendship with Allen, the only record of Allen's personal relationships. The first entry, November 12, 1823, refers to Allen by name: "Mr. Allen came and told me he was going to Mowea [Maui] & Owyhee [Hawai'i]." ⁴⁰ Reynolds joined Allen aboard the schooner *Terrible*, and they sailed to Maui to conduct unidentified business. A month later, back on O'ahu, a humorous side of their friendship is revealed when Reynolds recorded that he and Mr. Allen had walked to Mr. Goodrich's one evening when the "[m]oon was uncommonly bright." While there they played a practical joke, presumably on Mr. Goodrich. ⁴¹ The next day Reynolds noted: "afternoon went to the wash place with Allen and Temple." ⁴² The following week Reynolds wrote: "Allen playing checkers with me. Beat me." ⁴³ Many of the journal entries are simply notations of Reynolds' visits to Allen's place, sometimes with a friend, other times alone: "after dinner Capts. Meek, & Rogers, Mr. Thompson & self rode to Allen's." ⁴⁴ "Afternoon rode with Mr. Jones, in his Gig, to Allen's where they were killing Beef..." ⁴⁵ "Afternoon rode to Allen's with John Meek." ⁴⁶ "Afternoon rode to Allen's." ⁴⁷ Occasionally the notations do not mention Allen by name, but because of the activity involved, it is obvious that the entry is in reference to Allen. For example, "many gone to Wytetee [Waikiki] to roll nine pins" undoubtedly refers to Allen's place since his was the only bowling alley operating during that period. ⁴⁸

Many notations in Reynold's journal affirm positive aspects of Allen's character, and only two note problems he had with other residents. Reynolds noted the first difficulty without elaboration: "Old Swan came to make a complaint against Allen." ⁴⁹ When Reynolds mentioned the second complaint, he recorded the outcome only and gave no information about the conflict itself:

Spent most of day in settling Allen's, Henry Steward & Antonio Sam. Henry to pay Antonio 25.00 [dollars]—Allen to pay—Henry 25.00 [dollars] and settle with King for flogging and putting in irons Henry's wife." ⁵⁰

Six Acres in Waikīkī

A missionary wrote, "Allen...has become a man of property by his own industry."⁵¹ The land that he held in Waikīkī made possible the success of his many business activities. In his letter to Schenectady, Allen tells how he acquired his land:

I came ashore with permission and lived four months with Heavaheva [Hewahewa] the high Priest of the Islands....I applied to Heavaheva...for land & Ab. Moxley...interpreted my request. The High Priest gave me a piece of land at Waititi [Waikīkī] containing about six acres....I gave the Priest a few small articles, principally, a fathom of broad cloth, and a bar of Russian iron....⁵²

Several early observers noted the location of Allen's land in relation to the village of Honolulu. Maria Loomis thought the missionary compound at the edge of Honolulu was about two miles from Allen's place,⁵³ as did Charles Stewart: "Mr. Allen's place is near two miles from the town and mission house...."⁵⁴ Stephen Reynolds later confirmed, "I Measured the road to Allen's found distance 2 Mile 2/8...."⁵⁵ Today the land that once was Allen's compound is the site of Washington Intermediate School at the intersection of Punahou and King Streets in Honolulu and is identified on title maps of the Department of Education as the "Old Allen Place."⁵⁶ This area lies between Waikīkī and Mānoa Valley and is now called Pāwa'a.

John Papa Ii, a neighbor of Allen, in his testimony during a land division in 1843, told how Allen acquired his land: "The Allens got this land from an old high Priest—Hewa hewa....[T]his land was given him in the time of 'Kamehameha I.'" Ii also noted, "The old man Allen, who is now dead, had a large land given him at first, and it was afterwards all taken away from him but this piece."⁵⁷ It was not unusual for the Hawaiian monarchy to reclaim land earlier granted to individuals. Elsewhere Ii wrote, "parcels of land at Waikīkī...were given to chiefs and prominent persons."⁵⁸ It would appear that Allen was such a salient person.

In 1843, after Allen's death, two of his children filed a land claim with the British Land Commission which states the dimensions of the land.

Honolulu O'ahu, May 22d/43 [1843]
To the Honorable British Commision [sic]

My Lord & Gentlemen

We beg leave to lay before the Honorable Commision [sic] our claim to a certain piece of land situated on this island, bequested to us by our father

Anthony D. Allen: said Land is known by the name of Pawwa [Pāwa'a] situated about two miles from the village of Honolulu, on the road leading to Waititi [Waikīkī]—Described as follows:

Commencing at N. & W. corner
and running S. 46 W. 262 feet—thense

"S. 51 E. 399"

"N. 46 E. 216"

"N. 44 W. 398 1/2" to the place of commencement, including an area of One Acre—156 Rods—& 97 feet—

We have the honor to be My Lord & Gentlemen,
Your Most Obt. humble Servts.

George C. Allen, and for my brother Anthony Allen⁵⁹

A less precise description of the land appears in papers filed in 1847: "acres 2 Fathoms 181 1/2."⁶⁰

Allen's land was sold in the 1840s for a few hundred dollars by his children. It was not sold again until the 1920s when the "Old Allen Place" once again became a site for a school.

Other Enterprises

Allen's land hosted a variety of business enterprises, including animal husbandry, farming, a boarding house, a hospital, a bowling alley, and a grog shop. Besides keeping his own animals, Allen boarded cattle for others. Levi Chamberlain mentions cattle given to the missionaries that were kept at Allen's compound:

Capt. Wildes somedays since presented the mission two young cows one designed for Mr. Whitney & the other for Mr. Stewart, I went with him to Mr. Allen's where they have been kept since they were brought from the Coast of California where he delivered them to me.⁶¹

Reynolds also noted cattle boarded by Allen: "Afternoon went to Allen's & sold by Auction six cattle belonging to owner of Unity...."⁶² William French and John Colcord, early Honolulu merchants, recorded payments they made to Allen for boarding horses.⁶³ French also recorded payments to Allen from ships' captains for horses they boarded with him.⁶⁴ Several notations in Reynold's journal between 1827 and 1832 mention a white colt which he boarded at Allen's compound and provide a glimpse of the services Allen provided:

February 29, 1827 Sent colt to Allen's.⁶⁵

...

September 16, 1827 Fine morn. [morning]. Afternoon rode to Wytete [Waikīkī] to see white colt found him in fine condition.⁶⁶

...

May 5, 1828 Had my white colt cut.⁶⁷

...

June 20, 1832 Cloudy morn. [morning]...sold my white colt for \$83 Dollars!!!⁶⁸

Stewart's journal reveals that Allen may have operated the first commercial dairy in the Islands: "The milk from his large flock of goats is very serviceable to them [convalescing seamen]. With this he also supplies the tables of many of the captains in port, and of the commercial agents, etc."⁶⁹ Tyermann and Bennett also mention Allen's dairy⁷⁰ as do the missionaries: "He has been very kind to us, sending us...every morning, two bottles of goat's milk...."⁷¹

Reynolds has several entries about Allen's slaughterhouse: "Afternoon rode with Mr. Jones, in his Gig, to Allen's where they were killing Beef."⁷² "Nov. 7, Sun[day] Killed an ox at Allen's yesterday; very fat & tender."⁷³ In December 1824, Reynolds noted, "Allen sent Beef for Christmas."⁷⁴

The missionaries also mention fresh meat from Allen. Maria Loomis commented, "By his generosity we have been...supplied...once or twice a week with fresh meat...."⁷⁵ The following day Maria Whitney wrote, "[Allen] sends us...frequently a goat or a piece of pork, dressed very neatly...."⁷⁶ Daniel Chamberlain noted, "July 4. Our friend Allen has sent us some excellent mutton or goat's meat to celebrate the fourth of July...."⁷⁷ Tyermann and Bennett recorded in 1823:

His present flock of goats amounts to two hundred, having been lately reduced one half below the usual average by the great demand, from ship-captains, for provisions of this kind: he sells the animals to them at prices according to their size, from half a dollar to three dollars a head. He also breeds and keeps a great number of dogs to supply the native flesh-market....⁷⁸

According to a receipt dated 1834 and signed by Allen, prices had not changed dramatically 11 years later: "2 quarters mutton...\$1.25...1 quarter lamb...50 cents...13 1/2 lbs. beef...93 cents...."⁷⁹

It is not clear when Allen opened his boarding house in Waikīkī, but judging from the comments of residents and visitors in the 1820s, it was already

well-established and "generally visited by gentlemen who call at this island."⁸⁰ The food was excellent and plentiful, and the accoutrements were the most comfortable of any in the Islands.⁸¹ However, the most significant ingredient in the success of the place was probably Allen himself. From all accounts he was an honorable, congenial, generous, respectable, and gracious man,⁸² necessary traits for the proprietor of the earliest known resort in Waikīkī.

In 1823, Reynolds recorded for the first time a visit to Allen's bowling alley. Given the numerous notations made by Reynolds about the alley, it must have been popular: "All the village rolling at Allen's."⁸³ A few days later Reynolds recorded: "[A]fternoon went to Allens, rolled Croker and Green Lost 75 [cents]."⁸⁴ Gambling, as well as the novelty of the game, may have been the attraction to the bowling alley, but whatever the motive for visiting, Allen's place became so popular that for a short time a Mr. Temple and Reynolds regularly provided transportation from Honolulu to Allen's place. At the end of May 1823, Reynolds noted that they had borrowed a carriage to take a large party bowling.⁸⁵ On June 10, he noted he had taken a large party to roll nine pins.⁸⁶

Allen's facilities were apparently available for special occasions. According to Reynolds: "The gentleman cooks and stewards kept their 4th of July at Allen's. Had a dinner and ball in the afternoon."⁸⁷ Reynolds also reported a royal guest at Allen's: "King [Kauikeaouli] had a Grand Dinner at A. D. Allen's. The company came up at sunset. Music played very late."⁸⁸ Allen's place was also the site for "a great parade...of the African Relief Society. A collation light meal was given to the Residents among whom were the English & American Consuls Gov. Finlison, Mr. Reed, & many more."⁸⁹

None of the missionaries' early descriptions of Allen's establishment mention a grog shop on the premises, although several, including Sybil Bingham, noted that liquor was served to them: "He set upon the table decanters and glasses with wine and brandy to refresh us."⁹⁰ Allen's trade in alcohol may have increased as the Missionaries changed their attitudes about spirits. When British missionaries from Tahiti visited Allen in 1822, they counseled him on the evil of trading in liquor:

[Allen] deals largely in spirituous liquors, a trade more profitable, we fear, than beneficial to himself or his customers—for the latter being principally sailors, the Sabbath-day is miserably profaned by the traffic, and the debauchery attending the traffic, in these pestilent commodities. We ventured

to expostulate with him on the subject, but he justified himself by saying that he could not help it....⁹¹

Not all missionaries, however, viewed Allen's business as a nuisance. Missionary Stewart noted: "it is a favourite resort of the more respectable of the seamen who visit Honoruru [Honolulu]...."⁹² And the visiting British missionaries wrote elsewhere, "This negro's premises and lands are all in remarkably good order...distinguishing the...persons, and behaviour of all his associates and dependants...."⁹³

Allen's Hospital

During the 1820s, several writers mention Allen's place as a hospital where ill or injured seamen and sea captains were taken to recuperate. Safety and health conditions on nineteenth century sailing vessels were frequently far below even the poor standards of the day. The ill and injured were routinely left ashore to fend for themselves—if they were fortunate enough to make it to port. Allen, who had been at sea, probably realized the need for decent medical care. How he acquired his medical skills is unknown, but it is known that the son of his former owner in Schenectady was a doctor. Perhaps Allen was reared in a medical household where he assisted and learned basic medicine. His boarding house and his skills as a "practitioner of physics" resulted in a convalescent hospital for seamen.

Several people mention Allen's hospital. Stewart commented: "At times his place is quite an hospital, the sick from the ships being generally sent to be boarded and nursed by him."⁹⁴ Tyermann and Bennett referred to Allen's medical skills: "We hear that he practices physic...and is often consulted both by natives and seamen, having gained credit also in this profession."⁹⁵ Levi Chamberlain records, "After dinner I went with Mr. Buel to see a sailor belonging to the Connecticut, who is at Mr. Allen's sick."⁹⁶ The "sailing master of the Active" also recuperated at Allen's hospital after injuring his leg in a riding accident in the vicinity.⁹⁷

Reynolds noted the confinement of a well-known sea captain on 9 December 1824, "Capt. Best moved to Allen's."⁹⁸ A few days later Reynolds wrote: "Capt. Best was very crazy. Sent after strait jacket presume he was irritated by company."⁹⁹ Reynolds wrote on Christmas eve:

Capt. Cross, Rogers, Kemish & I went to Allen's to see Best, found him better than I expected said he was glad to see us, it did him good had not laughed before for some time."¹⁰⁰

Two of Captain Best's crew also were at Allen's for treatment of scurvy. When Reynolds paid Best's account in early January, he paid Allen also for their board and care.¹⁰¹

In 1828, Allen had at least one competitor for boarding the sick, namely a Mr. Nathan Spears. According to Reynolds, Captain Potter of the *Abigail* became ill. He was brought ashore to convalesce at Allen's, but a week later Reynolds noted: "A Subscription raised for Capt. Potter. He was removed from Allen's, to Mr. Spear's."¹⁰² By the end of the following week, a Mr. Charles R. Smith was also moved from Allen's to Mr. Spear's.¹⁰³ The other options available to the ill or injured are not clear, but in 1833 John Diell wrote:

Mr. Reynolds, who acted as American consul in the absence of Mr. Jones informed me, that of about \$20,000, which were appropriated by the United States government in the year 1832, for the support of their sick and destitute seamen in foreign parts, nearly one-sixth part was expended at this place [Honolulu].¹⁰⁴

It appears that Allen received a good portion of that allowance. In November of 1831, Reynolds recorded a financial transaction between the American Agent for Commerce and Seamen, John C. Jones, Jr., and Allen, which was probably for services rendered at Allen's hospital: "Gave Mr. Jones Allen's Bills."¹⁰⁵ Later Reynolds wrote, "A. D. Allen gave me an order on J. C. Jones for two hundred dollars...."¹⁰⁶ Reynolds last entry regarding the transaction was, "Yesterday Mr. Jones accepted Allen's order on him for two hundred dollars...."¹⁰⁷

Reynolds himself was possibly one of Allen's patients. In August 1829, Reynolds wrote: "Very unwell. Afternoon rode to Allen's in wagon with Meek and felt better for it."¹⁰⁸ Whether Reynolds meant that the ride or treatment by Allen helped him is not clear.

Tyermann and Bennett,¹⁰⁹ as well as Reynolds, recorded that Allen also treated Hawaiians. Reynolds wrote: "Afternoon rode to Allens in wagon with tandem team. Saw a bug larger than a bed bug which came out of a native woman's ear."¹¹⁰

Allen's Burial Ground

The Allen compound included a cemetery for members of his family as well as for seamen who died while boarding with him. Reynolds noted that he read the funeral service for Byrd, "a Distressed American Seaman....He had

lived at A. D. Allen's."¹¹¹ In 1833, Reynolds said that the African Relief Society paid for the coffin of a seaman named Bowen who died at Allen's place.¹¹²

Allen's compound continued to be used as a cemetery after his death. Allen's son-in-law, Robert Moffet, died in 1838, and according to Reynolds, "His remains were put by [the] side of A. D. Allen."¹¹³ Five months later, Reynolds noted that the cemetery was still used for American sailors: "At six went down to Allen's place—to bury Merherthar [Merriweather] who died this morning early. One of the Consulate Men, from Ship *Timoleon*, consumption."¹¹⁴ It is not clear whether Merriweather was a boarder at Allen's or if some sort of arrangement had existed between Allen's children and the American Consulate for the burial of destitute seamen.

Road to Mānoa

Several references in the literature deal with Allen's efforts to maintain the roads near his property. In 1828, he sent the following note to Levi Chamberlain:

Sir:

I have taken the liberty this morning to stop your cart and had the load left in the Gulch and by drawing four or five loads more of stones we will be able to make a good road. The road as it is now will only be the cause of some of your cattle getting their legs if not their necks broken, and to prevent the like I thought it my duty to stop the load in order to repair the road. This is the second time that I was force[d] to lend the men who lived with me to help the cattle out of the gulch. Give my best respects to the missionaries. Hoping that you will not be affronted at what I have done, I remain

Your Humble & Obediant [sic] Servant
Anthony D. Allen¹¹⁵

Apparently Chamberlain concurred with Allen's assessment, but when Chamberlain recorded the particulars of the incident, he did not mention receiving Allen's note. He gives no credit to Allen for initiating the project and states that the repairs and the enlistment of Allen and his men were done on his, Chamberlain's, initiative:

Smith the mollato [sic] man whom we have employed by the month at 18 dollars per month, has been employed today with the cart and cattle (both yoke) in drawing stones from a ledge in the neighborhood of Mr. Allen's. Having met with difficulty in passing a gully near Mr. Allen's house which detained him I walked up, and having found the place very bad I concluded

to let him drop a few loads with the asst. of Mr. Allen and his people to repair the way.¹¹⁶

A few days later Chamberlain recorded that he and Goodrich joined Allen and his crew at the gully with a plow to help level the sides. This is probably the same location Reynolds referred to when he noted, "Gave three dollars to build bridge over the large gulch near Allen's."¹¹⁷

In late summer 1829, Reynolds wrote, "Afternoon went to see Allen's new road...."¹¹⁸ That same year, C. S. Stewart returned to the Islands after an absence of four years. He described what may have been the road referred to by Reynolds:

The valley of Mānoa, you recollect, was always a favorite resort of mine—this afternoon Mr. Bingham drove me in a wagon to it. There is now a good carriage road...as far as the country house of Ka'ahumanu...five miles from Honolulu.¹¹⁹

It appears that Allen helped oversee the construction and maintenance of one of the first roads in Honolulu, probably what today is known as Punahou Street which becomes Mānoa Road.

Allen's Hawaiian Family

As Allen stated in his letter to Schenectady: "I took me two wives." This is the only mention of more than one wife in the available historical literature. Several missionaries mention his "wife," but no one alludes to a second one. Allen, our only source on this topic, said, "They were cousins, and were daughters of the two families living on the land that was given me." He describes building separate eating houses for himself and his wives and a separate sleeping house because of the wives' religious beliefs. Unfortunately, Allen's letter ends abruptly, leaving no personal account of his family. We know that three children survived to adulthood: a daughter, Peggy, and two sons, Anthony Jr. and George Caldwell. Sybil Bingham observed:

[Allen] has a wife and two pretty children, the eldest of whom he has taught its letters....His wife, a pleasant looking native, kept her place in the little room partitioned off, lying and sitting upon the mats with little ones. We could talk to her but little, but we made her a gown and instructed her in sewing. She remained upon her mats while we went to dinner....¹²⁰

Another missionary journal notes: "He has a native female for a wife, whom the sisters made some efforts to teach and clothe, and two interesting children whom he desired to have baptized and instructed, one of whom he

is now teaching to read."¹²¹ Another wrote: "He has a wife, and two active, sprightly children."¹²² The third child was either not born yet or not at the dinner. The most descriptive comments about Allen's wife come from Betsey Stockton, who noted: "His wife is a native woman, but very pleasant, and to all appearance innocent. The first time I visited her she presented me with a very handsome mat, and appeared happy to see me."¹²³

None of the missionaries give the name of either of Allen's wives. Reynolds refers to one very formally, "Mrs. Anthony D. Allen & Daughter spent the day at the house."¹²⁴ The first mention of a person in Allen's household by name, other than his daughter Peggy, is "Pehu."¹²⁵ Possibly "Pehu" was the name of one of Allen's wives. Two years later, Reynolds made another journal entry about "Pehu":

Fine Morning...Afternoon rode to Allen's with Betty Meek and Susan & Hannah in Betty's wagon to attend Pehu's funeral! I read the service. She died on the 15th about 5 in the afternoon. Corpse smelt very bad.¹²⁶

Ten months later Reynolds remarked: "Rode to Allen's with Cap[tain] Meek in wagon first time since 17th Aug. last."¹²⁷ The fact that he notes the date of Pehu's death as the time of his last visit suggests she was a person of significance in the Allen compound. After the entry about Pehu's funeral, Mrs. Allen is not referred to again anywhere. Nor does Allen's obituary mention a widow.

A claim presented to the Board of Commissioners for Land Claims documents the names of Allen's children as "George C. Allen, Sally Allen, and Anthony D. Allen."¹²⁸ This is the first mention of a daughter named Sally. Earlier references mention a daughter named Peggy. Perhaps "Peggy" was Sally's middle name or nickname.

Little is known of the lives of Anthony Allen's children. Few references to the sons are found; however, numerous references are made to Allen's eldest child, Peggy. When she was six years old, one of the missionaries described a visit from her:

[L]ittle Peggy Allen came here with an attendant... When she entered... we spoke to her, and she pleasantly answered, "good morning, alohah." She is an active child, and appears like a little lady.

This visit took place about two weeks after the missionaries were entertained at Allen's home. On their visit, the missionaries had given Peggy "some pieces for patch-work...on which she has been to work. She is learning to

read, can now say her letters, and we hope soon to be able daily to instruct her."¹²⁹ In recounting the same visit, another wrote: "entertaining Mr. Allen, and his little Peggy who has been with us through the day, writing a little, etc."¹³⁰ Six months later Peggy attended school regularly: "little Peggy Allen, attended by the domestic who draws her in her little wagon to school, came smiling along into my room." Peggy came laden with gifts much needed by the missionaries. According to the journal entry, she brought

a bowl of butter, a plate of sausages and some eggs saying, makana me 'oe [I present to you]...also a goat sent for my [Mrs. Bingham's] new little girl whom I call Jane, for her [Peggy] to give the babe [baby]....¹³¹

Peggy was about 17 when Reynolds recorded, "Mrs. Anthony D. Allen & Daughter spent the day at the house."¹³² Reynolds' next reference to Peggy announces her wedding plans: "It was expected Peggy would be married in evening."¹³³ Shortly before her father died, Peggy married Robert Moffet (aka Moffit or Maffet), a shoemaker who worked for John Colcord in Honolulu. According to Levi Chamberlain, Moffet was a Euro-American.¹³⁴ Five months after Allen's death Reynolds mentions the young couple again: "Alex Smith made a barter with A. D. Allen's boys & got 11 of their cattle. Mr. Maffet & his wife Peggy were at the house." In an apparent attempt to protect the interests of Peggy and her younger brothers, Reynolds asked the Governor to intervene. Governor Kekūānāʻa ordered the cattle returned and then went with Reynolds to the Allen place where "He told Mr. Maffet & Peggy they were the father & mother now Allen was dead. They must take care of the houses & premises."¹³⁵ The next afternoon Reynolds wrote: "Mr. Maffet & Peggy went to Kaua'i to spend two or three months."¹³⁶ Allen's daughter is not mentioned again anywhere as Peggy.

Anthony Allen Jr. was probably the baby that the missionaries saw Mrs. Allen tend in 1820 when they dined at Allen's compound. No further information about him appears until his obituary in the September 1861 issue of *The Friend*:

Allen—at Laupāhoehoe, Hawai'i, May 7th, Anthony Allen, aged 41 years. He was known as one of the most expert bullock catchers on that island, and where ever known was respected for his kind traits of character.¹³⁷

A letter which described his death and praised him as a valued friend was dispatched from Laupāhoehoe to Prince Lot Kamehameha in Honolulu, suggesting he had personal connections to the royal family.

Per "Nettie Merrill"

Laupāhoehoe May 8th 1861

H. R. H., Prince Lot Kamehameha
Minister of Interior
Honolulu.

Dear Sir

I beg to impart to you the sad news of the death of one of our old and much esteemed mountaineers, Anthony Allen, at this place. About seven o'clock last evening, he was attacked with unusually violent painful throbbings about the region of the heart and expired in less than ten minutes time. He had been complaining more or less this past year with Rheumatism and pain in the chest and came down from the mountain a little over three months ago, thinking to recruit up here a little, and lately told me he was going as far as Puna for a change. By what I elicited from him during his stay and his sudden departure I have every reason to believe his true disease was enlargement of the heart. His wife takes on terribly about it and cannot be comforted. She has sent for the friends and relatives of the family from Kohala & Waimea, and I judge the body will be carried to Waimea for interment.

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
John J. Porter¹³⁸

The third child, George Caldwell Allen, married Maria Lahilahi, the daughter of a Hawaiian woman and Don Francisco Marin. Maria Lahilahi was the deserted wife of the former American consul, John C. Jones, and had two children at the time of her marriage to Allen. George Caldwell Allen was widowed in 1845, and whether intentionally or by oversight, both he and his son by Lahilahi were not mentioned in the will, according to the testimony Reynolds gave during the probate proceedings. Reynolds noted George Caldwell Allen's reaction:

Went up to Pikoi's to hear what Caldwell Allen had to say about Lahilahi's will. John Li was to have been Caldwell's arbitrator, but did not appear. Pikoi had to go to Hawai'i—he enjoined Caldwell not to meddle with anything and that he would be held responsible for all money and other things which he had taken or received belonging to Lahilahi since her death.¹³⁹

In August, Reynolds again went to Pikoi's about the will:

Caldwell wanted to destroy the will. I told him he would be worse off for he would get nothing of the children's property! Pikoi said he tho't the will was good—the children gave him 2 horses 10 bullocks cash \$26.¹⁴⁰

It is unclear whether Lahilahi's children gave the horses, cattle, and cash to Pikoi for deciding in their favor or to Caldwell to drop his claim.

Anthony Allen and one of his wives had at least one other child. Levi Chamberlain noted on December 5, 1823, "Mr. B. [Bingham] attended the funeral of a young child of Mr. Allen."

Death

Anthony D. Allen suffered a stroke in December 1835. Allen apparently knew he was seriously ill and sent for his friends to be with him. Reynolds recorded that "A. D. Allen sent for Mr. Jones and me to go see him found him hoarse—but good."¹⁴¹ Anthony D. Allen died on December 31, 1835. On January 2, 1836, Levi Chamberlain noted that Anthony Allen's funeral was held that day: "the colored man who has resided at Waikiki...was buried this afternoon....He arrived at the Islands...in the year 1810...formerly a slave."¹⁴² Not far from the missionaries' house, that same evening, Stephen Reynolds, Allen's longtime friend, made a simple entry about the funeral: "Gov. Adams [Kuakini] arrived yesterday from Hawai'i. The funeral of A. D. Allen took place from his dwelling."¹⁴³ In the June issue of the *Seaman's Magazine* appeared the following tribute to Allen by the Reverend John Diell:

The last sun of the departed year went down upon the dying bed of another man who has long resided upon the island. He was a colored man, but shared, to a large extent, in the respect of this whole community. His name was Anthony D. Allen. He was born on the German Flats, in New York, in 1774. He came to this island in 1810, where he resided ever since. He has been a pattern of industry and perseverance, and of care for the education of his children, of whom three survive. In justice to his memory, and to my own feelings, I must take this opportunity to acknowledge the many expressions of kindness which we received from him from the moment of our arrival. He has been constant in his attendance upon the services of the Sabbath. On my return I learned that he was alarmingly ill. I hastened to see him; but he could not speak distinctly to me. I could only pray with him and his family, and commend him to the precious grace of the blessed Redeemer.¹⁴⁴

Allen's body did not rest in a state of "precious grace," however. About two years after his death, his mausoleum was broken into and robbed. Three men were subsequently imprisoned for "disturbing the ashes of the Dead."¹⁴⁵ Although it did not come out in the trial, it was revealed to Reynolds that Allen's son-in-law, Robert Moffit, had stolen the watch from the corpse prior to the break-in.¹⁴⁶

Anthony Allen is the best documented person of African descent in Hawai'i in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but even a cursory look at the literature reveals that other people of African ancestry came as well to Hawai'i from countries around the world aboard merchant, whaling, and naval ships. They were stonemasons, sailors, laborers, teachers, farmers, barbers, draysmen, missionaries, carpenters, stewards, tailors, mountaineers, cooks, and saloon and boarding housekeepers.

Today, most of the descendants of Allen and his fellow African harbingers are unaware of the role their ancestors played in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In fact, many do not even know they are of African ancestry. Yet these men and women of Hawaiian and African descent are part of the rich legacy that Samuel Kamakau referred to when he wrote of the first foreigners to settle in these Islands: "Some were received hospitably by the Hawaiians, taken under the care of chiefs, became favorites, and bequeathed to Hawai'i their posterity."¹⁴⁷ ♦

Notes

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Prelude to a New Century

MILES M. JACKSON

New Century—New Industry

By the early 1870s, Hawai'i's ports no longer bustled with business brought by whaling ships that had, until recently, so frequently anchored in Hawai'i's harbors.¹ The discovery of oil had rendered the use of whale oil obsolete in the United States. Although the declining whaling industry no longer provided Hawai'i with the revenue it once did, a new sugar-based economy seemed promising to investors. In 1850, the Hawaiian government had passed laws allowing foreigners to buy land in fee simple,² and consequently, huge tracts of land had been purchased by investors and set aside for the cultivation of sugar. Growing the sugar cane was one thing; harvesting it yet another. The success of the sugar industry required increasingly large numbers of laborers, many more than the dwindling native Hawaiian population could provide,³ and so, contract laborers came to Hawai'i to work on the sugar plantations.

The first laborers to arrive were Chinese, and by the time the Hawaiian Kingdom had restricted Chinese immigration with regulations passed in 1884 and 1885, the population of Chinese in Hawai'i had reached 18,000.⁴ These workers were followed by 148 Japanese laborers in 1868, but in 1870, further immigration of Japanese workers was also stopped, but for different reasons. The Hawaiian government had restricted Chinese immigration, but it was the Japanese government that refused to allow any more workers to settle in Hawai'i. Because of negative reports about working conditions on Hawai'i's plantations, the Meiji government halted any further recruitment of Japanese workers. Emigration of Japanese laborers would not resume until 1885 when an agreement was signed between officials of both Hawai'i and Japan; by 1900, over 60,000 Japanese laborers had arrived to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations.⁵

Plantation laborers had also been recruited from Italy, Germany, Norway, Spain, Russia and Portugal. The Portuguese workers adapted very quickly

and comfortably to island life, and by 1884 nearly 10,000 were in residence.⁶ Men from Cabo Verde, islands off the coast of West Africa settled by the Portuguese, were already in residence in Hawai'i as the sugar industry gained importance in Hawai'i's economy. These men had arrived earlier to the Islands as whalers and when contract laborers for the plantations were needed, other Caboverdeanos, Africans or Portuguese Africans, continued to sail to Hawai'i to find work. Although some laborers also arrived from the South Pacific, including approximately 400 Melanesians from the New Hebrides, most south sea islanders did not stay but returned home at the end of their contracts; the Melanesians had also been recruited to work on Australia's expanding sugar plantations in Queensland.⁷

As early as 1870, Walter Murray Gibson, an American adventurer, legislator, and confidant of King Kalākaua, investigated the possibility that Southern Blacks might work Hawai'i's plantations. While visiting the United States, Gibson proposed recruiting Blacks with plantation experience, but nothing resulted from his initial investigations.⁸ In 1872, a few leaders of the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) reiterated Gibson's notion that African Americans from the American South represented an experienced labor force comfortable with plantation life, but, once again, the suggestion of recruiting Blacks as plantation workers was not well received by many planters, missionaries, and some Hawaiians.⁹ In 1879, further discussions were held by the Bureau of Immigration on this earlier Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association proposal. The Bureau wrote for advice to Samuel Chapman Armstrong,¹⁰ the son of a prominent missionary family who had arrived in Hawai'i with the Fifth Missionary Company. As a young man with family in Hawai'i and also with important contacts in the American South, the Bureau hoped that Armstrong might be able to give them both insight and real information.

As a young man, Armstrong had traveled to study at Williams College, and when the Civil War erupted, he had volunteered for the Union Army and was given command of the Fifth Infantry Regiment, an African American unit. He rose quickly through the ranks and by the War's end had been promoted to Brevet General. After the war, Armstrong worked with the Freedman's Bureau and noted a great need for education and training programs for African American youth. Dedicated to the notion of resolving that need and supported by Northern philanthropy, he founded in 1868 the Hampton Institute in Virginia to educate African American youth in industrial trades. Unfortunately, although the dialogue of the HSPA with Armstrong

may have been important, it was, ultimately, inconsequential. John E. Bush, a part-Hawaiian and head of the Bureau wrote Armstrong that

the last legislature was decidedly adverse to Negro immigrants, even to opposing New Hebrides people. There was a resolution passed opposing the immigration of blacks, and we do not deem it advisable to ignore the House and would therefore ask you to discontinue further investigation of that class of immigrants.¹¹

Like the Chinese before them, Blacks, it appeared, would be kept from entering Hawai'i society as workers. Without the support of the legislature, plantation owners would find it difficult to encourage Black workers from the Southern United States to immigrate to Hawai'i. Nonetheless, in 1882, following the discussion between the sugar planters and Armstrong, James E. Blaine, U.S. Secretary of State, did propose another plan to recruit African Americans for work on Hawai'i's plantations, but this plan also received little support.

Although it may be difficult to determine precisely why and how divisive racial attitudes prosper in any society and why the Hawai'i legislature in particular would choose to exclude immigrants because of race alone, evidence of racial prejudice and discrimination in nineteenth-century Hawai'i civilian society is abundant. For example, the Reverend Sereno E. Bishop, editor of *The Friend*,¹² had frequently expressed in print that any admixture of African would be disastrous for the people of Hawai'i, writing derogatory editorials that referred to both those of African ancestry and other non-Whites as "low in mental culture."¹³ Such attitudes expressed by influential community members might have easily influenced legislative decisions.

By the time Queen Lili'uokalani had ascended the throne in 1891, divisive racial attitudes had become pervasive amongst those in Hawai'i's business communities who saw annexation by the United States as a solution to those problems of governance that were affecting their businesses. In 1893, the queen proposed a new constitution, which would have both replaced the Bayonet Constitution, which Kalākaua had been forced to sign, and restored rights to the native majority. This assertion of Hawaiian rights to Hawaiian lands and institutions angered some legislators and proved sufficient grounds for a citizen's Committee of Safety, most of whom were Americans, to stage an armed insurrection and to remove Lili'uokalani from power,¹⁴ despite the fact that the request for a new constitution had been overwhelmingly approved by a majority of the registered voters in Hawai'i. Marines and sailors from the

U.S.S. *Boston* landed in Honolulu at the request of the U.S. Counsel under the pretense of protecting U.S. citizens and property. In reality, the military presence provided tacit support for the rebellion by offering the implied threat of greater violence and, thus, ensured the success of the armed insurgents of the Committee of Safety. A provisional government was proclaimed on January 17, 1893. The following year, the Republic of Hawai'i was announced.¹⁵

Much to the disappointment of those who desired immediate annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S., a treaty of annexation could not be ratified before President Harrison's term expired. A fierce foe of imperialism, Democratic President Grover Cleveland had recognized clearly that the overthrow of the Hawaiian government had been aided unjustifiably by U.S. representatives. Although Cleveland did have the power to restore the government of Lili'uokalani, he offered no support to those who pressed for annexation and responded firmly and almost apologetically to a plea for restoration of the Hawaiian government. In a letter to R. Olney, Cleveland stated:

I am ashamed of the whole affair. However, I know of nobody who can stand it better than I. That's [sic] one way of looking at it—and perhaps as Comfortable, and as good a way as any.¹⁶

Only after William McKinley took office in 1898 was the Republic of Hawai'i officially and finally annexed by the United States Congress in a joint resolution only, and annexation was hotly debated. The annexation received approval, in part, because of U.S. military involvement in the Pacific.¹⁷

In the early spring of 1898, war between the United States and Spain seemed probable, even imminent, and by May, the new Hawaiian government had decided against neutrality in the upcoming conflict, effectively allying itself with the United States.¹⁸ On June 1, the first American troop transports—the *City of Peking*, the *City of Sydney*, and the *Australia*—docked in Honolulu, and by July 7, 1898, McKinley had signed a resolution annexing the Hawaiian Islands as part of the United States.¹⁹ Imperialism triumphed over justice and democracy. Determined to be a Pacific power, the United States capitalized on the threat of war and acquired clear access to land needed for military bases in the region, thus strengthening its military presence in Hawai'i, as well as in Eastern Samoa, the Philippines, and Guam.

Despite apparent wide-spread American approval for the Spanish American War in particular and, more generally, for this imperialistic stance, op-

position against the annexation both of Hawai'i and of the Philippines was at times forceful. Grover Cleveland continued speaking against the proposed annexation, and prior to the signing of the resolution, anti-imperialist Senators staged a seventeen-day filibuster during which they outlined every conceivable reason to refuse the annexation of Hawai'i.²⁰ Opposition came from the Black community as well. Booker T. Washington, the noted African American educator and President of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, spoke forcefully against the hostile seizure of the Kingdom and against annexation. Speaking in August 1898 in Ashfield, Massachusetts, Washington stated that:

We went to the Sandwich Islands with the Bible and Prayer Book in our hands to win the souls of the natives; we ended by taking their country without giving them the privilege of saying yea or nay.²¹

Concerned by the growing imperialism of the U. S., Booker T. Washington also spoke strongly against the acquisition of the Philippines during the Spanish American War: "My opinion is that the Philippines should be given the opportunity to govern themselves."²² His comments were widely publicized in the United States and created considerable and rancorous debate. *The Boston Transcript*, as an example, responded to Washington's suggestion stating that

the overthrow of the monarchy was the just punishment of a ruler who had disregarded her oath of allegiance to a constitution and had deliberately decided to profit by the re-establishment of corrupt practices....[T]he domination of Americans in Hawaiian commercial and social life was the inevitable result of superior physical and mental stamina.²³

Voices of opposition, however, were soon overwhelmed by the shouts of those anxious for power and control. On August 12, 1900, as the Hawaiian national anthem, "Hawai'i Pono'i," played, and the Hawaiian flag was pulled from its mast and replaced with the American flag. A formal transfer of power was effected, and Hawai'i was declared a U. S. territory.²⁴

In the midst of all this turmoil, Hawai'i's labor problems on the plantations continued unabated. Low wages and poor working conditions triggered both sporadic strikes by Japanese and Chinese workers. When strikes produced no changes, many Chinese and Japanese left the plantations to start their own small farms or moved into growing near-by towns to open businesses. By this time, most Europeans who had arrived as contract laborers had already sailed to the United States upon completion of their contracts. The Portuguese population, comfortable in Hawai'i, was increasing, but the labor shortage

on plantations was still a problem. Feeling subtle pressure from the U.S. Department of Labor, the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association again considered recruiting African American contract laborers from the American South. The prospect of bringing African American families to Hawai'i was beginning to seem reasonable to many plantation owners, and, as prosperous businessmen, their opinions were heard by legislators. An influx of Black workers might provide field hands with much needed plantation experience and the women who accompanied them might also offer personal and household assistance for wives of plantation owners. An article printed in the magazine *Paradise of the Pacific* quotes one plantation manager as saying that his plantation would accept 25 families and, furthermore, that

two Negroes can do the work of three Japanese....The women will work as well as the men at about two-thirds the wages. Interest has also been awakened among housewives as to the desirability of Negroes as cooks, nurses, etc. and many think they may supplant the Japanese in household duties....²⁵

Advocates of recruiting African American workers envisioned as many as 30,000 Black workers arriving from the South to work on Hawai'i's sugar plantations, and by 1899, the hope that Black labor from the American South might alleviate some of the problems faced by the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association had generated some action. Plans were made to bring to Hawai'i Black men well-respected in Southern communities for tours of plantations. Hawai'i's sugar planters hoped that after touring the plantations and enjoying Hawai'i's comfortable climate, these men might then return to their communities and tell others of opportunities in Hawai'i. The first African American invited was John C. Leftwich,²⁶ a successful businessman, farmer, and minister of Montgomery, Alabama, who left Montgomery on December 5, 1899 and traveled via New Orleans to San Francisco, where he boarded the steamer, *Coptic*, docking in Honolulu on December 13, 1899. Hosted by the HSPA, Leftwich discussed the prospect of importing Black labor to Hawai'i both with plantation managers and with Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawai'i. When discussing civil rights with President Dole, he was also assured

that if any large numbers of [Black] people settled in the Islands, he [Dole] would arrange for the appointment of a Justice of the Peace from among them and would also see that in trial cases the Jury should consist of colored people.²⁷

By the end of his tour, Leftwich was enthusiastic about opportunities that awaited Blacks who chose to become laborers on Hawai'i's sugar plantations.

After receiving further assurances that children could work part of the day and still attend class, Leftwich expressed optimism in his official report on his visit about prospects both to educate children and to protect families on Hawai'i's plantations. To Leftwich, Hawai'i's 1899 sugar plantations seemed an ideal environment for Black workers seeking to relocate

the man who wishes to live by the sweat of his brow and has no where an easier lot or is better paid for his labor at the true value than right on the farms of the Hawaiian Islands."²⁸

Leftwich's enthusiasm for Hawai'i's plantations would be short-lived, however. Within two years, he would return to Hawai'i to investigate working conditions of the plantations and what he learned at that time left him feeling discouraged about the prospects of a decent working life for Blacks on Hawai'i's plantations. His initial enthusiasm, however, may have encouraged others to come to Hawai'i in spite of continuing strikes and disputes between workers and owners on the plantations.

In mid-1900, J. B. Collins of Kohala Plantation, assisted by John Hind, manager of the Hāwī Mill and Plantation, recruited Black plantation workers for five Big Island plantations whose managers were disturbed by an increasing number of strikes and bitter disputes and were thus anxious "to get rid of the Asiatics" and to employ workers who might be more amenable to their demands.²⁹ Hoping to recruit at least 400 Blacks, Collins and Hind traveled to several Southern states. They drummed up some interest in Mississippi and Louisiana, but families were hesitant to sign three-year contracts. The Methodist Conference of Northern Mississippi selected the Reverend John Henry Cook,³⁰ a well-respected Black minister and father of eleven children, to travel to Hawai'i and investigate the working conditions in Kohala. After spending several weeks traveling from plantation to plantation, the Reverend Cook was as impressed as Leftwich had been with the living and working conditions of the plantations; he even contemplated moving his own family to Hawai'i. After agreeing to return to Mississippi to recruit at least 50 families, Cook left Hawai'i. As he boarded the *Zealandia*, Cook told a *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reporter:

I am going home to tell my people what a glorious land this is. It is an ideal country for the people of my race and I believe that eventually the plantations will be worked by negroes from the Southern States.³¹

The Reverend Cook later reported his favorable impressions to the Methodist Conference of Northern Mississippi, noting that:

One man came over from the states with me. He brought his family with him and has since secured work on a plantation in the Kohala District, Hawai'i. He is more than satisfied with the prevailing conditions and has written back home telling his people all about the country. He is enthusiastic over the change in his affairs.³²

Neither Collins nor Hind anticipated opposition from the Southern press to the recruitment efforts by agents for Hawai'i's plantation owners, but such opposition immediately surfaced. Some White farmers stubbornly resisted this planned emigration of workers, understanding that such a plan might cause a loss of cheap labor for the South. *The Daily Picayune*³³ of New Orleans printed a series of articles attacking efforts to lure plantation laborers to Hawai'i and away from Southern plantations. Not surprisingly, Booker T. Washington was also critical of such recruitment efforts. Washington had achieved credibility with Southern Whites because of his philosophy that Blacks and Whites, with an equal stake in creating a new South, could successfully work together to birth that new community. In 1895, Washington admonished Southern Blacks to stay in the South, telling those

who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the southern White man [to] "cast down your buckets where you are."³⁴

Less idealistic than Washington, the cotton planters had their own reasons for resisting a mass exodus of Blacks from the South. *The Hawaiian Planters Monthly* observed that it might not be "the best interest of the south, or any other people depending on the south's cotton, for the negro to be taken from the cotton fields..."³⁵ Nonetheless, the Hawai'i recruiters succeeded in convincing some workers to travel to Hawai'i, but their success was minimal. Ultimately, according to the Commissioner of Labor Report for 1902, only 25 Mississippi families traveled to Kohala to work.³⁶

James B. Castle of Alexander and Baldwin established recruiting agencies in Nashville, Tennessee, and Montgomery, Alabama, and agents for the HSPA began recruitment in the surrounding Black communities during the Fall of 1900. Flyers, newspapers, and pastors announced opportunities in Hawai'i to African Americans, emphasizing both the astounding beauty of these far away Islands in the middle of the Pacific and the ample salaries of \$26.00 per month plus free housing and firewood. Black workers, however, did not need the lure of gentle tradewinds to convince them to leave Southern plantations. Racially motivated acts of violence were rapidly becoming responsible for a

mass exodus of Blacks from the South. Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute had released an announcement that over one hundred Blacks had been lynched annually in the South since 1890; in 1900, there had been 106 lynchings.³⁷ Convinced that their voices were not being heard in the ongoing planning of the new society and worried that their lives were in danger, Blacks were ready to leave the South. Sponsored by the Liberia Colonization Society, 300 Blacks had signed up to move from Alabama to Monrovia, Liberia as part of the "Back to Africa Movement."³⁸ For many, Liberia as an ancestral homeland held greater promise than distant and foreign Hawai'i. Castle's new Hawai'i recruitment effort managed to convince at first twenty-two Blacks—five women and seventeen men—to sign on as laborers bound for Hawai'i; others would follow.

On December 19, 1900, R. O. Bean,³⁹ a former Colonel in the Confederate Army and traveling passenger agent for the Southern Pacific Company, accompanied the newly recruited men and women by train to San Francisco where they boarded the Honolulu-bound *Zealandia* on December 26. J. T. Mansen, well known in Nashville's Black community and an active Republican, was selected by the group to represent them. After a tumultuous crossing marked by high seas and much sea-sickness, the Nashville group arrived exhausted but hopeful in Honolulu on January 2, 1901. Just before boarding the interisland steamer, *Claudia*, bound for the plantations in Wailuku, Maui, R. O. Bean told a local reporter:

[T]his is the first arrival of colored laborers in a body from Nashville and it is the nature of an experiment, but I feel satisfied that the laborers will be perfectly contented with their new surroundings.⁴⁰

Some weeks later, W. J. Faulkner, a cotton planter from Montgomery, accompanied to Hawai'i forty experienced plantation workers and their families who had been recruited in Montgomery, Alabama. William F. Crockett,⁴¹ an African American lawyer, traveled with Faulkner and served as the group's representative as they sailed for Hawai'i on the *City of Peking*, arriving in Honolulu on January 16, 1901. Scheduled to sail to Maui the following day aboard the steamer *Helene*, they were informed that they could only travel as deck passengers. The group refused to board until they could be guaranteed better accommodations. Crockett successfully argued their position, and *The Evening Bulletin* announced that "the *Helene* went out with all her cabins full of colored immigrants."⁴² Shortly after the arrival of the Faulkner group, W. H. Shirley from Montgomery arrived with yet another group of plantation

bound workers, approximately one hundred men and women en route to the Sprecklesville plantation on Maui. The "experiment" was beginning to appear as successful as Bean had suggested it might be. Faulkner later indicated to a reporter in Kahului that he was "returning to Alabama and will try to bring two thousand more [Black workers] within a short time."⁴³

It seemed that, despite original resistance, a Black community was slowly birthing itself in Hawai'i. William F. Crockett contributed his legal skills to help the growing community of Black plantation workers, and William L. Maples,⁴⁴ a Black physician and a graduate of Howard University' medical school, had also been convinced to come to Hawai'i to serve the plantation workers. Maples became Hawai'i's first Black plantation doctor, settling with his family between Kahului and Sprecklesville and working at the hospital at Pu'unēnē for thirty years. The Reverends J. A. Henderson and Augustus Hutchinson, both of Montgomery, were recruited to attend to the spiritual needs of these new plantation workers, and were often seen working in the Sprecklesville fields alongside the workers.⁴⁵

Workdays on Maui's plantations were long, usually beginning at 4:00 a.m. and ending by 4:00 p.m. or later. Field workers labored strenuously five days a week and half of every Saturday, preparing land, ditching for irrigation, planting, cutting, and loading cane. Some laborers worked as mule drivers or as mill hands at the new Sprecklesville sugar mill, which used the latest processing equipment to produce 100 tons of raw sugar per day, the largest output of raw sugar in Hawai'i. Black plantation workers dreamed of saving enough money to buy a piece of land for themselves in their new home, but they were quickly disabused of this notion. An editorial in the *Maui News* stated bluntly that

the negroes, or any other class of labor which may come to the Islands, will not be able to buy lands or make homes for themselves, exception of very limited numbers. The land worth owning is already owned by private parties and is not and will not be for sale. For that reason no imported labor will be able to gain a fixed hold in the Islands in large numbers, but will simply be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the land owners.⁴⁶

Many contract laborers on the plantations, including Whites and Asians, refused to accept this assessment for their future lives in Hawai'i. Although most laborers were poor, they retained hopes of some day being able to own a small piece of their own land. Some agricultural and labor officials suggested that Hawai'i might experiment with sharecropping arrangements similar to

those used on plantations in the South.⁴⁷ According to an editorial in the *Maui News*, sharecropping was "a system tried and approved by the negroes on the cotton fields of the South and if the opportunity was afforded them to obtain advantageous contracts here, a better class of them would be attracted to the cane fields."⁴⁸ Sharecropping in Hawai'i, however, never made it past the talking stage.

As America and Hawai'i moved into a new century, conditions had not improved for African American laborers on Southern plantations. Hawai'i may have seemed too far and too foreign to qualify as a desirable destination for relocation, but nonetheless, by mid-1901, more than 350 African Americans had made the long trip to Hawai'i to start new lives in an unfamiliar land.

Trouble at Wailuku

Life on Hawai'i's plantations was not as idyllic as those early transplanted workers might have hoped. After working for a month, the Nashville laborers were told that their pay would be only sixty cents per day, considerably less than the salary R. O. Bean had indicated they would be receiving. Many workers were handed only \$3.00 for a month's labor along with an explanation that deductions had been made for items provided by the plantation store, including bedding, food, utensils, and other necessary household items. Four single men, led by Will Aliston, protested and went on strike stating that they had been misled and overcharged for household goods.⁴⁹

Aliston tried to convince fellow workers to join the strike, but with little success. Plantation manager Wells ordered the four protesters off the plantation immediately; they were not allowed to return to their cabins to retrieve personal belongings. This brutal method of labor control was not a new practice; in past years, strikers and their families had been frequently evicted from plantation homes, often with the help of local police.⁵⁰ Penniless and with only the clothes on their backs, Aliston and other protesters made their way to Kahului, hoping to find employment. Unfortunately, the manager of the Wailuku plantation had already informed potential employers in Kahului that Aliston and his group were troublemakers.⁵¹ Forced to acknowledge the impossibility of finding work on Maui, the group of strikers raised money for passage to Honolulu by singing and dancing for street crowds.⁵²

Two of the strikers later found work at a livery stable in Honolulu, and the other two went to work for the Rapid Transport Company where they received a dollar and a half a day for ten hours work, better wages than those

they had received as plantation workers. In an interview with a reporter for a Honolulu newspaper, Aliston expressed his approval of this shift in life style and employment, stating that

our sleeping costs us each a dollar a week and we can go where we want to buy our food...at the plantation store they made us pay \$2 for a sack of flour. Here we can get a sack of the best flour for a dollar and a half.⁵³

Despite the ill-treatment from the plantation owners and managers, Aliston and his fellow strikers found better working conditions in Honolulu and better living condition in Kaka'ako where many Blacks and Puerto Ricans had settled, but such a shift of circumstances was not as easy for other plantation workers, especially for those with families. Aliston's fellow workers who had remained at Wailuku may have been equally concerned about conditions on the plantation, but they also realized that if they broke their three-year contracts they would be forced to pay their own return transportation costs to the Mainland, which would be cost prohibitive for men with families. By December 1903, as those contracts expired, many workers imported from the South found the ways and means to leave the plantations. Some moved to Honolulu; others returned to the Mainland.⁵⁴ Those single men who remained in Honolulu assimilated into the community, as did single men from other ethnic groups.

In response to an increasing number of negative reports about working conditions on Hawai'i's plantations, the U. S. government dispatched commissioners to investigate working conditions in its new territories of Hawai'i and the Philippines, which both provided the U. S with ports in the Pacific. In mid-1901 John C. Leftwich, by now a political appointee of President McKinley and still a friend of Booker T. Washington, was sent by the U.S. Department of the Interior's Land Management Office to investigate the causes of strikes on plantations in Hawai'i and the Philippines.⁵⁵ Recommended for the position of investigator by Booker T. Washington, the unofficial "chief patronage referee" in the South for U. S. Presidents seeking Black appointees,⁵⁶ Leftwich, already familiar with Hawai'i's plantations, was a natural choice to represent the government, visiting plantations and talking with workers and managers and officials of the HSPA. Leftwich arrived in Hawai'i just as a discussion erupted amongst plantation owners and HSPA leaders about the feasibility of recruiting from the South White "lunas," or field supervisors, to manage plantations with large numbers of Black laborers, and this narrowly framed discussion dispelled his earlier confident notion that for Black workers

"no where an easier lot or is better paid for his labor at the true value, than right on the farms of the Hawaiian Islands." The *Maui News* had previously printed an insulting editorial that reflected both the fundamental mistrust of plantation managers that Black immigrants could be competent workers and the conviction of plantation owners that only White managers could successfully direct Black workers in the field:

The introduction of negro labor on the island offers a possible solution of the labor troubles. But good judgment must be used in the matter. They should only be brought in limited numbers at first and every plantation which uses them should also secure the services of a White man who knows and understands negroes, and have their management largely in their hands.⁵⁷

Leftwich was so alarmed by this proposition that he wrote a letter to the *Maui News* expressing his dismay:

If this is to be the intention of the planters, then I am ready to throw my whole influence against the movement, and will do everything to keep more colored people from going. The colored people have had enough experience in the south of poor White bosses without going thousands of miles to be put under the same conditions.⁵⁸

A year later, T. Thomas Fortune⁵⁹ was appointed by McKinley and sent to Hawai'i and the Philippines to provide follow-up information concerning Leftwich's investigation. A well-known journalist and publisher of the *New York Age*, an African American newspaper, Fortune was also the founder of the Afro-American League of the United States which had pledged to fight all forms of discrimination and segregation. Fortune's book, *Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South*,⁶⁰ condemned the exploitation of African American labor in agriculture in the post-Reconstruction South.

After meeting with the sugar representatives of the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association, Fortune was escorted to the outer Islands by several representatives of both the HSPA and the Chamber of Commerce. Although his first visits were to the hot dry sugar fields in the Kohala District, Sprecklesville and Wailuku, his hosts knew that Fortune, as a representative from Washington, could prove to be either a powerful ally or a formidable enemy. They were determined to win his favor rather than his enmity. Fortune was wined and dined at the Pacific Club, an exclusive enclave for the rich and influential and then hosted by the powerful—the Armstrong family; George R. Carter, president of the Hawai'i Trust Company; and Alfred S. Hartwell, wealthy planter and Associate Justice of the Hawai'i Supreme Court.⁶¹ Fortune, however, was not a man to

be bought for the price of fine wine or an expensive meal. The planters and members of the business community that had so lavishly entertained Fortune at the Pacific Club were greatly surprised when Fortune told a reporter for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on January 5, 1903:

I shall not advise white or black laborers to come here under existing circumstances, for it does not seem possible that they could be uplifted, could secure land, and make their own homes.⁶²

After delivering this firm admonition to his hosts, Fortune departed Honolulu for Manila on January 25, 1903. Both Leftwich and Fortune had reputations in their respective communities as strong advocates of justice and fair play for African Americans, and their investigations proved the accuracy of those reputations. Although conscious that their appointments reflected only token political patronage, they assumed full responsibility for their roles as investigators and conscientiously uncovered actual living and working conditions on the plantations.

Although it is not known exactly how many laborers from the South finally did remain in Hawai'i to complete their contracts, in his 1902 report, the U. S. Commissioner of Labor declared a failure the experiment to use African American laborers from the South. A *Maui News* editorial offered begrudging yet cynical agreement for the suggestion that the experiment to bring African Americans to Hawai'i had failed, in part, because the planters had not provided decent living and working conditions for their workers:

Negro labor on the plantations has proved by actual experiment on Maui both dangerous and unprofitable. Like most questions, there are two sides to it. Some of the Negroes imported were good, but they came here to better their conditions and whether misrepresentations were made to them or not, the truth is that they have not found here what they expected, and at the rate of wages which the plantations pay, they cannot more than hope to merely keep soul and body together. So far as Maui is concerned the question of Negro labor in large numbers is practically settled adversely to the proposition.⁶³

The African Americans who had imagined that Hawai'i held possibility for a new life were bitterly disappointed and many left the Islands in search of places that would allow their dreams for freedom to be translated to reality. The very few that remained made their homes in Hawai'i and faded into the multiracial mix, but, as time passes, perhaps the many will remember the considerable contributions made by those few to the political, economic, and physical landscape of Hawai'i. ❖

Notes

1. Gavan Daws, *Shoals of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1974), 269–272.
2. Hawai'i (Republic) Minister of the Interior, *Report* (Honolulu: 1850), 13.
3. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778–1854, *Foundations and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 329.
4. Margaret Young, *Hawai'i's People From China* (Honolulu: Hogarth Press, 1974).
5. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, 1874–1893, *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 183.
6. Hawai'i, Department of Planning and Economic Development. *Quarterly Statistical Report* (Honolulu: 1985), 48.
7. Kuykendall, vol. 3, 127.
8. U.S. Bureau of Immigration, *Report* (Washington, D.C.: 1879). The report reviewed previous proposals beginning with Gibson. The report stated: "Many of them were willing to come, and many of their old masters would have seen them leave the country with pleasure..."
9. Hawai'i (Kingdom) Legislative Assembly, 5 August 1882, MS76; see also Charles T. Gulick, *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigrants to the Legislative Assembly of 1886* (Honolulu: Kingdom of Hawai'i, 1886), 143.
10. Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study* (New York: Doubleday, 1904).
11. Gulick, 143.
12. *The Friend, Temperance and Seamen* (1843–1954) was a newspaper that often carried stereotypical articles about non-Whites in Hawai'i.
13. *Hawaiian Gazette*, 30 November 1886.
14. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Affairs in Hawai'i. *Blount Report* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895); Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1936), 229.
15. *Hawaiian Star*, 5 July 1894, 1; For more information concerning annexation, see William Adam Russ, Jr. *The Hawaiian Republic (1894–98) and Its Struggle to Win Annexation* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992).
16. Russ, 354.
17. *Ibid.*, 353–354.
18. *Ibid.*, 286.
19. *Ibid.*, 289, 354.
20. *Ibid.*, 298, 338–356.

21. *Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 4, 1895–1898 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 278.
22. *Indianapolis Freeman*, 24 September 1898, 4.
23. *Boston Transcript*, 26 August 1894, 4.
24. Russ, 366–367.
25. *Paradise of the Pacific*, September 1897, 132.
26. *Washington Papers*. John C. Leftwich to Booker T. Washington, 25 March 1901, *Washington Papers*, vol. 6, 64–66.
27. *Ibid.*, 8.
28. John C. Leftwich, “Report of J. C. Leftwich of Investigation into Hawaiian Labor Field” (Honolulu, 4 January 1900).
29. *Daily Picayune*, 18 July 1900, 6.
30. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 15 December 1900, 9.
31. *Ibid.*, 19.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 15 January 1900, 3.
34. Booker T. Washington made this statement in a speech he gave at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia in September 1895.
35. *Hawaiian Planters Monthly*, May 1901, 239–240.
36. U.S. Department of Labor. *Report of the Commissioner of Labor*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 24–25.
37. *Chicago Tribune*, 31 December 1914.
38. *Montgomery Advertiser*, 9 December 1900, 5.
39. *Nashville Banner*, 19 December 1900, 5.
40. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 14 January 1901, 1.
41. John Siddal, *Men of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin Publishing, 1917), 110.
42. *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu), 3 January 1901, 4.
43. *Maui News*, 2 March 1901, 4.
44. Siddal, 110; see also Paul Wermager, “Healing the Sick,” in this volume.
45. *Maui News*, 16 February 1901, 3.
46. *Maui News*, 2 March 1901, 4.
47. *Maui News*, 8 December 1900, 2.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu), 8 February 1901, 8.
50. *Maui News*, 26 January 1901, 8.
51. *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu), 8 February 1901, 6.
52. *Ibid.*, 8.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 73.
55. *Maui News*, 2 March 1902, 4.
56. Hugh Hawkins, *Booker T. Washington and His Critics* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).
57. *Maui News*, 12 January 1901, 2.
58. *Maui News*, 2 March 1901, 2, 3. Page 2 is an editorial; page 3 a reprint of a letter from Rev. John C. Leftwich that previously appeared in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.
59. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1548.
60. T. Thomas Fortune, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (New York: Arno Press, 1884).
61. T. Thomas Fortune to Booker T. Washington, 7 January 1903, *Washington Papers*, vol. 6, 612–613.
62. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 5 January 1903, 3.
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Carlotta Stewart Lai: An African American Teacher in the Territory of Hawai'i

ALBERT S. BROUSSARD

When T. McCants Stewart¹ arrived in Hawai'i, there were only 233 African-Americans living in Hawai'i, and they represented but 0.2 percent of the total population. Despite the small number of Blacks in Hawai'i, T. McCants Stewart believed that Hawai'i offered an ambitious man like himself the opportunity to prosper. Born a free person in Charleston, South Carolina in 1853, Stewart took advantage of the educational opportunities available to Blacks during the post-Civil War era. After attending Howard University in 1869 during its formative decade, he subsequently enrolled at the University of South Carolina at Columbia where he received his undergraduate degree in 1875, and then practiced law in Orangeburg, South Carolina for several years with the prominent Black South Carolina congressman, Robert Brown Elliott. Stewart later moved to New York, where he became a respected attorney and political leader, wrote a column for the *New York Freeman*, a Black weekly, became the second African American to serve on the Brooklyn Board of Education, and was one of the most prominent civil rights leaders in New York. In 1882, Stewart advocated Black emigration to Africa, and during that year he himself emigrated to Liberia to work with the Black nationalist leader Edward Blyden, developing the curriculum at the College of Liberia where Blyden served as president. After feuding with Blyden, however, Stewart returned to the United States in 1885, disillusioned about the prospect of future Black emigration to Africa.¹

Restless, but also pessimistic over the future of Blacks to advance economically and politically in the United States, Stewart sailed to Hawai'i in 1898, shortly after the Islands had been annexed by the United States.² He

hoped to enter politics by working through the Republican party, to improve his legal practice, and to invest in local businesses, notably in the sugar industry. (For more information on T. McCants Stewart, see "The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in Twentieth Century Hawai'i," in this volume.) The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, the largest daily paper in Honolulu, wrote that Stewart was accompanied by his wife Alice, whose education had been finished with three years in Paris, and a daughter, already an accomplished young lady.³

Carlotta Stewart, at eighteen years of age, accompanied her father to Hawai'i in 1898, probably at his urging, to continue her education and to begin planning her future. This young African American woman defied the odds and the racial prejudice against Black professional women during the early twentieth century by becoming an effective teacher and principal in the Territory of Hawai'i, by living in integrated communities, marrying interracially, and building a multiracial network of friends and associates on the Islands of O'ahu and Kaua'i. Carlotta's lengthy residence in Hawai'i also reveals that some African American women were willing to sacrifice both the familiarity of large Black communities and the companionship of their families in exchange for economic autonomy and for the opportunity to earn respect and dignity in their chosen profession. Occasionally fraught with misgivings that her choice was less than ideal, Carlotta Stewart was nevertheless convinced that she had made the correct decision, and believed, moreover, that the impediments to a professional career for Black females were far fewer in Hawai'i than on the Mainland. Carlotta Stewart's experiences in Hawai'i between 1898 and 1952 provide a rich mosaic by which to examine the African-American female experience in perhaps the most multiracial location in the Pacific and to test the conclusions of many writers and scholars that early Hawai'i was a melting-pot and possessed virtually no racial problem.⁴

The third child of T. McCants Stewart and Charlotte Pearl Harris, Carlotta was born September 16, 1881, in Brooklyn, New York, where she spent her formative years and attended public schools. When Carlotta landed in Hawai'i, she looked at her new environment through the eyes of a young woman who had made a conscious decision to come to a new land where she might pursue her education. She arrived neither as a refugee nor as a worker; she arrived as one who knew she had a future. In 1898, a Black woman of such determination was uncommon in Hawai'i. Few Black women had come to the Islands during the nineteenth century, and fewer had stayed. Carlotta

would be different. Although the first reported Black female, Betsey Stockton, had arrived in Hawai'i in 1823 to work as a Christian missionaries, most early Black settlers had been males. Unlike Betsey Stockton who only stayed in Hawai'i for two years,² Carlotta would remain in the Islands to complete her education, to pursue a professional career as a teacher and principal, and to settle permanently, leaving only to make periodic trips to the Mainland to visit family.⁵

In the decades before Carlotta's arrival, Hawai'i was in the throes of profound change in virtually every area of its society. The government had been toppled under the reign of Queen Lili'uokalani, and the Hawaiian Kingdom officially came to an end on January 17, 1893. Shortly thereafter, a provisional government, headed by Judge Sanford B. Dole, adopted a new constitution, and on July 4, 1894, the Republic of Hawai'i was created. The new Hawaiian constitution, to no one's surprise, named Dole as president, a position that he held for six years, after which President William McKinley appointed Dole as Hawai'i's first governor.⁶

The political changes were extreme, but the Hawaiian Islands had also changed in a number of other respects, and these changes would shape the Island's future. The population of Hawai'i, for example, had almost doubled between 1872 and 1896, increasing from 57,000 to 109,000. Honolulu's population alone rose 100 percent, resulting in greater congestion and the need for additional services, including a more progressive water supply system and a street railway system to serve the growing population. Waikiki had only recently become a popular resort for tourists, and the district's first hotel, which was short-lived, was not constructed until 1884. Aware that the Islands' natural beauty was a potentially powerful magnet to attract throngs of visitors from around the world, a tourist bureau was organized in 1892. But even the most carefully charted vacation presented formidable challenges, because roads into exotic areas, if they existed at all, were rugged. A trip to the volcano of Kilauea, one of Hawai'i's greatest attractions, writes Ralph Kuykendall, "required fortitude." The journey began by sailing to Hilo, "and from there on horseback over a rugged trail which struggled up thirty miles through the forest and lava to a very primitive hotel near the edge of the crater."⁷ Not until the mid-1880s did local steamship companies provide more efficient service to allow tourists easier travel to and from this spectacular sight.

The Hawaiian economy had also undergone a profound transformation. The whaling industry, which had dominated Hawai'i's economy for many

decades, was in sharp decline, and Hawai'i's economic future appeared tied to labor-intensive yet profitable sugar production. Between 1855 and 1857, when whaling was still the dominant industry, the Islands had averaged only 500,000 pounds of sugar a year, but by the early 1870s, Hawai'i was exporting more than nineteen million pounds of sugar annually. Between 1874 and 1898, the area of land in Hawai'i devoted exclusively to sugar cane production increased tenfold, from 12,225 acres to 125,000 acres, and, as agricultural methods had improved, an acre of sugar cane land in 1898 produced twice as much sugar as an acre had produced in 1874. The Island's economic future seemed especially bright.⁸

Despite its charm and bustling economy, Hawai'i was a peculiar setting for a sheltered young Black woman from Brooklyn, New York. Although her father had spent several years in Liberia, Africa, Carlotta had never traveled outside of the continental United States before coming to Hawai'i, and although her brothers McCants and Gilchrist had attended Tuskegee Institute, the Southern vocational school established by Booker T. Washington in 1881, Carlotta had remained at home with her father following a bitter divorce from his first wife.⁹ Hawai'i offered her a chance to grow and to study. In 1902, she graduated ready for a white-collar career from O'ahu College (Punahou School), which offered classes in Philosophy, Religion, English, Latin, Greek, French or German, History, Economics, Mathematics, and Science.

"The Oahuan," the school annual, noted that Stewart, one of eight members in the senior class, had completed one year at the school, had been a member of the literary society, and had played on the girl's basketball team, indicating both assimilation into the school and acceptance by her peers. After graduation, Carlotta completed the requirements for a Normal School certificate and then promptly accepted a teaching position in the Practice Department of the Normal School. Carlotta remained at the Normal School for several years, where she taught English, her major at O'ahu College; her name appears in the biennial "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i" between 1902 and 1924.¹⁰ While surviving records do not provide a detailed account of Stewart's professional career, they do offer insight into the opportunities and challenges that a Black professional woman faced in Hawai'i during the early twentieth century. Stewart's annual salary in 1902 of \$660, for example, placed her comfortably in the Black middle class in both Hawai'i and on the Mainland.¹¹ Within four years, her salary had increased to \$900, which she supplemented by typing

during her spare time.¹² By 1908, however, her teaching salary had increased to \$100 per month, which provided not only a comfortable standard of living, but also financed extensive travel throughout the Islands when classes were not in session, permitted occasional trips to the Mainland by ocean steamer to visit relatives, and allowed her to provide limited financial assistance to her mother and two brothers. Thus Stewart's income provided a degree of security and independence that few Black or White working women had achieved by the early twentieth century, and it exceeded the annual salary of some Black professionals, including nurses.¹³

The young African American teacher had also gained respect as a competent professional woman in her own right. "Sometimes I get quite blue not having a single relative in the Islands," she wrote her oldest brother McCants in 1906. "I soon get over it, for I have such good friends. I want for nothing."¹⁴ Indeed, by the time that her father and stepmother, Alice Franklin Stewart, left Hawai'i in 1905, Carlotta had both established a network of close friendships and created an active social life. She informed McCants during the 1906 school year that in addition to teaching, she was busy with classes, vacations, camping, surfing, and frequent parties. "We took in two dances a week at the Seaside Hotel [in Honolulu] and played cards at home the other evenings or made up moonlight bathing parties," she boasted. Carlotta also attended Sunday baseball games on the Islands and served as coach of the junior and senior female teams in her local community.¹⁵ Stewart's career advancement, her acceptance in the larger Hawaiian community, and her strong friendships were pivotal factors in her decision to remain in Hawai'i after her father's departure in 1905. The frequency with which she reported attending social functions suggests that she was accepted into the social circles of her middle class peers. Carlotta's descriptions reveal a more outgoing and jovial side of her personality, adding dimension and warmth to the more formal teacher and principal described in the public record.

Similarly, the ease with which Stewart obtained housing in Hawai'i revealed that a Black woman could still reside openly in an integrated community. Carlotta had resided initially with her father, who had purchased a large house in Honolulu. In time, however, she became more independent and shared a residence on Beretania Street in an attractive neighborhood with a young female friend and, later, with a widow. "We have a pretty place here being on the main thoroughfare to the beach and cars running out here and to town pass here," she wrote McCants.¹⁶ These living arrangements allowed

Carlotta greater independence and the opportunity to save money, to interact with a variety of people, and, ultimately, to purchase property.

While conditions may have been neither difficult nor racially oppressive for a Black professional woman in Hawai'i, there was no substantial Black community before World War II, and Stewart saw few Blacks in either her classrooms or in the local community. Although Hawai'i's Black population had tripled between 1900 and 1910, and more Black professionals had come to the Islands to pursue careers, a handful of Black professionals did not compose a community. But if the absence of a Black community presented particular problems in respect to dating or having a peer group of Black professionals to interact with, Stewart rarely complained. Most of her social activities, such as travel and parties, occurred in groups, relieving her of the pressure to find a companion with a comparably racial and social background.¹⁷

Despite her assimilation into the middle class, Carlotta remained isolated from her Mainland friends and family. Following the death of her mother Charlotte Harris Stewart in 1906, Carlotta felt distraught and guilty. Although her mother was an 1872 graduate from Wilberforce University, she had struggled financially throughout much of her life because of the limited employment opportunities available to college-educated African American women. Carlotta had promised to help her mother financially following her divorce from T. McCants Stewart, an obligation she had neglected, partly as a result of pressure from her father. When T. McCants Stewart remarried in 1893, he prohibited his children from contacting their natural mother while they were under his care. "I should have done more for her," Carlotta lamented to her brother McCants. You see when Papa was here [in Hawai'i], I was not allowed to write her."¹⁸ Furthermore, she reminded McCants, "Papa made it understood that his former wife was dead when we children were small." This situation also resulted in strained relations between Carlotta and her stepmother, Alice Franklin Stewart, and may explain, in part, why she did not follow her father and stepmother to London in 1905. Carlotta resented this interloper, and throughout the remainder of her life she had little to do with either her stepmother or her three half-sisters.¹⁹

As Carlotta had done in the past when she desired advice and reassurance, she confided in McCants with whom she had forged a strong emotional bond when faced with the absence of T. McCants Stewart's absence and the death of her mother. Admittedly depressed, she lamented, "O Mac, it is terrible. I am so far away and not a soul here to comfort me, as I can not tell any one."²⁰ Four

years older than Carlotta, McCants had always served as a surrogate father for his younger sister, providing advice and solace, and his encouragement proved particularly important to Carlotta during this difficult period. Carlotta also complained of rootlessness and her need for family in 1906: "'Tis terrible to think how we have been without home, mother or father, since we were babes, practically. It is hard enough for boys. But a girl certainly does need a home with mother and father until she gets one of her own."²¹ This statement was the first in her correspondence to indicate that Carlotta resented her father's frequent absences from home and the dislocation and disunity that his ambitious and peripatetic career had brought to her life.

In 1907, Carlotta was restless, and when McCants suggested a return to the Mainland, citing both personal and financial reasons, she agreed. "Yes Mac, let us go East. I do not want to stay here any longer. I am too far away from loved ones."²² She also revealed that she was dissatisfied with her financial situation. "The Islands are not what they used to be financially any way. Have thought of settling here...will not now," she wrote. Carlotta assured McCants that she would relocate to the Mainland no later than September of that year.²³

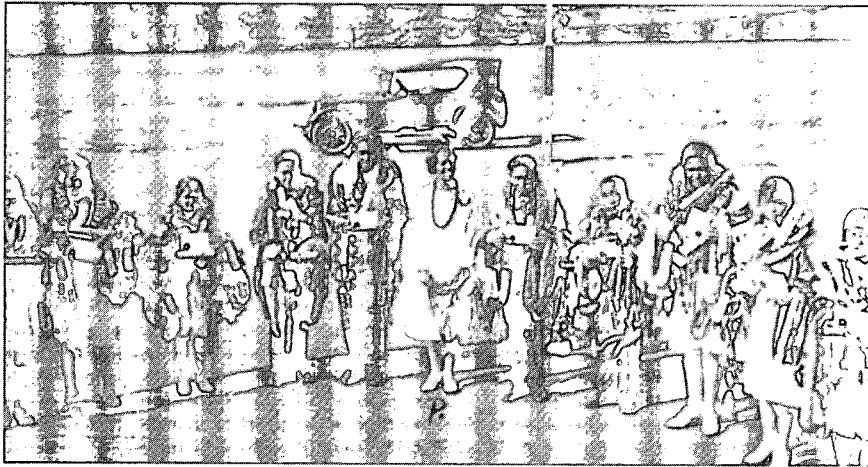
Carlotta's uneasiness stemmed, in part, from the impact that the Panic of 1907 had on both her personal finances and on the Hawaiian economy in general. Her salary was cut three percent, and teachers were prohibited from working part-time jobs to supplement their salaries. She also noted that food prices had risen sharply and, for the first time, her debts had become a financial burden. "I have never met such a streak of ill luck," she informed McCants. "Will simply have to let everything go and start all over again."²⁴ These financial travails caused Carlotta's weight to drop to 109 pounds, but she believed that she could weather the storm and rectify her problems. In her characteristically optimistic tone, she wrote: "Will not let these difficulties conquer me."²⁵ After careful reflection, however, Stewart decided that it was not in her best interest to return to the Mainland. Despite her intermittent loneliness, the depression following the death of her mother, and her financial problems, she was an established professional in the Hawaiian schools. Certainly, she must have also been aware that because of the racial discrimination prevalent in the early twentieth century, it was unlikely that she could have achieved similar status in any Pacific Coast community. Still somewhat ambivalent about her decision to remain in Hawai'i, Carlotta wrote McCants, "the thought of staying out here three or four years longer wears on me at

times. But I am perfectly sensible about it now as I see the situation East. I would not leave now for anything."²⁶

The young Black teacher's decision to remain in Hawai'i proved to be an advantageous one, for within two years she had been promoted to principal of the Ko'olau Elementary School and received an increase in salary.²⁷ Stewart's mobility in the space of seven years was an impressive achievement. While many Black women had established careers in teaching and a handful as administrators by 1909, it was unusual for a Black female at the age of twenty-eight to serve as principal of a multiracial school. This achievement was particularly striking for a Black woman in a society where Blacks had no political influence to request jobs of this magnitude and where few Blacks resided. Stewart's upward mobility reveals that Blacks were more likely to obtain professional jobs in Hawai'i than in many West Coast cities, including San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle.²⁸ Teaching and administrative positions would not be open to African Americans in most Western cities until the 1940s.

It is impossible to reconstruct Carlotta Stewart's professional career in its entirety, yet fragments of information taken from official reports to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, school and Island newspapers and from Carlotta's personal correspondence provide some insight into both the Hawaiian schools and Carlotta's administrative career. After rapidly increasing during the decades between 1900 and 1940, Hawai'i's school-aged population reflected the racial and ethnic diversity of the Islands. In 1933, for example, Stewart's pupils included Hawaiians, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, and Portuguese. Sixteen Americans were listed as students, but there is no indication that any of these sixteen were Black. As most Black Hawaiians lived on the Island of O'ahu and because, between 1916 and 1950, Carlotta resided and worked on the Island of Kaua'i, is unlikely that Stewart had contact with more than a handful of school-aged Blacks prior to World War II, and most of these were the children of United States military personnel.

Two to three hundred pupils attended Carlotta's schools annually during her years as a principal. The *Hanama'ulu School World* reported that 283 students of various races attended the Hanama'ulu School. Between 1940 and 1944, however, the school's enrollment had declined to 256 students. In addition to managing the school, Stewart also supervised seven classroom teachers, the school librarian, the cafeteria manager, and taught English.²⁹ These responsibilities were a firm testament to the confidence that public



Carlotta Stewart Lai (center, dressed in white), Principal, Anaola School, Kaua'i, with the Class of 1928. Photo courtesy of Howard University Archives.



Carlotta Stewart Lai. Photo courtesy of Howard University Archives.

school officials had in Stewart's administrative ability and also served as an indication of how far she had come in her career.

By any standard, Carlotta Stewart's professional career was successful. Even without the support of a large Black community, she excelled as both a teacher and an administrator for over four decades and established a network of professional associates throughout Hawai'i. She attended conventions of the Hawai'i Education Association and the Kaua'i Education Association and read the *Hawai'i Education Review*. She was also an active member of the Kaua'i Historical Society and served on a committee that planned to write a history of Kaua'i. Her career advancement and the respect she was accorded in the community served as critical factors that helped her make the decision to remain in Hawai'i permanently.³⁰

Because she had spent her childhood in a society that had denigrated Black females, irrespective of education or class standing, Carlotta was exceedingly conscious both of her public and of her professional image. Oral interviews with surviving family members and with teachers who knew her professionally reveal that Stewart was a refined, cultured, and attractive African-American woman, who insisted on decorum and formality, and surviving photographs of Carlotta confirm this conclusion.³¹ Katherine Stewart Flippin stated that her aunt "liked to dress up and go to dinner in formal style." Carlotta, she continued,

was an elegant lady. She had an air about her. Because she lived in the Islands so long, most everyone took her for [a] kinky-headed Hawaiian. She didn't do anything to her hair, and it was real crisp and full, and she wore it like they used to wear it, up, so it looked like, not hair, but [a] hat. And then she'd sometimes wear a little circlet of shell or a circlet of brightly colored feathers around the top for decoration.³²

Eleanor Anderson, who had also taught and resided on the Island of Kaua'i, also recalled that Carlotta was extremely popular and well-respected by everyone who knew her in Kaua'i, despite the fact that she was a disciplinarian who demanded excellence and respect from her students and colleagues alike. Despite her vivacious public personality, Carlotta, as Anderson suggests, was privately "quiet and reserved" and never shared her private affairs or publicly discussed her husband.³³

Stewart's personal correspondence confirms this reserve, revealing that she had only moderate interest in community affairs and no real sense of a racial identity. Unlike many Black professional women who devoted part of

their careers to women's groups and benevolent societies, Carlotta Stewart was not a social reformer—a striking fact, as Carlotta had been reared in a family of Black activists. Her brothers, McCants and Gilchrist, both attorneys, were active in civil rights struggles in Portland and New York, and her father had challenged successfully several Jim Crow laws in the State of New York and won the praise of Booker T. Washington. Her aunt, Verina Morton-Jones, to whom she wrote periodically, had been a charter member of the Brooklyn chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a cofounder of the National Urban League, and active in the colored YWCA and settlement house movement, but Carlotta never joined any organization designed to promote the advancement of either African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Hawaiians, or women. Carlotta's decision to avoid reform movements was atypical of the Stewarts, and although it may be tempting to assume that her lack of participation in societal reforms may have been an indication that, relatively speaking, Hawai'i did not have any racial problems, the plethora of racist editorials and cartoons printed in the *Honolulu Advertiser* maligning not only Blacks, but also Puerto Ricans and Asians suggests that racial tensions did exist in Honolulu.³⁴ However, those problems may not have touched Carlotta's life. Although Carlotta never denied that she was African-American or tried to "pass" as a member of another racial or ethnic group, her isolation both from her family of racial activists and from the culture of the Black middle class coupled with her desire to assimilate may explain why she did not comment on the racism that did exist in Honolulu. In some respects, this gifted African American woman may have simply allowed herself to forge a non-race-based identity, and thus, her life in Hawai'i must have been liberating, particularly in light of the constant racial turmoil that her father and two brothers had experienced as professionals and racial activists.

Hawai'i during the early twentieth century offered few opportunities for a Black female to meet, date, or marry a Black male, and fewer still to interact with Black professionals. Thus interracial dating and interracial marriage were both acceptable and realistic—as long as African Americans and Whites did not intermarry. Indeed, cross-racial relationships were perhaps the only opportunity for a Black professional woman like Carlotta Stewart to interact with a male from a comparable social and economic background. So, as Carlotta approached her thirty-fifth birthday, she married Yun Tim Lai, a man of Chinese ancestry, in Anahola, Kaua'i County.³⁵

Born in Anahola, Kaua'i in 1886, Lai was five years younger than Carlotta. Although circumstances surrounding Carlotta and Yun's courtship are unclear, she had been a close friend of Lai's sister for many years, and when the couple wed in 1916, he was working as the sales manager of Garden Island Motors, Ltd., an automobile dealership in Līhu'e, Kaua'i. Carlotta and Yun purchased a modest home overlooking Anahola Bay, a relatively short drive from Līhu'e where Lai was employed. The marriage was presumably a happy one, but the union produced no children. Carlotta believed, incorrectly, that she was pregnant in 1927, and shared the news with Dr. Verina Morton-Jones, her aunt and a respected Brooklyn physician. "Be careful of high blood pressure. Eat plainly and sparingly and rest a plenty," replied Morton-Jones, clearly gratified over the prospect that her closest relative would soon birth a child.³⁶ The nineteen year marriage ended in 1935, when Lai died suddenly in Hong Kong while visiting his parents. The circumstances surrounding Lai's death were not disclosed, and as Carlotta rarely mentioned her husband in her personal correspondence, extending the formality and reserve demanded of her professional career to her personal affairs, how Lai died remains a mystery.³⁷ Carlotta Stewart Lai never remarried but remained in Hawai'i for the next seventeen years, serving as a principal and as an English teacher until her retirement in 1945.

Following her retirement from the public schools, Stewart began arranging her personal affairs with the expectation that she would live in Hawai'i during the last years of her life. Apparently fearful that her health might deteriorate with advanced age, Carlotta had drawn up her will in 1943 and appointed Ruth Aki Ching, her late husband's sister, as executor and the major beneficiary, a fact that she kept hidden even from Ching until 1952. Lai also granted Ching legal authorization to manage her personal property. "The Trust Company will notify you that I left all my personal property to you as in my will of 1943," Carlotta informed Ching in 1952.³⁸ Her decision to appoint Ching as the major beneficiary in her will was the result of their longstanding close friendship. Although Carlotta's lack of children and physical distance from Mainland relatives may explain, in part, her naming of Ruth Ching as major beneficiary, the decision seemed to be a slap in the face to her surviving relatives, particularly to her niece Katherine Stewart Flippin, even though Katherine had made almost no effort to visit Hawai'i during Carlotta's fifty-four years in the Islands. When Ching asked why she, rather than a surviving member of the Stewart family, would be named so prominently in her

will, Carlotta replied straightforwardly: "You were kind to all classes—high or low. You were an outstanding person—not only in my opinion but from many, many higher than I. This is how you got into my will."³⁹ Carlotta also explained that she was also rewarding Ching for her friendship and loyalty: "You have been so fine and good to me and everyone that you deserve all and more. I made up The Will in 1943...so made up my mind [to] see to things instead of waiting for the end."⁴⁰ Thus Lai's will was the final testament of how dearly she had loved her long-time friend Ruth Ching, who had provided her with welcomed and necessary emotional support and who had cared as much about community as Carlotta had.

By 1951, Lai's health had grown more fragile. Unable to care for herself without fear of bodily injury, she entered the Mānoa Convalescent Home in 1952. "I feel safe and secure," Carlotta wrote Ruth Ching, "at home as you know things got beyond my strength."⁴¹ Lai kept a diary of her daily activities while at the nursing home, one of only several extant diaries by Black women, and it serves as an excellent barometer of her declining health and her attempt to remain optimistic in the face of despair. "A beautiful Hawa [Hawaiian] Day," she records in her first entry on New Years' day. Less than a week later, however, she writes soberly, "did not get to Mass. Health not good." Similarly, on January 9, Lai's sole entry reads "so tired," and the following day she reports perhaps the reason for her exhaustion: "preparation to leave my large home (sold gratis) forever." Carlotta also acknowledged frankly that time had finally caught up with her and that she would probably never leave the nursing home: "If God spares me to return, we will have good times again," she wrote Ruth Ching. Her declining health made this prospect an unlikely one.⁴²

Lai adjusted to the nursing home rapidly and, in time, she grew fond of her surroundings. "I'm relaxed and having a good rest here with a well organized private hospital with nurses on day duty and all nite," she wrote. Indeed, Lai consistently praised the nursing home staff, its meals, and the physical setting.⁴³ Lai's daily routine at the nursing home did not vary considerably. She rose between five and six a. m., began each day with a prayer, read briefly, made a brief notation in her diary, and attended an early Mass when she could gather the strength. "I like the quiet of the early dawn and the Mānoa Home Hospital is quiet and peaceful," she reports on January 14. Aside from being disturbed by an occasionally eccentric patient, Lai rarely complained about her environment. "My greatest trial is the old lady who follows me and talks—just talks like a machine. That's my cross."⁴⁴

Having converted to Catholicism decades earlier, despite the fact that her father was an ordained minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Lai turned increasingly to religion as a source of strength and inspiration. As a young teacher she had often visited St. Andrew's Priory, an Episcopal school, to pray, study, and dine with other females, and as early as 1906 she had written McCants that she "frequently sat around the cross and wrote my schoolwork" in the inner court of the Priory.⁴⁵ She clung to religion even more firmly in her final year, increasing her financial contribution to the Catholic Church and devoting a portion of each day to prayer and spiritual matters. "Thru God," she writes on January 27, 1952, "I inherit the power to win."⁴⁶

By this time, Carlotta had cancer, and the disease spread rapidly throughout her body. Her legs were in constant pain, and on some days she was completely bedridden. "Laid up all day—up and down," she notes on January 25, and two days later, these problems reoccurred. "Not so good as pain in thigh is great."⁴⁷ Although Carlotta believed that her faith in God would ultimately overcome these physical difficulties, she found it difficult to remain optimistic about her health.

During March and April, Lai's entries into her diary became less frequent, a signal that her health was growing ever more feeble. Fearful that death was imminent, she cleared up any last minute matters relating to her estate, including arranging for the preparation of a cemetery plot purchased for the children of T. McCants Stewart.⁴⁸ By early May, the manager of the nursing home urged Carlotta to leave the name of her personal physician in the event that her health took a turn for the worse. "The end may be near. Rested much all day," she writes on May 4.⁴⁹ Indeed, within two weeks, her health had precipitously declined. In the final entry to her diary on May 15, Carlotta notes with her usual brevity and clarity: "Up at 5:45 [a. m.]. Very poor nite. Rest all day. Adjusting my menu. Must prepare for Betty. Bedside prayer. Slept at 8 [p. m.]."⁵⁰ Within two months, Carlotta Stewart Lai passed away quietly on July 6, 1952 at the age of seventy-one. A requiem mass was held in her memory at Sacred Hearts Church in Honolulu, and on July 10, 1952, Carlotta Stewart-Lai was buried in the O'ahu Cemetery in a family plot that her father had purchased during his residence in Hawai'i.⁵¹

Even though she never achieved national recognition as an educator or as a civil rights leader, Carlotta Stewart Lai was, nonetheless, a significant public figure. Her career illustrates that Hawai'i was a relatively open society for educated middle class African Americans during the early twentieth century,

despite the fact that the Black community represented less than 0.2 percent of the population. When Carlotta began teaching at the Normal School in 1902, few African American women were employed in teaching or administrative jobs in the Western states and territories. Fewer still had succeeded in moving up the ladder during their careers to become principals or administrators before World War II.

Carlotta's life also reflects a relative absence of serious racial tension and conflict in Hawai'i between Blacks and other racial and ethnic groups before World War II. During her five decades in Hawai'i, Carlotta did not report one instance of racial discrimination in employment, public accommodations, housing, or in the social arena, although these problems were evident amongst some other racial and ethnic groups in the Islands. As Beth Bailey and David Farber argue persuasively in their excellent study of Hawai'i, it would not be until World War II, when the first sizable influx of African American military personnel into Hawai'i would strain the Island's race relations considerably. Carlotta had retired from teaching in 1945, and her illness further removed her from society. If she was aware of the dramatic increase in the African American population or in the accompanying increase of racial tensions, she never mentioned it. Although her education, income, status in the community, and family name may have insulated her from some forms of class or racial proscription, it may also be that Carlotta simply did not experience serious racial conflict in Hawai'i because race relations truly were not as strained as on the Mainland. The relative absence of racial tension permitted Carlotta to be valued and appreciated as a gifted individual rather than as a gifted African American, a luxury she would have not been permitted on the Mainland. Such circumstances must have been liberating and certainly might explain Carlotta's optimistic outlook as well as the ease of her career advancement. Thus Hawai'i, which historian John Whitehead called "America's first and last Far West" was not a wild, wild West. The "far West" proved a relatively benign locale from Carlotta's vantage point.⁵²

Although T. McCants Stewart's position as a respected attorney and political figure in Hawai'i between 1898 and 1905, as well as his reputation and political contacts, may also have assisted Carlotta during the early stages of her career, Carlotta Stewart Lai succeeded mainly through hard work, perseverance, and a pioneering spirit, qualities shared by the entire Stewart family. T. McCants Stewart had instilled in each of his children the desire to seek out new vistas and new frontiers, to become leaders, and to contribute

to the betterment of the Black race. Carlotta heeded her father's call to serve, but she served not just the African American community, but a community composed of many races, ethnic groups, and nationalities. In her lifetime, she attempted to establish a sense of community broader than that which her father had defined, one that existed in few American cities at that time. In many respects, her work remains a blueprint for what American society hopes, one day, to become.⁵³ Carlotta Stewart Lai's legacy, then, was the persistence with which she pursued her 40-year career, the dedication she gave to public education in Hawai'i, and the optimism that allowed her to believe that a genuine multiracial society was possible. ♦

Notes

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Cabo Verde, West Africa, and Hawai'i

EDGAR C. KNOWLTON, JR.

Bathed in dazzling beauty of natural colors and light, the endless beaches and soaring mountains of the archipelago of Cabo Verde first became home to Portuguese settlers in mid-fifteenth century, and the Islands remained a Portuguese colony until 1975, when they gained independence. Approximately 240 miles off the coast of Senegal and Mauritania, this chain of ten volcanic Islands and five islets was once important to the whaling industry and, thus, an equally important source of immigrants who traveled aboard whaling ships to the United States, particularly to New England and to the Pacific Island Kingdom of Hawai'i after annexation.

Now home to the descendants of West African slaves and a diverse mix of free people, including Fula, Wolof, Fulupe, Moroccan, Sephardic Jewish, Lebanese, Brazilian, and Portuguese, the chief inhabited Islands of Cabo Verde include Santo Antao, Sao Nicolau, Sao Vincente, Sal, Boa Vista and leeward Maio, Sao Tiago (older Tiago) or Santiago, Fogo, and Brava.¹ Cabo Verde was not widely inhabited in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Historians Bailey W. Diffie and George W. Winnus mention that the population consisted of

the *lancados* (or as they were later known, the *tangomaus*), outcasts whose nucleus may have been formed by men who had lost their status as Portuguese free citizens after conviction as criminals. . . . They were soon joined by others of uncertain origin who chose to escape the pale of Europeanization. Nearly all those managed to survive, learned the native languages, took African wives, often in platoons, shed their Christianity, ignored Portuguese ordinances, and acquired such riches as their relations with the Cabo Verdean traders and the African tribal chiefs would permit.²

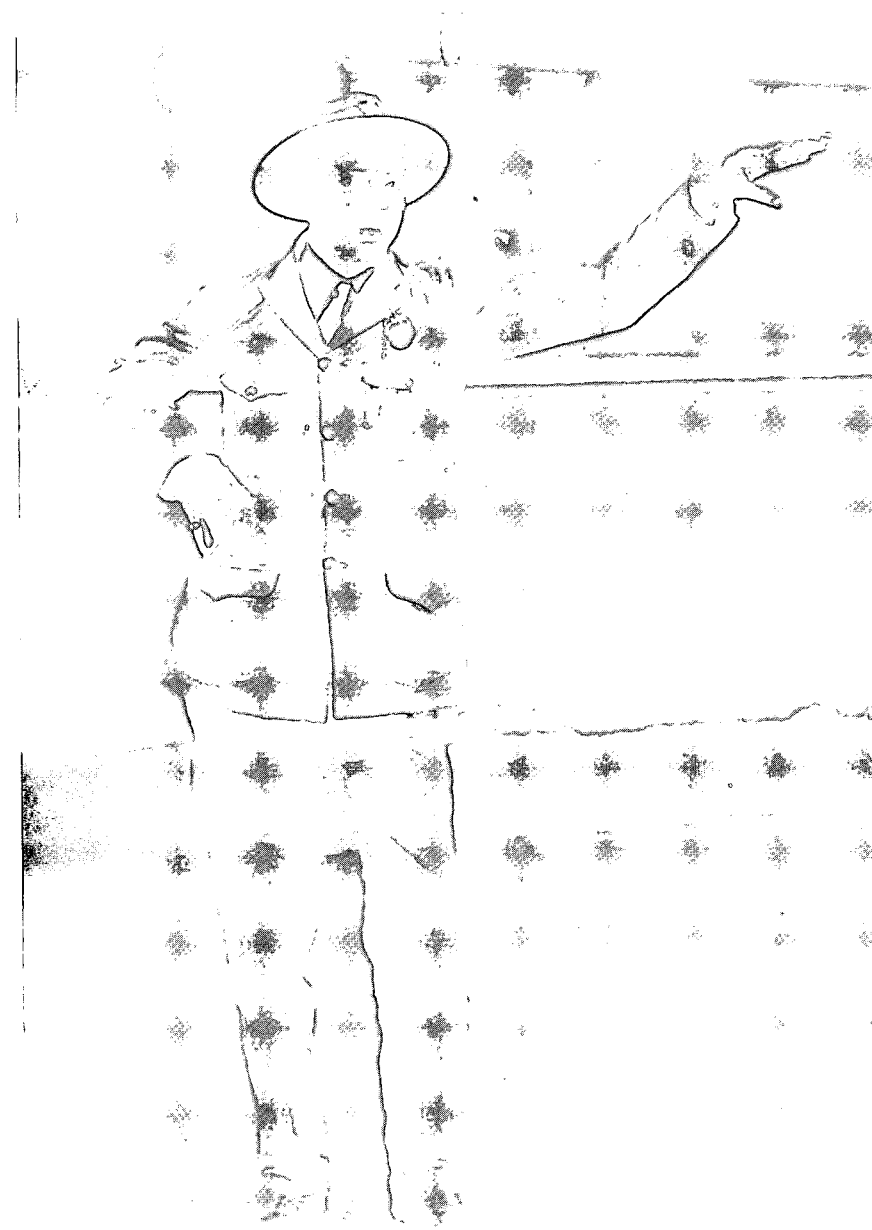
Conditions on the Islands did not exist for "classical colonization." As there was no culture to be oppressed and no resources to exploit, native and immigrant cultures freely mixed.³ Today, the Republic is definitely a mestizo society. The Portuguese, especially, cohabited or mixed freely with Africans as

well as others who came to settle on the Islands. Decidedly Blacks with skin colors that range from pale to very dark, many Cabo Verdeans may physically resemble African Americans, but their culture and language are, naturally, quite different. Although Roman Catholicism and the Portuguese language are officially dominant, three quarters of the population call themselves creole and speak a common, although variable, vernacular known as "crioulo." The crioulo as spoken on the Island of Brava, for example, is an interesting variant called "bravense," or "brabao," which, according to an informant, included an argumentative form useful for conveying displeasure or personal dislikes.

Cabo Verde and Hawai'i

Between 1825 and 1875, an average of 100 American whaling ships a year visited Cabo Verde, searching for able-bodied seamen, supplies, and recreation, but even prior to the American Revolutionary War, whaling ships regularly visited Cabo Verde. As Portuguese Africans were rumored to be the best harpoonists, ship captains were eager to hire crewmen both from the Islands and from the West Coast of Africa, and sailors from Cabo Verde were known to have sailed on whaling ships to Hawai'i before 1800. Ebenezer Townsend writes in his eighteenth-century diary that, on August 28, 1798, he observed, building a boat for King Kamehameha, "three white men and two Portuguese; the latter they call black men."⁴

The presence of Portuguese Africans as immigrants to Hawai'i became noticeably significant after the first Portuguese whalers reached the Islands in the Fall of 1819. The whaling industry had established itself in New England, and the Atlantic voyages from such places as Nantucket and New Bedford employed Portuguese from the Azores, also known as the Western Islands, particularly Faiol and Pico, and also from Cabo Verde, chiefly from Brava. This meant that whaling crews often included New Englanders (both free men and escaped slaves), Azoreans, and Cabo Verdeans. Also, when the ships arrived in Hawai'i, Hawaiians often signed on as crew members. Therefore, whalers who joined the crew in New England might hear English, Azorean, Portuguese, Crioulo, and Hawaiian spoken even before reaching Hawai'i or other ports of call. As voyages lasted several years, often as many as three or four,⁵ it is not surprising that sailors should want to marry when reaching Hawai'i's welcoming shores, but after November 12, 1840, foreigners who wanted to marry Hawaiian women had to become naturalized citizens.⁶



Pedro José, "Hula Cop," a Cabo Verdean policeman known for innovative traffic directing in Honolulu, circa 1915. Photo courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives.

Certainly, many sailors did marry and did stay in the Islands to raise a family. Bernhard L. Hormann notes in his 1945 essay that living and working in Hawai'i

are part Negroes, descended from the so-called black Portuguese men who came to Hawai'i on whaling ships. These men came from the Cabo Verde Islands, a Portuguese possession, and some were mixed bloods, while others may have been of pure Negro descent. They were classified as Portuguese in censuses before 1900....Typically, the part-Hawaiian children of these Negroes married back into the Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian group, so that later generations were mainly of Hawaiian blood. Some of the children of these Negroes and Portuguese white women married into the Hawaiian group—probably most of them—so that the Negro-Portuguese mixed blood statistical group has tended to disappear; remote descendants being in fact, part-Hawaiian, but for census purposes, often classified as Hawaiian. By 1940, it is probable that nearly all the descendants of these black Portuguese were classified for census purposes as part-Hawaiian, and the number was, in all probability, between 7 and 8 thousand.”⁷

Official classification aside, the Hawaiian and the Black Portuguese connection is acknowledged by many as is evident in a letter that quotes a Cabo Verdeano, who writes: “Well, I’m a Hawaiian, but my father was a black-assed *popolo*—a Portuguese from Bravas, Cabo Verde Islands, who changed his name. His pal...too was descended from the so-called ‘Black Portuguese.’”⁸

Because of their ethnicity, some Cabo Verdeans felt the sting of criticism from other Portuguese in Hawai'i. In a series of articles that appeared in 1911 in two rival Portuguese newspapers published in Honolulu, *O Popular* and *O Luso*, the Consul General of Portugal, A. de Souza Canavarro made a statement regarding Portuguese Cabo Verdean immigrants. On October 30, 1911, Souza Canavarro responded to a previously published editorial statement ridiculing a particular Cabo Verdean, stating that

those imbeciles wishing to ridicule one of the collaborators of this newspaper speak of the filthy rhetoric of a bandit base priest of the color and aspect of a native of Cabo Verde. Now this expression seeks to demean the honorable and hard-working sons of the Islands of Cabo Verde; when we all know that the Caboverdean colony in this Territory, despite being small, is the most well bred, educated and industrious of the Portuguese colonies here established, in proportion to its size.⁹

The writer went on to laud further the Cabo Verdeans:

Let us look at some of them that occur to us at this moment. The Centeios of Luzo [later Lusitana Street] who are the owners of the largest Portuguese

market in this city, well-liked and respected by foreign commerce and all Portuguese. Mr. M. J. Pereira of Waimea, Kaua'i, the greatest Portuguese cultivator of sugar cane in this Territory, active and enterprising; others who are owners of dairies like Mr. Pires of Kalihi; others employed in different branches of business, etc.; all of them speaking good Portuguese, reading it and writing it. The very color of the Caboverdean is a sign of respect and honor. Nobler and more active than the one who has been writing trash for so long that probably his face is dark because of his shame, for the virtues of a person behaving thus are those of a swindler and a crook.¹⁰

Indeed, the Cabo Verdeans have always been a proud people. The Republic of Cabo Verde today has a population of 400,000, and more than two-thirds of the people are mestizos of indigenous and European descent. The final third is of African descent. Between 250,000 and 300,000 Cabo Verde immigrants live in the United States, and the younger generation, already third and fourth generation Americans, are today discovering their Cabo Verdean roots and proudly identifying their African descent discovered buried in those Cabo Verdean roots. Erin Texeira, a journalist and an Ethel Payne fellow sponsored by the National Association of Black Journalists to visit and write about an African country, visited his ancestral home and writes this about his experience:

I had heard the country was Portuguese and African, neither here nor there. Could one place be both? Was this place Africa or not? Before departing, I studied Cabo Verdean history and academic theory, but I did not prepare for the personal journey. I had no idea my time in the Islands would force me to re-examine myself and my multiracial family at its very core. Other Africans thought of Cape Verdeans as a bastardized people: not quite African, certainly not European. Their unwritten language, Criolo, was thought to be little more than a crude slang. In Santiago, the largest island I saw cuisine of beans, corn, rice and fish, in the quiet dominance of men in society, in the round-bottomed women supporting babies on their backs and balancing towering bundles on their heads.

And everywhere I saw my family. It was eerie to be 10,000 miles from home yet share sidewalks with people who could be my cousins, aunts, and grandparents. I had never been in a place where I was constantly mistaken for a local....It seemed my relatives had always disagreed on whether we were Black, Cape Verdean, Creole, or Portuguese. I didn't recall much mention of African roots, and when they talked about “back home,” they meant Portugal....Most would deny Cape Verde is part of Africa at all....With their Portuguese names and mix of physical features, it must have been relatively easy for them to overlook their African heritage and adopt a more convenient history. And pass it on to their children.

In my tribe, some are white and some Portuguese. Some are black, African American, and Cape Verdean. Though I call myself African American, I know that I am also every label used by anyone who came before me—even those terms that make me cringe. I'm all of it. I'm a Texeria.¹¹

It is unlikely that many of the current generation of Hawaiian-Cabo Verde mix, or some other Cabo Verde racial combination, know the rich history of their ancestral home off the West coast of Africa. Much of this history of this rich cultural mix that includes the folklore, customs, cuisine, music, and literature of Cabo Verde has been lost as time has passed. ❖

Notes

1. Richard Lobban and Marilyn Halter, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cape Verde*, 2nd ed. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 1–11.
2. Bailey W. Diffie and George W. Winnus, *Foundation of Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1977), 21.
3. Erin Texeria, "Finding Myself," *NABJ Forum* (4 April 2003): 2.
4. *Extract from the Diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.*, Reprint no. 4 (Honolulu: Hawai'i Historical Society, 1888), 21.
5. Marilyn Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860–1965* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 1–33.
6. See Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., "Cabo Verdeanos in Hawai'i" (Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2003) for those individuals interested in pursuing their Cabo Verde roots in Hawai'i.
7. Bernhard L. Hormann, *Community Forces in Hawai'i: A Book of Readings* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1968), 214; originally published in *Social Forces* XXIV (December 1945). See also Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.'s unpublished research papers and detailed lists of Cape Verdeans who immigrated to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century located in the Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
8. Letter to author, 27 May 1992. The name of the writer of the letter is withheld.
9. *O Luso*, trans. Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., 4 November 1911, 1. See also *O Popular*, 9 November 1911.
10. Ibid.
11. Texeria, 4–5.

Hawai'i: A Multicultural-Multiracial Society or a Fragile Myth? A Look at Contemporary Hawai'i from a Black Perspective Based on 2000 U.S. Census

LEON RICHARDS

For those who visit our shores as guests for short periods of time, Hawai'i appears as a pristine paradise, a melting pot, a rainbow, and even an idyllic multicultural society where many ethnic and racial groups work and play in harmony with one another and with nature. Yearly, millions of visitors arrive on packaged tours and are greeted with *lei* and music before being whisked off to Waikīkī for a week of fun in the sun where they learn of the "āloha spirit" from tour guides. Lolling about on beaches, they absorb Island friendliness through the smiling faces of those who offer them courteous and seemingly deferential treatment¹—the best that money can buy. They live blissfully in a plastic tourist bubble for a week or so before being magically transported back to the airport, still unaware of the complex society outside this bubble that has contained them. During their stay, they learn little of the political, economic, social, and spiritual struggles either of the Hawaiian people or of any of the many other ethnic groups living in Hawai'i, and they see nothing of the Black experience in Hawai'i. All they see as "multicultural Hawai'i" has been carefully prepared and packaged for enjoyment.

Relatively little is known and/or understood about the Black experience in Hawai'i. The Black experience in Hawai'i has been virtually ignored by the media unless there are issues and concerns with the many Black athletes at the University of Hawai'i or with the maltreatment of students in our public schools. When thinking about writing this essay, this paucity of information

left me with as many problems as possibilities. Most fundamental was the basic form of this chapter should take. Every person who has given me advice has had different expectations. My scholar friends demand detailed footnotes crammed with scholarly minutiae. My history friends look for a comprehensive account of the Black Experience in contemporary Hawai'i told through the dizzying sweep of the history of Blacks in Hawai'i. My anthropology acquaintances expect comparisons that draw from the ethnographies of all ethnic groups in Hawai'i. My friends who are researchers hope for a grand new explanation of the nature of the Black experience. My family plead for compassion in making known our history, our contributions, and our demands for equal opportunities to live and work in Hawai'i.

The 2000 Census data speaks to some of the demographic realities of multicultural-multiethnic Hawai'i which helps to highlight the issues of race and ethnicity. The members of these groups have voices that are muted. The focus in this section will be on how these ethnic groups relate to one another. For the last several years, and much more intensively today, a debate has been occurring throughout the United States on the subject of culture, ethnicity, and race. A key question in this debate is whether the United States should maintain its dominant culture or instead allow itself to continuously become a nation that recognizes the presence of many different cultures. The conservative faction that presently controls our national government, as well as many state governments, supports a view uncomfortably similar to that of President Theodore Roosevelt who declared at the beginning of the twentieth century: "There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism."² His definition of Americanism as "an American is an American and nothing else"³ is a definition that implies that all should assimilate to mainstream American standards and that minorities should merge with the cultural practices and ideologies of the dominant group of Americans. Roosevelt's ideal of assimilation dominated the United States' agenda on culture and race until the 1960s when even the dominant group began to accept the reality that America must live with pluralism, or a mosaic model of society, a salad or stew, wherein each ethnic group proudly retains, to a large degree, both language and culture.

The best means for understanding and setting the framework for looking at "contemporary Hawai'i from a multicultural-multiethnic society" perspective might be to survey briefly some of the theories that discuss how ethnic groups relate to one another in Hawai'i. The writings and research of Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan,⁴ Milton Gordon,⁵ Michael Novak,⁶

William Newman,⁷ William Ryan,⁸ Nathan Glazer,⁹ Lawrence Fuchs,¹⁰ David Stannard,¹¹ Tom Coffman,¹² Crawford Young,¹³ and many others provide a variety of answers to the question of how these ethnic groups interact, but all of these explanations, models, and theories have tended to focus on conflictive versus cooperative models of interaction. The research and writings of Michael Haas¹⁴ localized these models and theories to Hawai'i. Let us briefly delineate some of these models and theories of ethnic relations within the milieu of Hawai'i's unique cultural environment and then use Haas' writings to develop a schematic model of ethnic relations in Hawai'i.

As the most geographically isolated land mass on the planet and as an island group politically attached to the United States, Hawai'i has been dependant on a dominant culture and power structure for the past 100 years. Contemporary Hawai'i, influenced by three established models of ethnic relationships, may be now entering the nascent stage of a fourth less traditional model of multiculturalism. These first three models include:

- a. An assimilation model in which various late-coming ethnic groups adapt to the cultural practices and values of the dominant ethnic group as the price of belonging to a single political and social system. Successful assimilation occurs whenever an ethnic group voluntarily abandons its own culture and adopts another culture instead. Assimilation presupposes that one group is superior to all others and that immigrant groups will both recognize their subordinate position and capitulate to the "superior" power.¹⁵
- b. An amalgamation, or melting pot, model suggests the possibility of a gradual development of a new culture which incorporates the best elements of all cultures. When boiled down in the melting pot, all ethnic groups lose their distinctiveness in order to adopt new culture that may seem to unite the diversity of the melding cultures.¹⁶ Attempts of the dominant group to define "American culture" according to its standards and ideals later became unacceptable to late-coming ethnic groups.¹⁷ In Hawai'i, these efforts to define and to set the standards foundational to economic and political power structures contributed to the rise of local identity and culture. The coinage of the term "local" was in some ways a reaction against various external social and economic forces which were perceived as detrimental to the quality of life that local people had come to value in Hawai'i. In a 1994 essay published in *Social Process in Hawai'i*, Jonathan Okamura discusses

factors that have contributed to the development of a strong sense of local culture, including the substantial immigration of Whites from the U.S. Mainland, increased immigration from Asia and the Pacific, and the tremendous growth in the tourist industry. Okamura suggests that "the notion of 'local' has come to represent the common identity of people of Hawai'i and their shared appreciation of the land, peoples and culture of the Islands" and that "given this commitment to Hawai'i, local also has evolved to represent the collective efforts of local people to maintain control of the economic and political future of Hawai'i from the external forces noted above."¹⁸ The adherence of the subordinate groups to the values of tolerance represented in the Hawaiian concept of the *Aloha Kanaka*, an open love for human beings, has also helped to define "local culture" as an alternative to outside American or foreign influences.¹⁹

- c. A pluralism model implies a coexistence of diverse and distinct ethnic groups. Variations of pluralism existent in contemporary Hawai'i include a modified pluralism whereby ethnic groups do not retain their root cultures intact; instead, they retain some but not all traditions from the old country while developing new traditions.²⁰ The invention of the "Korean-American" or "African-American" hyphenated culture may be understood as a way to avoid total assimilation through the retention of certain elements of culture that do not challenge mainstream politico-economic control.

Using these models and theories of ethnic relations, Haas schematically identifies and examines three major eras of Hawai'i's political and social history, including the historically established periods of the Monarchy, the Territory of Hawai'i, and the State of Hawai'i.²¹ In Haas' schematic model, the various ethnic groups are labeled as follows: *dominant group* (in capital letters), *subordinate group* (lower case letters), *segregated groups* (parentheses) with arrows representing transitions between the established historical periods in Hawai'i.²²

Let's briefly summarize Haas' model of ethnic relations in these three major eras. Although this model focuses on the economic and political power structure, the reader may want to read some of the other sections to further understand the dominant social structure, especially as to how that societal organization relates to the Black Experience in Hawai'i.

1. Monarchy: During the era of the monarchy Anglo-Europeans (a), were politically subordinate to Native Hawaiians (B), but then rose economically after importing Chinese (c) and Japanese (d) laborers to work on the plantations:

a (Anglo-European) + B (Native Hawaiians) → A + b + c (Chinese) + d (Japanese)

During the latter and final days of the monarchy, the Anglo-European became the dominant group relative to Native Hawaiians.

2. Territory of Hawai'i: With the fall of the Monarchy, the *Haoles* (White Anglo Europeans and Americans) dominated all other groups, both economically and politically. *Haoles* sought to divide and conquer other groups, importing Filipinos (e) and other groups such as Puerto Ricans and Blacks (f) as the latest groups of plantation workers. The dominant group (*Haoles*) devised a divide-and-rule management policy that encouraged ethnic separateness not for cultural integrity but to prevent a united labor force.²³ This policy was implemented by imposing differential wage scales based on ethnicity and by setting up separate housing camps, schools, etc. During this period, exploitation of subordinate groups contributed to the development of a local identity. The Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Okinawans, and Puerto Ricans shared a collective subordinate social status in opposition to the dominant White planter and merchant oligarchy.²⁴ By the end of the 1950s, the Chinese (C) had achieved a favorable economic position and thus somewhat escaped from this collective subordination:

A + b + c + d → A + b + C + d + e (Filipinos) + f (Puerto Ricans, Blacks)

3. State of Hawai'i: In the third era, with the advent of statehood, the Japanese (d) displaced the *Haoles* (a) politically while making significant economic progress, but favorable social or economic progress was not achieved by Native Hawaiians (b), Filipinos (e) or those less numerous non-*Haole* groups, including Puerto Ricans and Blacks (f). Meanwhile, the rate of marriage across ethnic lines increased considerably, blurring statistics based on ethnicity, and by the end of the twentieth century, it was clear that Filipinos, Native Hawaiians,

Puerto Ricans, Blacks and many other non-*Haole* groups had not reached a position of equality.

$$A + b + C + D + e + f \rightarrow A + b + C + D + e + f^{25}$$

Today Hawai'i is often cited as an example of a multicultural-multiracial society where many ethnic groups live side by side, taking pride in their cultural heritage, speaking the language spoken by their ancestors while continuing to develop a unique "local" culture. Haas convincingly states "that Hawai'i is a case of successful multiculturalism [as] evidenced by high rates of cross-ethnic intermarriage, a lack of out-group scapegoating, an absence of recent violence along ethnic lines, and a lack of cultural malaise amid diversity."²⁶ If we define the multiculturalism model as a situation that exists when ethnic groups retain their cultural distinctiveness, even as hyphenated Americans, but are still incorporated into the mainstream, socio-culturally and politico-economically, then Hawai'i is indeed in the nascent stage of evolving to multiculturalism, but to suggest that Hawai'i exists as a "case of successful multiculturalism" is perhaps a bit premature. Hawai'i still has a long way to go before it becomes a full-grown multicultural society that recognizes, celebrates, and supports all the cultures it embraces.

In a multicultural society, various ethnic groups recognize that they are integral parts of a more encompassing whole yet insist that the contributions of their cultures to the larger society must be recognized.²⁷ Presently, in Hawai'i, many groups, such as the Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Samoans, are still marginalized socially, politically, and economically. Their contributions are still not fully recognized; for Native Hawaiians, who are now a subordinated minority in their own lands, this continued marginalization is painfully ironic. Contributing to this marginalization is the increased economic investment from Japan during the latter half of the 1980s that then helped to fuel a tremendous expansion of the tourist industry which created low-paying jobs, thus widening the political, economic and social cleavage between Japanese Americans, *Haoles*, and those subordinated groups whose voices continue to be muted, particularly the Filipino Americans, Native Hawaiians, Samoans, and Blacks.²⁸

Some key questions that we as a State need to consider are: Is Hawai'i a truly successful multicultural society? Do dominant groups in Hawai'i accept diversity as a positive benefit to the society and have they given up both desire and need for total dominance? Do the dominant groups support, promote,

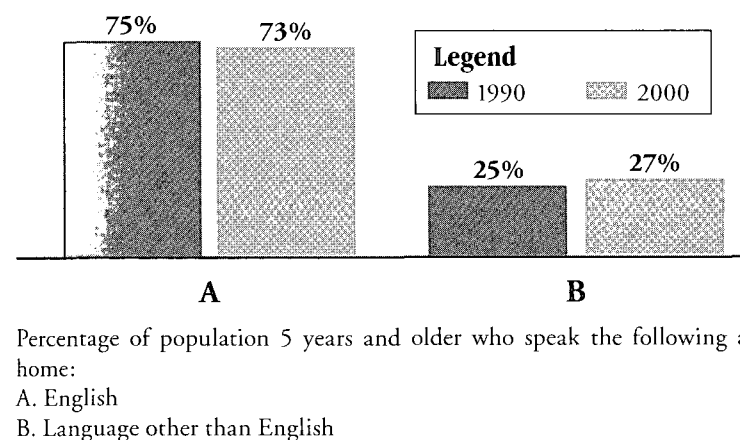
and allow formerly subordinate groups to enter the mainstream? Are all groups given equal opportunities to achieve upward societal mobility in Hawai'i? Thus, what may be problematic is how to characterize and to explain the nature and the limits of multicultural-multiracial Hawai'i and how to explain the relative unsuccessful efforts of subordinate groups to fully participate in sharing economic and political power in Hawai'i society. An analysis of some of the data from the 2000 U.S. Census for Hawai'i may permit us to reflect on potential answers for the above questions. After all, it is often said that the Census data do capture the good, bad and ugly side of a society.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, 1,211,537 people live in Hawai'i. This population is almost evenly divided between males (50.9 percent) and females (49.1 percent) and is fairly young with a median age of 36.2 years.

Chart I. Language Diversity

Language at Home

More bilingual: There is an increasing number of families who speak languages other than English at home.



Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics*, Summary Tape File (STF3 and STF4), Table DP2 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1990), 2; *Census 2000, Selected Social Characteristics*, Table DP2 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 2001).

Eighty-four percent of the population 25 years and over have better education. Twenty-eight percent have completed high school; 22 percent either have some college but no degree, and 34 percent have college degrees, including associate degrees. Many of Hawai'i's population are bilingual with an increasing number of families who speak languages (27 percent) other than English (73 percent) at home due in large part to increasing number of non-native born (212,229 or 17.5 percent) versus native born (999,308 or 82.5 percent).²⁹ See Chart I.

Table I delineates the language diversity of Hawai'i and illustrate that, during the last decade Hawai'i, has experienced a large increase in immigrants especially from Asia but larger percentage increases from the Oceania (63 percent) and Latin American (100 percent). This large percentage increase in foreign born is impacting and may be driving the slight percentage increases (2 percent) in the number of people speaking a first language other than English.

Hawai'i's population has a greater number of single and divorced people with a 13 percent rise in those never married from 258,903 to 293,324 and a 23.7 percent increase in divorced people from 70,532 to 87,188. In the last decade, interracial marriages experienced a slight decline, slipping from 45.9

Table I. Significant Changes in the Data: Place of Birth

<i>Native and Non-native Born</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Increase</i>
Native born	945,525	999,308	6%
Foreign born	162,704	212,229	30%
<i>Region of birth</i>			
Asia	133,735	176,707	32%
Oceania	8,237	13,452	63%
Latin American	3,396	6,788	100%

Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics*, Summary Tape File (STF3 and STF4), Table DP2 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1990), 2; *Census 2000, Selected Social Characteristics*, Table DP2 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 2001).

percent in 1990 to 43.4 percent in 2000. Table II depicts marriages and divorces over the same 20-year period.

Confronting new cultural terrain in any mixed marriage can be both stormy and life-enhancing, but in 1990, it was perhaps a bit too stormy for 39 percent of the mixed race partners. Cultural differences, including differences in communication patterns, lifestyle choices, and cultural values, are being cited more often as cause for divorce. According to Dr. Wen-Shing Tseng, psychiatry professor at the University of Hawai'i John A. Burns School of Medicine, cultural values are nearly always tested over the course of a marriage.³⁰ In interracial marriages, partners may fail to recognize when problems are being triggered by cultural difference and instead personalize cultural clashes with negative results. If cultural differences are not acknowledged and considered, the attempts to resolve the problems that arise from such clashes usually fail as methods used for conflict resolution most often reflect the cultural difference that caused the problem in the first place. The values that determine how a partner responds to certain issues are totally different.³¹ Resolution to cultural clashes requires that both parties recognize cultural differences. That recognition of difference allows a better understanding of how different solutions produced through different cultural approaches might be merged to form a resolution acceptable to both parties.

In terms of interethnic and interracial marriages, Hawai'i is becoming a multicultural-multiracial society and ethnic lines will no doubt continue to blur, but what impact will multiracial marriages have on minority cultures? Will minority cultures continue to be subsumed into the dominant culture, or will members of the dominant culture recognize the validity of cultural approaches to conflict and conflict resolution that can help Hawai'i, in time, to develop a local culture unique to Hawai'i?

Hawai'i has had a long history of interracial marriages that has contributed to the development of its increasingly diverse population and of its unusual local culture. In the late nineteenth century as more contract male laborers were imported to work on the plantations thousands of miles and many weeks of sea voyage distant from any other population, as might be expected, interracial marriages proliferated, especially between and among the Native Hawaiians and the Chinese or Caucasians. But as more immigrant families arrived, out-marriages were discouraged. However, following World War II, with the influx of more males, the number of interracial marriages began to grow again. This increase continued as interracial marriages were

Table II. Marriages and Divorces

Calendar Year	Marriages		Divorces and Annulments ²	Rates per 1,000 Resident Population ³		Percent of Marriages	
	Total	Resident ¹		Resident Marriages	Divorces, Annulments ²	Nonresident ⁴	Interracial ⁵
1980	11,856	9,442	4,438	9.7	4.6	20.4	44.4
1981	12,218	9,445	4,253	9.7	4.3	22.7	44.5
1982	13,483	10,053	4,233	10.1	4.3	25.4	45.0
1983	14,062	10,216	4,583	10.1	4.5	27.3	45.5
1984	14,982	10,020	4,769	9.7	4.6	33.3	46.3
1985	15,421	9,893	4,887	9.5	4.7	35.8	46.9
1986	16,219	9,571	4,674	9.1	4.4	30.4	46.5
1987	16,567	9,714	4,419	9.1	4.1	41.3	44.6
1988	17,281	9,708	5,020	9.0	4.6	43.8	42.9
1989	17,974	9,952	5,613	9.1	5.1	44.6	44.3
1990	18,306	10,407	5,179	(NA)	(NA)	43.1	45.9
1991	17,764	10,051	5,184	(NA)	(NA)	43.4	43.9
1992	17,725	10,049	5,040	(NA)	(NA)	43.3	44.3
1993	17,252	9,744	4,888	(NA)	(NA)	43.5	44.1
1993	17,252	9,744	4,888	(NA)	(NA)	43.5	44.1
1994	18,118	9,317	4,993	(NA)	(NA)	48.6	44.5
1995	18,669	9,277	5,505	(NA)	(NA)	50.3	45.0
1996	19,589	9,003	4,903	(NA)	(NA)	54.0	45.6
1997	19,901	8,878	4,877	(NA)	(NA)	55.5	44.8
1998	20,974	8,746	4,914	(NA)	(NA)	58.3	46.3
1999	23,067	9,222	4,620	(NA)	(NA)	60.0	44.2
2000	25,376	9,217	4,716	7.6	3.9	63.7	43.4

NA=Not available.

¹One or both partners of Hawai'i.

²Final decrees only.

³The July 1, 2000 population estimate was released by the U.S. Census Bureau on December 28, 2001. Revisions of the population estimates for 1990 through 1999 based upon the Census 2000 figures are not yet available.

⁴Both partners nonresidents of Hawai'i

⁵Excludes nonresident marriages. Also, for these calculations, marriages where both bride and groom are in the "Part Hawaiian" or "Other races" categories are classified as non-interracial.

Sources: Hawai'i Department of Health, *Statistical Report* (Honolulu: 2001), and records; rates calculated by the Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism.

influenced by record numbers of students who headed to Mainland colleges and universities, often returning with classmate brides or grooms.³²

The 2000 U.S. Census for Hawai'i confirms that interethnic/interracial marriages of the past twenty years have accounted for approximately 44 percent of all marriages each year, peaking in 1985 at 46.9 percent. Of course, it is important to remember that behind the percentages and the statistics are people—many interesting and very real personalities living and working in Hawai'i. For example, one-half of Hawai'i's congressional delegation, the mayor of the City and County of Honolulu, and all of the University of Hawai'i—Kapi'olani Community College administrative staff who are married are married to partners of different races or ethnic groups, but how

Table IIIa. Who Marries Whom

For the record

- Among Japanese-Americans: Women "outmarry" more often than men in Hawai'i—56 percent of the men married women of the same ethnicity; 42 percent of the women married men of the same ethnicity in 1989.
- Among Hawaiians: In the past three decades, about 50 percent of Hawaiian males and females have married outside of their race, more than any other ethnic group in Hawai'i.
- And nationally: 17 percent of married Asian-Americans have non-Asian spouses.
- Among African-Americans: 40 percent of the men married African-American women in 1989; 80 percent of brides married other African-Americans
- Among Caucasians: 60 percent of the men married Caucasians; 72 percent of the women married Caucasians
- Among Korean-Americans: More women marry Caucasians than other Koreans.
- Among Filipino-Americans: Women out-marry more than men—to Caucasians, Hawaiians and Japanese.
- Among Chinese-Americans: Women married almost as many Caucasian men as Chinese.
- Divorce: 39.4 percent of all divorces in 1989 were between mixed-race couples.

Sources: *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 22 April 1991, D1, D4; 23 April 1991, B1, B3.

Table IIIb. Who Marries Whom

Ethnicity of Groom	Caucasian	Hawaiian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Samoan	Black	Vietnamese	Other	Unknown	Total
Caucasian	1,542	325	94	328	296	60	17	47	17	106	19	2,851
Hawaiian	219	777	28	213	175	23	21	1	3	40	6	1,506
Chinese	31	31	147	26	76	13	1	1	7	6	1	340
Filipino	102	176	15	530	92	12	6	6	3	18	4	964
Japanese	108	139	49	116	509	79	0	2	6	10	3	1,021
Korean	11	12	1	9	30	105	0	1	0	2	0	171
Samoan	9	67	2	15	6	1	111	1	0	5	0	217
Black	76	76	2	53	38	1	9	157	0	17	4	433
Vietnamese	3	2	8	3	2	0	0	0	33	1	0	52
Other	46	49	8	33	17	4	11	2	2	124	1	297
Unknown	14	5	0	7	11	1	0	1	0	1	368	408
Total	2,161	1,659	354	1,333	1,252	299	176	219	71	330	406	8,260

Note: "Caucasian" includes Puerto Rican and Portuguese.

Source: Hawai'i Department of Health, *Vital Statistics Report* (Honolulu: 1998), 59–67.

interethnic and multicultural are these marriages? On the surface, such statistics suggest that Hawai'i is indeed a multicultural "paradise," but are these interethnic/interracial marriages making Hawai'i a more multicultural society or is such a supposition merely a fragile myth, masking the more ignoble realities of assimilation? Table IIIa and Table IIIb reveal some thought provoking facts about interracial marriages that reflect patterns of societal dominance and subordination.

Frequently, the social hierarchies inherent in marriage relationships reflect societal organization, and that societal organization can be further revealed by examining economic statistics. The 2000 census reveals that Hawai'i is becoming more economically depressed with the number of people living at or below the poverty level rising by 43 percent from 88,408 a decade ago to 126,154 in 2000. Table IV illustrates that, during the last decade, the number of poverty-level families increased by 38 percent from 16,053 to 22,101.

Overall, the percentage of the population living below the poverty line reached 11 percent in 2000. In addition, the level of unemployment rose significantly. Nearly 36,000 people were unemployed in Hawai'i in 2000, representing an 86 percent increase in the number of unemployed workers a decade earlier. The census data also reveal that the host culture, the Native Hawaiians, reside in the more poverty stricken areas of the State.

A testimony to a nation's consciousness is how it treats its native or host population, and Hawaiians are not being treated well. As Charles Kauluwehi

Table IV. Significant Changes in the Data: Poverty

<i>Poverty Status</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Increase</i>
Families	16,053	22,101	38%
Families with female householder, no husbands present	6,937	10,024	45%
Individuals	88,408	126,154	43%

Source: *Honolulu Advertiser*, 30 April 2001, 1.

Maxwell, Sr., a Hawaiian storyteller, cultural consultant, spiritual leader and community activist, states:

It's fair to say that native Hawaiians are 'ghettoized' to areas of poverty and welfare. That is what Hawaiians have been living with for years....To see so many of our people struggling in poverty, but yet our culture being used to bring people here, it's very sore for the heart.³³

The "ghettoization" of the native Hawaiians on Hawaiian Home Lands and the neglect of the host culture both by the State of Hawai'i and by the federal government have resulted in concentrated pockets of poverty, welfare and crime.³⁴ As reported by Tanya Bricking in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, data gathered by the Hawai'i State Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism (DBEDT), Department of Public Safety and Department of Child Welfare Services, reveals that of the 113,539 people in Hawai'i who selected the "Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander" single-race category in Census 2000, one-third live in 25 concentrated and primarily Hawaiian communities of more than 1,000 people that include Hawaiian Home Lands and environs.³⁵ These same pockets account for 31 percent of Hawai'i's welfare recipients, 35 percent of the adult prison population, and 50 percent of incarcerated juveniles.³⁶

Although some of the economic barriers for the Hawaiians have been removed, the most obvious difference when comparing the lifestyles of Hawaiians with other ethnic groups in the state is that economic and social changes have come more slowly for the host culture. As Maxwell, Sr. eloquently states, "They've been at the bottom of the totem pole. It's an inbred thing from a long time ago. Our values as Hawaiians are completely different than the values of Western man."³⁷ Native Hawaiians, Maxwell says, often find themselves in a clash of cultures, "fighting such things [like] subdivisions and roads [to keep them] from destroying the beauty of the land while they also try to further the Islands' economic development."³⁸ According to statistics reported by the *Honolulu Advertiser*:

The Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander population is slow to change from a pattern that holds across the Neighbor Islands. Their populations are concentrated in lower-income areas such Keaukaha-Pana'eua, a Hawaiian Home Land district near Hilo on the Big Island, where the median household income estimated in 1992 was \$30,014, about \$13,000 less than the state average.

On Maui, most Hawaiians are in the central valley town of Wailuku, home to another protected Hawaiian Home Land tucked against the west

Maui mountains, where the median household income in 1990 was \$38,450, and about 7 percent of children under 18 years of age were living in poverty.

On Moloka'i, sometimes called "the most Hawaiian island," the Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander population of 1,420 outnumbers populations of all other race categories on the island, almost doubling the Asian population, but unemployment is an ongoing concern.

On Kaua'i, one-fifth of the Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander population live in the Keālia-Moloa'a census tracts on Kaua'i's eastern shore, where subdivisions with million-dollar lots have cropped up next door to Hawaiian Home Lands.

Of the six major Hawaiian Islands, Lāna'i is the only one without a concentration of at least 1,000 Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. It has only 226 counted in the 2000 Census, eight times fewer people than in the island's Asian category.³⁹

The following maps of the Hawaiian Islands in Chart II identify the areas of the state where the greatest concentrations of Hawaiians live, often in stressful poverty-stricken circumstances. Hawai'i is often characterized as a multiethnic society, but what does that designation mean? There can be no question that if Hawai'i is to succeed as a multicultural-multiethnic society, Hawaiians and other marginalized groups need to enter the economic mainstream. Table V reveals race and ethnicity data from the 2000 Census. As Hawai'i is so often characterized as a multi-ethnic state, let's look more closely at race and ethnicity data as published by the U.S. Census.

Clearly, the 2000 U.S. Census, which permitted census participants for the first time to more accurately denote race and ethnicity, provides a better understanding of the population concentrations of mixed categories in Hawai'i. Because people could check off many racial categories instead of choosing just one, the number of people who checked only one race decreased, even as the State's overall population increased by 9.3 percent. See Table VI. Making the 2000 U.S. Census more democratic and flexible in terms of permitting Americans to more accurately reflect who they are by checking off more than one ethnic/racial groups has created a wealth of data that reveals both changes in society and how those changes are perceived. Examining this data we discover that:

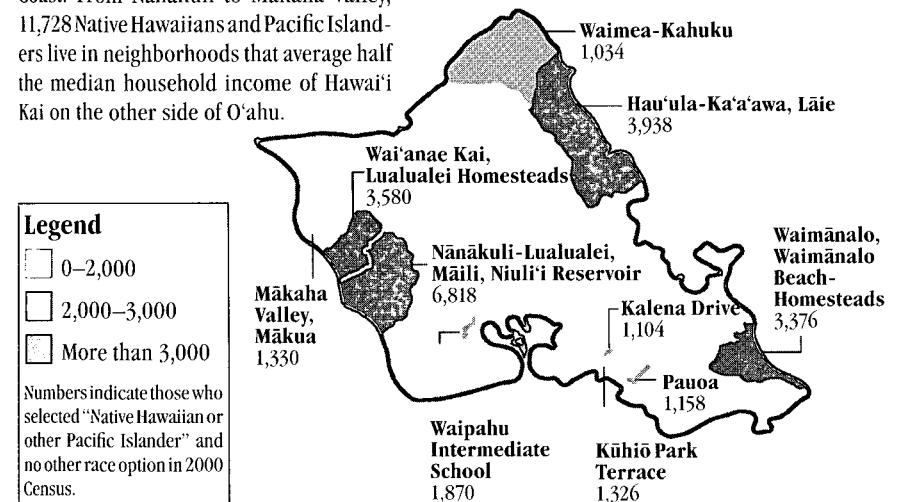
- The data confirms previous suppositions that Hawai'i has an increasingly diverse population and that many in Hawai'i see themselves as a member of more than one race.

Chart II. Where Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders Live

The dense populations of Native Hawaiians in the State continue to be the poorest areas, new census data indicates, even though the Islands are growing more diverse.

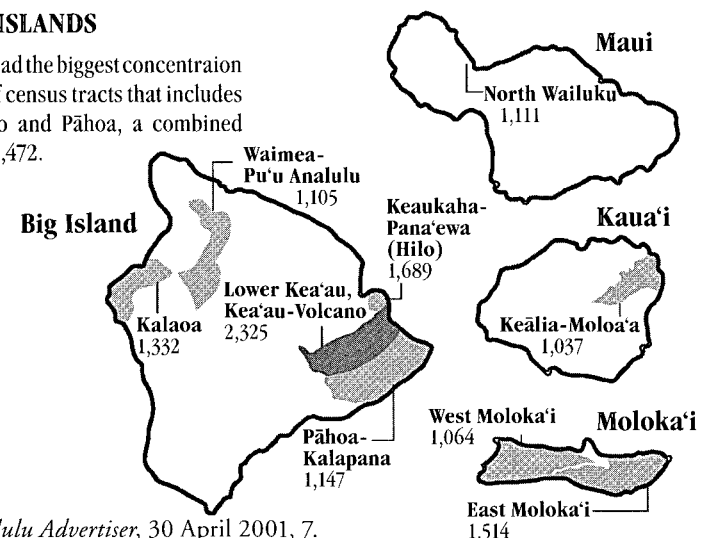
O'AHU

The largest population is on the Wai'anae Coast. From Nānākuli to Makaha Valley, 11,728 Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders live in neighborhoods that average half the median household income of Hawai'i Kai on the other side of O'ahu.



NEIGHBOR ISLANDS

The Big Island had the biggest concentration in the cluster of census tracts that includes Kea'au, Volcano and Pāhoā, a combined population of 3,472.



Source: Honolulu Advertiser, 30 April 2001, 7.

Table V. Race and Ethnicity

<i>Ethnic Makeup¹</i>	<i>2000 Number</i>	<i>1990 Number</i>	<i>2000 Percentage</i>	<i>1990 Percentage</i>
One race	952,194	1,108,229	78.6	100.0
White	294,102	369,616	24.3	33.4
Black or African-American	22,003	27,195	1.8	2.5
American Indian & Alaska Native	3,535	5,099	0.3	0.5
Asian	503,868	522,967	41.6	47.2
Asian Indian	1,441	1,015	0.1	0.1
Chinese	56,600	68,804	4.7	6.2
Filipino	170,635	168,682	14.1	15.2
Japanese	201,764	247,486	16.7	22.3
Korean	23,537	24,454	1.9	2.2
Vietnamese	7,867	5,468	0.6	0.5
Other Asian ²	42,024	7,058	3.5	0.6
Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander	113,539	162,269	9.4	14.6
Native Hawaiian	80,137	138,742	6.6	12.5
Guamanian or Chamorro	1,663	2,120	0.1	0.2
Samoan	16,166	15,034	1.3	1.4
Other Pacific Islander ³	15,573	6,373	1.3	0.6
Some other race	15,147	21,083	1.3	1.9
Two more races	259,343	(NA)	21.4	(NA)
Race Alone in Combination with One or More Races ⁴				
White	476,162	(NA)	39.3	(NA)
Black or African-American	33,343	(NA)	2.8	(NA)
American Indian & Alaska Native	24,882	(NA)	2.1	(NA)
Asian	703,232	(NA)	58.0	(NA)
Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander	282,667	(NA)	23.3	(NA)
Some other race	47,603	(NA)	3.9	(NA)
Hispanic or Latino and Race				
Hispanic or Latino (any race)	87,699	81,930	7.2	7.3
Mexican	19,820	14,367	1.6	1.3
Puerto Rican	30,005	25,778	2.5	2.3
Cuban	711	558	0.1	0.1
Other Hispanic or Latino	37,163	40,687	3.1	3.7
Not Hispanic or Latino	1,123,838	1,026,839	92.8	92.7
White alone	277,091	347,644	22.9	31.4

¹Because individuals could report only one race in the 1990 census, while they were allowed to report one or more races in 2000, data on race for 1990 and 2000 are not comparable.

²Other Asian alone, or two or more Asian categories.

³Other Pacific Islander alone, or two or more Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander categories.

⁴In combination with one or more of the other races listed. The following six numbers may add to more than 100 percent because individuals may report more than one race.

Table VI. Population by Race for Hawai'i: 2000

<i>Race</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of Total Population</i>
Total population	1,211,537	100.00
One race	952,194	78.6
Two or more races	259,343	21.4
Two races	175,252	14.5
White; Black or African-American	2,289	0.2
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	5,953	0.5
White; Asian	55,028	4.5
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	31,485	2.6
White; Some other race	7,728	0.6
Black or African-American; American Indian and Alaska Native	645	0.1
Black or African-American; Asian	1,936	0.2
Black or African-American; Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	1,330	0.1
Black or African-American; Some other race	532	—
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	1,473	0.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	1,259	0.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some other race	225	—
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	57,647	4.8
Asian; Some other race	5,671	0.5
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some other race	2,051	0.2
Three or more races	84,091	6.9

— Represents zero or rounds to 0.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census 2000*, Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Summary File, Table PL1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2001).

- Specifically, 21.4 percent of the population now identify themselves by two or more races, giving the state a far higher percentage of multiracial inhabitants than the nation as a whole. Furthermore, 7 percent of Hawai'i's people—84,091—describe themselves as three or more races. The percentage of multiracial people living in Hawai'i is more than that of the nation as a whole. 21.4 percent of Hawai'i's population is classified as multiracial as compared with 4.5 percent for Oklahoma (second highest percentage).⁴⁰
- The 2000 U.S. Census is a double-edged sword for the host culture. On the one hand, the number of people who identified themselves as part-Hawaiian or Pacific Islander increased by 74.2 percent (or 282,667) over the 1990 census. While on the other hand, there was a 30 percent decrease (113,539) in the number of state residents who described themselves as Native Hawaiians.
- These multiracial statistics reflect both Hawai'i's diverse population and the cultural values that made people more likely to check more than one racial category on a Census form, including those beliefs and feelings that it is okay to be racially and culturally mixed and proud of all ancestors.
- The 2000 U.S. Census captures the continued existence of *Aloha Kanaka* and of the honoring of all of one's ancestors by the many ethnic groups of Hawai'i. These cultural values embedded with the *Aloha* spirit may be enough of an impetus to continue the blending of ethnic groups and races to really create a truly multicultural/multiracial society in Hawai'i.⁴¹ As former Governor Cayetano said, "Who knows, maybe in the end, it will be what [Hawai'i author James] Michener said—it will be the golden people."⁴²
- Three in 10 people in the United States are minorities, but Hawai'i is a region of the nation where it's getting harder and harder to define people by race alone.
- The racial revisions reflect not just changing demographics but a changing political climate. The results will reveal how Americans define themselves and how the government will respond to questions about which groups deserve more federal money and which ones need better enforcement of civil rights protections.

As the 2000 U.S. Census data show, with its history of mixed marriages producing children who are a blend of several races, Hawai'i has led the way in changing the face of America. Slowly, the rest of America is noticing the same kinds of changes, but Hawai'i's—and America's—transformation is still incomplete. Hawai'i is not yet the multicultural-multiethnic society that provides equal opportunity for all. For some Blacks living in Hawai'i is paradise; for others, life in Hawai'i has brought many trials and tribulations, ranging from subtle and overt discrimination and racism to intellectual patronization and isolation. The Blacks, who first arrived in these Islands in the 1800s and who have made significant contributions to the development of Hawai'i, are still considerably underrepresented in all facets of the social, political and economic affairs of Hawai'i. In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on those aspects of the Black Experience in Hawai'i that hide too easily behind the peaceful façade of "paradise" and cloud just as easily the joy of living, working, and raising a family in Hawai'i.

To begin my exploration of the trials and tribulations inherent to the Black Experience in contemporary Hawai'i, I surveyed recent Hawai'i publications using the words "Blacks," "African-Americans," etc. as descriptors, but found little to report. Although historically Blacks have actively contributed to the development of Hawai'i's society and culture and continue to do so, the fact that there are relatively few recently published accounts of Blacks residing in and contributing to multicultural Hawai'i reveals and documents the possibility that unacknowledged racism in Hawai'i's society may be responsible for the subtle suppression of information that contributes to a continued oppression of Blacks in Hawai'i. Although the 2000 U.S. Census indicates that there are 22,003 (a decrease of 5,192 from 1990) Blacks in Hawai'i, it is very difficult to ascertain the true number as, because of discrimination and racism, some Blacks choose to identify themselves with their non-Black heritage.⁴³ This assimilation perspective, as reflected by this lack of racial identification, differs significantly from the perspectives of other immigrant groups in Hawai'i who embrace their ethnic identities as well as from those perspectives of strong identity on the U.S. Mainland that result from an acknowledgement of Black history, Black power, and Black pride.

To find records of the Black experience in Hawai'i, I began searching for this the needle in the haystack by researching the indices both of daily newspapers, such as the *Honolulu Advertiser*, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and of magazines and journals published less frequently, including, *Social Process*

in Hawai'i, the *Hawaiian Journal of History*, and the popular monthly *Honolulu Magazine*. For the twelve year publication period stretching from 1990 to 2002, I discovered only twenty-eight articles in the two daily newspapers. The majority of the articles dealt with the celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s holiday and some discussed the trials and tribulations of being Black in Hawai'i.

The articles on Dr. King's holiday celebrations are positive, extolling the achievements and ideals both of Dr. King and of the civil rights movement while discussing the impact of both on Hawai'i's society, especially on labor union efforts and the differences those efforts have made for the people in Hawai'i. The struggle for dignity and fairness among people—ensuring no one is denied opportunity because of race, socioeconomic status, politics or gender—is Dr. King's lasting legacy, especially in Hawai'i. Russell Okata, Hawai'i Government Employees Association (HGEA) executive director has recognized that this issue of fairness and dignity has linked the civil rights movement to the labor movement in a useful and productive marriage.⁴⁴ For example, the current affiliation of two local unions—the HGEA and the United Public Workers—with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is also anchored by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s. As William Hoshijo, executive director of the Civil Rights Commission in Hawai'i, states,

when we celebrate this holiday, we should think of Hawai'i's own proud civil rights history...tied to the efforts of the plantation workers' struggle to organize for better living conditions, the move from a segregated society to an integrated society, and the distinguished service of the 442nd [Regimental Combat Team] and 100th [Infantry Battalion].⁴⁵

Local newspapers may annually celebrate civil rights in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but still, as retired special-education teacher Gwen Johnson suggests, many people in Hawai'i don't realize that Martin Luther King, Jr. stood for equality and justice, not just for African-Americans, but for everyone who felt disenfranchised, the underprivileged, labor, women, gays, any put-upon people. This common misunderstanding—that the struggle for civil rights benefits the few rather than the many—acts as an insidiously powerful support for racist policies and behavior, adding explosive fuel to unconscious and often subtle discrimination.

The trials and tribulation of being Black in Hawai'i are explored in several articles and include issues ranging from stereotyping and subtle discrimina-

tion to overt racism in our public school system. At times, it appears that Andrew Lind's policy of racial unorthodoxy "in which overt discrimination and hostility need to be submerged but are sublimated through covert deeds of rudeness, gossiping, derision, interpersonal aloofness, or outright nastiness"⁴⁶ has been most recently morphing once again into overt discrimination and physical threats and violence.

Local newspapers report many instances where local students have acted insensitively towards Black students and have also exhibited out and out racism resulting in the verbal or physical abuse of Black classmates, including racial "jokes" and slurs printed in school publications.⁴⁷ If we compare these printed accounts to student statements recorded by Kimetta Hairston in her essay, it is abundantly clear that prejudice in our schools is all too real and, in some cases, appears to be deeply ingrained.

It is often said that stereotyping, discrimination, and overt racism in Hawai'i is accomplished by use of a "lighter-darker" scale. The darker one's skin, the harsher the criticism and the more evident the stereotypical labeling. As Kathryn Takara, an African American assistant professor in the University of Hawai'i Interdisciplinary Studies Program, says, "every group has stereotypes applied to them. But the most hostile, threatening ones have to do with darker-skinned people. And the least harmful, with lighter-skinned individuals."⁴⁸ Takara describes the harsh labeling that reveals the conscious or unconscious embrace of stereotypes to identify people of darker skin: Filipinos, Hawaiians, Samoans, African-Americans and, to a lesser degree, Tongans are said to be "criminals," "violent," "sexually aggressive," and "stupid." According to Al Miles, the correlation between skin color, labeling, and degrees of stereotype is just amazing, especially when one examines those that definitely limit possibilities against those that either enhance, or at least do not hinder, one's future.⁴⁹

The darker/lighter stereotyping phenomenon also applies to interethnic/interracial marriages. In discussions with students, I have been shocked to learn that fathers have said that students couldn't marry, or even bring home, potential partners who were Polynesian or Black. The fathers never said why, but the mothers did say that they didn't want the students to marry anyone darker—their babies would turn out dark. The only reason for prohibiting interracial marriage given to these students was that their kids would be darker and have curly hair, as if such characteristics were undesirable. Indeed, my students tell me that some who did not heed their parents' strict warning

have been kicked out of their parents' homes or have been disowned. That such racially inscribed attitudes still exist spotlights the difficulty of—and the necessity of—eradicating racism from our society as we move closer to a truly multicultural world.

According to Okamura, since the 1970s, there has also been widening social cleavage between Japanese Americans and other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, including Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, Samoans and other non-*Haole* groups. Native Hawaiians have expressed resentment against the perceived "racial exclusiveness in social relations and their patronage system" of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i.⁵⁰ Filipino Americans, along with Pacific Islanders, have also been quite vocal in accusing Japanese Americans of discriminating against them in employment, particularly for State government positions, and the validity of these accusations can be corroborated by statistics. According to the most recent census reports, Japanese Americans were hired for government jobs at a rate higher than their proportional representation in the Hawai'i labor force.⁵¹ These hiring imbalances contribute to the widespread perception that Japanese-Americans "control" State government employment by favoring their own applicants and thereby discriminating against non-Japanese. Such a perception, however, may also indicate a failure to recognize that Japanese Americans were for many years excluded from jobs in the private sector and that this current documented imbalance may simply reflect correction of a previous imbalance that resulted from exclusion. If we want to avoid continuing discrimination that results from patterns of domination and subordination, we need to recognize that societal growth and change is a complicated process that requires both specific interrogation and broad examination.

Prejudice that results from voiced or unvoiced social conditioning all too often becomes institutionalized before it is even recognized as prejudice. Some darker-skinned groups, including subordinate groups other than Blacks, have also raised issues of racism at the University of Hawai'i, citing the existence of subtle forms of stereotyping and discrimination in a system where Whites are perceived to be in control of policy and decisions that affect academic careers. At the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, where over 64.2 percent of the student body is Asian American in ancestry, 66.2 percent of the faculty is White.⁵² Even with Affirmative Action Plans, the University of Hawai'i as a system has not made significant gains in correcting these imbalances in retention of faculty as well as of students from those groups whose voices are muted.⁵³ Some faculty and staff who are members of these subordinate groups feel that they

are used solely as "window dressing" while their ideas and work are credited to others, and some believe that they are held to different and higher standards in terms of tenure, promotion, merit and administrative positions.

We can conclude by offering one of Kent Keith's 10 paradoxical commandments as an all too apt summary of the Black Experience in Hawai'i: "Give the world the best you have and you'll get kicked in the teeth. Give the world the best you have anyway."⁵⁴ In comparison to the U.S. Mainland, Hawai'i may well be on the way to becoming a multiracial-multicultural society, but, in order for Hawai'i to serve as a useful model for a world quickly becoming a global village, the muted voices of the many subordinate groups must be heard and given respect and equal opportunities to participate and partake in the fruits of paradise. ❖

Notes

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16. *Ibid.*, 3–21.
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20. Glazer and Moynihan, 12–22.
21. Haas, *Multicultural*, 285–306.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835–1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983).
24. Okamura, 163.
25. Haas, *Multicultural Hawai'i*, 285–306.
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37. *Ibid.*, 2.

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The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i

DAPHNE E. BARBEE-WOOTEN
MILES M. JACKSON

The new twentieth century held hope for many Americans, including African Americans. Cities were prospering, and there were signs of economic growth. Despite the disenfranchisement of Blacks at the close of the Reconstruction Era and despite the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt had made many appointments of African Americans to significant federal positions, and Blacks felt that their voices were finally being heard. Roosevelt had invited Booker T. Washington to be a guest at the White House as a gesture of goodwill during his "Square Deal" policy, and although some Southern Whites were uneasy about Roosevelt's invitation to Washington, many Blacks found such gestures hopeful signs of future change.¹

As the century turned, Hawai'i, like America, had entered its own era of prosperity and change. Annexation had proved lucrative for plantation owners and for those businessmen who had supported both the *coup d'état* in 1893 and the establishment of the Republic of Hawai'i. Increased demand for sugar in the U.S. consequently had boosted Hawai'i's production and sales, which, in turn, brought new investors to Hawai'i. Honolulu was once again teeming with expanded commerce, new construction, increased shipping, and military expansion. The introduction of the trans-Pacific cable had made communication easier between Hawai'i and the United States Mainland, encouraging business ventures that opened new opportunities,² but despite all this, everything was not coming up roses. The flush of hopeful growth did not extend its comfortable glow to all.

Between 1910 and 1920, Hawai'i's Black population fluctuated oddly. The U.S. census reported a rise to 695 civilian Black individuals in 1910, but by 1920 that figure had dropped to 348.³ What had caused such a marked decrease in population is debatable. During World War I, the cost of living in Hawai'i had risen sharply, remaining high even after the war ended, and although Black professionals and artisans who came to Hawai'i at the turn of the century had found comfortable lives in Hawai'i, many Black workers in Hawai'i, earning an average of 80 cents a day, discovered that the economic restrictions imposed by low wages and a high cost of living made more difficult life in a land where life was already strained by the divisiveness of undisguised racism. Blacks who had come as plantation workers left discouraged by working conditions and perhaps also by the fact that Mainland stereotypes of Blacks were being perpetuated in Hawai'i by a media that regularly depicted Blacks as comical and childlike. Unfortunately, such public and often unchallenged racist statements would continue in Hawai'i's media until after World War II.⁴ Although such circumstances may have been responsible for the departure of some, other talented Black individuals with astute legal minds found such an environment that needed their talents as social critics and one that challenged their abilities to effect useful social change through law and politics. There are those who see society's difficulties as threatening and dangerous; alarmed by what they see, they move to safer and gentler pastures. Others are equally alarmed, but they believe that by standing firm and jousting with the windmill, they can harness the wind. These courageous few confront impossible difficulties and make changes. Hawai'i has been fortunate to have had several such Black men and women who when confronted with painful issues of racism in society looked closely at difficult issues, sought legal and political solutions, and actively contributed to the changing politics of a changing society.

African Americans in Hawai'i Law and Politics

T. McCants Stewart

T. McCants Stewart left the United States and arrived with his family to settle in the Republic of Hawai'i in 1898.⁵ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* proudly announced his arrival in the Islands in 1898:

T. McCants Stewart Who is Highly Commended Will Remain in Honolulu....T. McCants Stewart, a distinguished Afro-American, who is a thorough-going American, if there ever was one, has arrived in Honolulu and will remain to engage in the practice of his profession—that of law. He is a lawyer of character and ability, well fitted for any business connected with the ability of Justice.⁶

On his arrival in Hawai'i, T. McCants Stewart was understandably unaware of the complexities of Hawai'i's political arena. Ignorant of Hawai'i's Republican Party support of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Stewart continued to work with and through the Republican Party, as had many Blacks after the Civil War. The Republican Party was the party of Abraham Lincoln and many of its nineteenth century leaders had been supportive of the abolitionist movement. That Hawai'i's Republican Party did not share some of these ideals of freedom and equality was not immediately clear to Stewart. Determined to work for civil rights, Stewart entered uneasily into the turmoil of Hawai'i politics but soon developed a reputation for speaking clearly his mind at Republican meetings. A reporter of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted that T. McCants Stewart was the most prominent speaker at a 1900 rally and that he spoke with "a soft Southern tone and his face...bright with conviction."⁷

Stewart's work in Hawai'i was varied but essential. He handled immigration cases for Chinese clients and wrote several briefs to the Hawai'i Supreme Court. Notable cases included *Kōloa Sugar Company v. Brown*⁸ (lease termination); *Hawai'i v. Li Shee*⁹ (marriage by proxy is not valid proof of polygamy); *Pilipo v. Scott*¹⁰ (summary possession case); and *Harris v. Copper*¹¹ (disqualified candidate allowed to remain on the ballot).

As the first lawyer to practice in the newly created Hawai'i Federal Court, Stewart soon became acquainted with many prominent judges and politicians in Hawai'i. His written memorial for Chief Justice Judd in 1900 offers perspective on both his and Judd's talents as advocates sincerely interested in equal rights for all citizens. Like Stewart, Judd had opposed the Chinese Exclusion Act passed by the United States Congress as well as a similar act passed by the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1886. Hawai'i's law stated that "No Chinese passenger shall be allowed to land in any port in the Hawaiian Kingdom."¹² Both men found the law unjust as it promoted and supported exclusion based on race. In his memorial statement for Chief Justice A. F. Judd, Stewart wrote:

May it please the court: Were I to follow my mind, I would not speak; but following the promptings of my heart, I arise to lay my tribute of respect upon the new—made grave of our departed Chief Justice. When I came to these Islands in November 1898, I brought a letter of introduction to him from a relative, one of my best New York friends....When I came here to the late Chief Justice, no bailiff barred the way; no secretary took my card for introduction. But without ceremony, and without hindrance, I immediately passed into presence of a man, who received me with cordiality;

and who during the entire interview, treated me with such urbanity that, within moments after I had met him, I forgot that I was in the presence of the Chief Justice of the Republic of Hawai'i, and felt only that I was in the presence of a noble man and splendid gentleman.... I remember this incident, and it tends to illustrate his character. I went into his room after a lengthy argument in connection with the Chinese case (the proceedings instituted to exclude those Chinese, who on their visit to China, had taken passes, and felt they were entitled to return to Hawai'i under them). Immediately upon entering he said, "What do you think of it?" I was surprised by the question, and made no reply. Suddenly, bringing his fist down upon his table, he said, with an expression of indignation I shall never forget; "To exclude them would be rank tyranny." He was evidently in sympathy with the underdog in the fight.¹³

Although Stewart made many friends among the Hawaiian members of the Republican Party and the community, he was never fully accepted by White Republicans. He was appointed to the County Act Commission and was invited to help write the Organic Act but never received other political appointments he felt he deserved. Frequently, the local press mocked him when reporting on meetings of the commission, sarcastically referring to him in headlines as "The African."¹⁴



T. McCants Stewart. Photo courtesy of Howard University Archives.

By 1905, Stewart's problems with Hawai'i Republicans had escalated. In a dispute between T. McCants Stewart and George McClellan (the Secretary to Hawai'i's Delegate to Congress) that had erupted over Stewart's responsibility in a legal case, T. McCants Stewart accused McClellan of calling him a "nigger." McClellan countered, saying that Stewart had called him a "conceited servant of a Prince" and had then struck him in the face.¹⁵ Hawai'i's enchantment began to fade for Stewart, who had become increasingly aware of overt racism throughout Hawai'i. Racist remarks from colleagues might fly into the wind and disappear, but the frequent comments against Hawaiians, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Asians published by two daily newspapers revealed that racism was more entrenched in every-day thought and life in Hawai'i than Stewart had originally imagined on his arrival in Hawai'i.¹⁶ In the Fall of 1905, after spending seven stormy years in Hawai'i's divisive political circles, T. McCants Stewart left Hawai'i.¹⁷

Stewart, a man of resolute fearlessness, fortitude, and endurance died in St. Thomas, Virgin Island in 1923. Members of the legal profession in Hawai'i have his words to remember, "Happy is a man who...leaves such footprints on the sands of time that succeeding generations are safe to follow."¹⁸

William F. Crockett

After accompanying one of the groups of Southern Black plantation workers to Maui in 1901, William F. Crockett, another talented Black lawyer, began a successful life as a lawyer and politician.¹⁹ Born in Wyethville, Virginia in 1860, Crockett obtained his early education there and in Baltimore at the Centenary Biblical Institute. After graduating in 1888 from Michigan Law School, he moved to Montgomery, Alabama where he practiced law and lectured for one year at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute.²⁰ Crockett had always been a great admirer of Booker T. Washington and was fortunate to establish a personal friendship with this outstanding African American Republican educator. In 1890, Crockett and a dentist friend, T.A. Curtis, established the *Montgomery Argus*,²¹ a small and, unfortunately, short-lived weekly newspaper for the Black community of Alabama. The paper ceased publication in 1895, perhaps because four years earlier Crockett had been offered a well-paying position as lead passenger agent for "colored passengers" for the Southern Pacific Company. He signed up to go to Hawai'i with Colonel Bean and a number of African Americans who had contracted to work as laborers at Wailuku Plantation on Maui. Crockett had persuaded his wife, Annie, with their two children to join him in this opportunity to leave the South and to start a new life in the United States' newest territory.

After establishing his law practice on Maui, Crockett became active with the Maui Republicans. Unlike T. McCants Stewart, Crockett did receive many political appointments, ranging from Deputy County Attorney to various judgeships. In 1915, he was elected to the Territorial House of Representatives, and for many years, he served as President of Maui's Republican Club in the Seventh Precinct. On June 6, 1929, Crockett was awarded an honorary doctorate by Morgan College (Morgan State University).²²

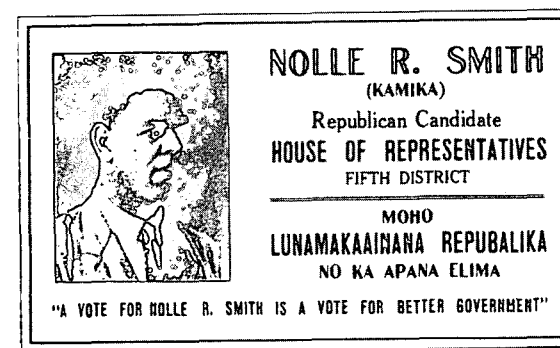
Crockett's son, Wendell F. Crockett,²³ also attended the University of Michigan Law School where he balanced his legal studies by singing with the Glee Club and by playing the mandolin. He later served in the all-Black Twenty-Fifth Infantry Regiment during World War I as an officer stationed in Nogales, Arizona. He returned to Maui to practice law in Wailuku as a successful attorney and prosecutor. Like his father, Wendell Crockett also received many political appointments, including his historical appointment as the first African American judge in the State of Hawai'i. In 1962, the younger Crockett left his judgeship due to mandatory age retirement requirements at the age of 70 but continued his involvement with politics. He was elected to Maui County Board of Supervisors in 1963. Fourteen years later, Wendell F. Crockett died on May 17, 1977.²⁴

Nolle Smith

Like T. McCants Stewart and William F. Crockett, Nolle Smith,²⁵ a Black engineer rather than a lawyer, was also active in Republican politics. Born in 1888 on his parents' ranch in Horse Creek, Wyoming, Smith became an excellent horseman and later attended the University of Nebraska where he studied engineering. After graduating, he worked for the Bureau of Reclamation as an engineer before being offered a job in 1915 as an engineer with the Honolulu Department of Public Works. The following year, John Guild, President of Castle and Cooke, impressed with Smith's ambition, offered him a position as Superintendent of Docks for Matson Navigation Company. By 1920, Smith married his fiancé, Eva Beatrice Jones, and arranged for his parents and brothers to move to Honolulu.

After leaving Matson, Smith established his own engineering and construction firm that obtained contracts for some of the major construction jobs in the Territory. In 1928, Smith was elected to the Territory Legislature where he served on many important committees. Smith or "Kawiki," as he was also known (Kawiki means Smith in Hawaiian), learned to speak Hawaiian

and often addressed his audiences in Hawaiian. He was later tapped to be the first Director of the Territory's new Civil Service system and traveled to Washington, D. C., to study the U. S. Civil Service system, but in his absence, political critics in Hawai'i played back-door politics and slipped a rival into the Director's chair. Undaunted, Smith assumed control of the Bureau of Research and Statistics, and for three years served as Deputy Director of the



Election card for Nolle R. Smith (Kamika), 1928. Courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives.



Nolle R. Smith, engineer and politician at age 91. Photo courtesy of Honolulu Advertiser.

Bureau of the Budget. Finally, in 1942 he was appointed, once again, to head the Department of Civil Service.

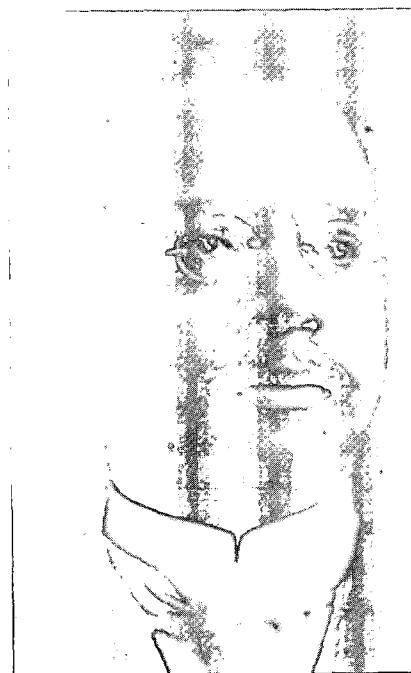
Always a strong advocate of government reform, Smith frequently acted on his motto: "Expose and Reform."²⁶ Interested in enfranchising the poor, he worked diligently to remove Hawai'i's poll tax, reminding his audiences that such taxes had been used in the Southern United States to block African Americans from voting and that such restrictions had no place in the Territory of Hawai'i.

Following World War II, Smith accepted appointments from the U. S. Department of State to serve as a public administration advisor to several Latin American countries, including Brazil and Ecuador. His past years of service in the Territory's government prepared him well for this next stage of his life. He received many commendations from the federal government as well as from foreign governments for his service with the State Department. Nolle Smith died in Honolulu on February 9, 1982 at age 93.

Charles A. Cottrill

Another active Republican in early twentieth century Hawai'i, Charles A. Cottrill,²⁷ a Black lawyer from Toledo, Ohio, was recommended by Booker T. Washington to serve as Hawai'i's Collector of Internal Revenue in 1910. Like other African American professionals who arrived in Hawai'i at the turn of the century, Cottrill was well-educated and deeply interested in Republican politics. Initially, President Taft had balked at "sending a colored man to Hawai'i,"²⁸ and when word reached Hawai'i that Cottrill had been recommended by the Republican Party, a few leaders in the business community in Honolulu also actively opposed the appointment. Nonetheless, Cottrill was finally appointed by President Taft and confirmed by Congress in January of 1911. In the spring of 1911, Cottrill arrived in Honolulu with his wife and son.²⁹ Whatever initial opposition there might have been to his appointment, it had faded by the time Cottrill arrived. He wrote George A. Myers, a Republican friend and business man in Ohio that, "Rumors of a proposed 'walkout'...were without foundation."³⁰

Cottrill and his family settled in a middle class neighborhood, and his son attended Punahou School, a private institution established originally for children of missionaries and now attended mostly by children of the middle and upper classes.³¹ Convinced that "there is absolutely no prejudice here such as you see in the United States, but this is a community where each individual



Charles A. Cottrill, a lawyer, was appointed Hawai'i's Collector of United States Internal Revenue in 1911. Photo courtesy of Prominent Men Hawai'i (Honolulu: Hawai'i Shinpo, 1913).

stands on his personal merit," Cottrill believed that Honolulu was capable of working out "the great problem of the twentieth century—the proper relations of the races."³² His vision of Hawai'i as an environment free of racial discrimination was idealistic but somewhat unrealistic, suggesting that he may have been peculiarly blind to the problems of discrimination faced by many working-class *Kānaka Maoli* and other non-Whites in Hawai'i at that time.

Cottrill enjoyed cordial relations with members of the local business community and was invited to join several prestigious clubs and organizations, including the Ad Club and the Chamber of Commerce. Like many African Americans of this era who occupied positions of authority, Cottrill considered himself as a representative of the "race," calling occasionally on prominent members of the political and business community, including Lili'uokalani, the former queen, who by all accounts received him and his friends with kindness and warmth.³³

Cottrill remained cognizant of the persistent racial problems on the Mainland, especially in the South, and was also aware that those who discriminated

against Blacks on the Mainland harbored slightly different feelings about the "brown" peoples of the Pacific. In a letter discussing his feelings at a social gathering given for a group of Congressional senators and representatives from the South who were in Hawai'i on official business, he mused about "what they [might] think when they learn that two of the 'brown people' they saw and fraternized with were 'colored people' from Ohio."³⁴ Cottrill was troubled by the inability of his fellow men to judge others solely on the basis of merit, but he also realized that, by holding up his own life and his actions as example, he might alter some of those seemingly intractable notions that were foundational to racism. A month earlier he had written to George Myers that:

I believe my service here has given the people of the Territory, the great majority of whom have never seen the Mainland of the U.S., a new notion of the "colored man."³⁵

After completing his term as Hawai'i's Collector of Internal Revenue, Cottrill's political pals, both Democrats and Republicans, had offered to speak on his behalf to President Wilson in the hopes of gaining an extension of his appointment, but they met with little success. Cottrill had made a home in the Islands; his son was doing well at Punahou, and his wife had many friends. He had wanted to remain in Hawai'i, but Wilson transferred his position to another one of his supporters. Cottrill returned to Ohio in 1915, but before leaving the Islands to continue his political career in Ohio, Cottrill, summarized his commitment to his work in Hawai'i:

I don't believe the feeling here toward Race is what it was before I came—and if I have by my life and service given the lie to the unkind things that have been printed and said by my enemies of our race I am content.³⁶

George Marion Johnson, JD, LLD

After a long and successful career, serving the public as a lawyer, educator and administration, George Marion Johnson³⁷ came to Honolulu in the 1970s with his wife, Evelyn, to enjoy his retirement. Previously, Johnson had served as Secretary and Acting General Counsel of the Fair Employment Practices Committee between 1941 and 1945 (precursor agency to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) and as the Director of the Commission on Civil Rights (1957). He was also the co-founder of the University of Nigeria after Nigeria's independence in 1960 and later a Professor of Law at Michigan State University. At the University of Nigeria, he was instrumental in starting a law school.

After moving to O'ahu, Johnson decided that placid retirement was not for him. Noting that attorneys practicing in Hawai'i had to obtain legal education elsewhere and that too many students could not afford the travel costs to study law on the Mainland, Johnson became interested in a movement to create a law school at the University of Hawai'i (UH). After becoming acquainted with many prominent attorneys in town, Johnson joined forces with Hawai'i Supreme Court Justice William S. Richardson and others to obtain legislative support for a law school at the Mānoa campus of the University of Hawai'i. In 1973, Hawai'i's first law school opened for classes. With creation of the William S. Richardson School of Law, more Hawaiian and underrepresented minority students were able to study law, become lawyers, and contribute to Hawai'i society. Governor John Waihe'e, the first State Governor with Hawaiian blood, was a member of the University of Hawai'i Law School's first year class in 1973.³⁸

In 1974, Professor Johnson was offered and accepted a position as Director of the Preadmission to Law Program, a program designed to assist in admission problems experienced by Hawai'i's cultural minorities and economically challenged students who were still underrepresented in the legal community. At the time he accepted this responsibility to help create this program, Johnson was 74 years old. He taught the first Preadmission course at the Law School and formulated a curriculum that would encourage students to succeed in law. Ten of the first eleven preadmission students completed law school, passed the bar exam, and became practicing lawyers.³⁹

For ten years, Judy Weightman served as director of the program, mentoring many prospective lawyers in a manner similar to that of Johnson. Today, according to Chris Iijima, director of the program in 2002, the preadmission program has an incredible success rate. Each year approximately 12 students are admitted and most graduate. The preadmission program supports diversity, accepting students who are Hawaiian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Samoan, Pacific Islanders, African American, and Hispanic as well as those who are disabled or who belong to other historically underrepresented groups in the Hawai'i Bar.⁴⁰ Preadmission students have become successful lawyers, Judges, President and Secretary of the Hawai'i State Bar Association, published law review articles, and won awards for oral advocacy. In the words of Iijima, George Johnson "changed the face of the Hawai'i Bar. He was instrumental in diversifying the Bar in Hawai'i." Johnson also lectured at the University of Hawai'i Medical School on the "legal aspects of medicine" and served as a member of a committee of the Hawai'i Medical Association.⁴¹

Attorney Douglas Crosier, a student enrolled in the first 1974 Preadmission programs, who later became the Hawai'i State Bar President in 2002, recalls that his mentor Johnson inspired him "to become interested in law as a tool for reform. I learned through him that it is possible to change the world to make it better."⁴² Johnson focused his teaching on human rights and law, explicating the wider issues of ethics and law thorough the details of complicated legal issues, such as those surrounding both the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II as presented in the case *Korematsu v. United States*⁴³ and the desegregation of schools as represented by *Brown v. Board of Education*.⁴⁴ Johnson did not neglect to remind aspiring lawyers and politicians of their responsibility both to the law and to those who they serve, assigning students to study the issues surrounding the Watergate scandal and the details of *United States v. Nixon*,⁴⁵ a case which decided that the President must turn over the Watergate tapes to Congress. Crosier recalls that Johnson always encouraged students to overcome all obstacles, however extreme those obstacles might be. Johnson told students about his own extraordinary experience as the only Black law student at the University of California–Berkeley. Whenever he would ask or answer a question in class, White students would stomp their feet in an attempt to drown out his voice.⁴⁶ Their ridiculous attempt at suppression of his intellect didn't work. The more they stomped, the more articulate he became. Words will always sound above the dull clamor of voiceless feet, and Johnson's stellar legal career left the feet stompers in the dust. Crosier noted that Johnson, as his first mentor, was "an inspiration, who clearly articulated a philosophy and genuine belief of what a lawyers is all about; he exemplified the love of law."⁴⁷

Johnson died in 1987 at the age of 87, but his generous spirit lives on. He left an endowment of more than \$500,000 to benefit UH Law School and UH law students. The George M. and Evelyn Johnson Trust created scholarships for "qualified and deserving students in need of financial assistance" who enrolled at the University Hawai'i Law School. Between four to six financial scholarships are awarded each year. In addition to scholarships for students, the trust a visiting George M. and Evelyn Johnson Chair, hoping to ensure that the School might invite visiting law professors to offer their skills and knowledge to UH students. Professors who have recently occupied the Johnson Chair include, Tanya Banks (1994), William H. Rogers (1995), Sherri Burr (Fall of 1995), Dan Henderson (1999), and Alison Rieser (2000–01). Johnson is both beloved by his former students here in Hawai'i and legendary

in Nigeria. Nigerian students call Johnson "ese au ena mau" which translates into English as "the law giver," a most fitting title.⁴⁸

Charles Campbell

Charles Campbell⁴⁹ entered politics in Hawai'i already a seasoned Democrat. While working on Harry S. Truman's campaign for President, he had met Senator Daniel Inouye, who suggested that Campbell might consider relocating to Hawai'i. After Campbell and his attorney wife, Naomi, moved to Honolulu, he served as the 1968 Chairman of the Democratic Party of Hawai'i and later ran for the O'ahu City Council and won. Campbell's friends and former students held campaign signs near street corners and thus initiated the now "traditional" campaign sign waving in Hawai'i. Campbell served in the State House of Representatives and the Senate from 1968 until 1982, and in 1970, he made an unsuccessful bid for Lieutenant Governor against George Ariyoshi, who later became Governor for eight years. Campbell died in 1986, leaving behind a legacy of political influence that still affects Hawai'i politics.

Helene Hale

Although only two Black Democrats have been elected to the Hawai'i State Legislature, Helene Hale,⁵⁰ who came to the Island of Hawai'i from Minnesota in 1947, qualifies as the first woman Mayor in Hawai'i and the only female Black Mayor. After spending some years teaching and running a book store with her husband, Hale entered politics in 1954. She was first elected to the Board of Supervisors for West Hawai'i, and then, in 1962, she was elected County Chairperson, a position comparable to the position of Mayor today. While County chairperson, Hale also served as co-Chair with George Naope for the first Merri Monarch Hula Festival in Hilo. In 2000, Helene Hale was elected to the Hawai'i State Legislature as a Representative from the Island of Hawai'i. Popular among her constituents, she was re-elected a Representative to the Legislature in 2002.⁵¹

African American Lawyers Association (AALA)

In 1988, after Circuit Judge Robert Won Bae Chang referred to a Black bail bondsman, Art Lee, as a "nigger in a wood pile,"⁵² the African American Lawyers Association (AALA) was established as an organization that could legally confront such incidents of blatant racism. During the last decades of the twentieth century, the AALA played a principal role both in the courts and in the community, focusing public attention on the existence of discriminatory



Senator Charles Campbell with a group of civil rights supporters before he leaves for protest in Jackson Mississippi in 1965. Photo courtesy of Honolulu Advertiser.



Helene Hale. Photo courtesy of Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

practices in Hawai'i that need to be rectified while simultaneously working to eliminate those practices once and for all by insisting that those who practice racism assume responsibility for their actions and accept the consequences of those actions. By serving as a watchdog organization recording and confronting racism directed at African Americans in Hawai'i, the AALA also provides moral support for Black attorneys, and by sponsoring an annual civil rights essay scholarship contest, the AALA actively engages in creating a community dedicated to equality and to education by encouraging youth to learn more about civil rights and about the long struggle to obtain and retain civil rights for Blacks in America. The AALA has also presented several public television shows on 'Ōlelo, "Law Talk" and "Legally Speaking," that both provide a venue for AALA members to discuss various aspects of law and society and allow members of the community to gain a greater awareness of problems facing our community and of potential solutions.⁵³ As part of a coalition headed by Black activists Betty Jo Harris, the late Stretch Johnson, English Bradshaw, Marsha Joyner and Faye Kennedy, the AALA also played an active role in lobbying the Hawai'i State Legislature to establish the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday on July 1, 1991.⁵⁴

Although a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) exists in Honolulu, when confronted with issues of discrimination, it cannot litigate.⁵⁵ Fortunately, the AALA can. Listed below are some of the discriminatory incidents that the AALA has addressed in recent years:

- 1991: When the NAACP was informed that a Kalāheo High School football coach had told his team to "get the nigger," referring to an opposing team's football player, the AALA filed a complaint against the Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) with the U.S. Office of Civil Rights (OCR). As a result of the formal complaint, OCR ordered the Hawai'i DOE to enact and implement rules against racial harassment in school in accordance with Title VI of the Civil Right Act of 1964.⁵⁶
- 1996: Another incident at Kalāheo High School prompted the AALA to file another complaint with OCR. A defamatory caption under a photograph of three African American high school students printed in the Kalāheo yearbook read "I like pig's feet! I like hog mallz! Where da collard greens? Who got da chintlinz?" The students had won a talent contest and were not engaged in the act of either eating or

talking about food. The caption was placed under the photograph by a non-African American student and without the knowledge or consent of the students depicted. When the school refused to recall the yearbooks or to apologize for the incendiary and offensive caption, a civil rights and defamation lawsuit was filed against the DOE. The lawsuit, *Sanders v. Knudsen*,⁵⁷ was settled with an agreement for a public apology by the yearbook teacher, \$80,000 in monetary damages, racial sensitivity training for yearbook advisers, and the adoption of clear rules and regulations against racial discrimination within public school system.

- 1997: Another public high school, Castle High School, published a yearbook with a photograph of a student in full Ku Klux Klan (KKK) regalia. A non-African American student wore the KKK outfit to class and was photographed for the school yearbook. The student claimed that the outfit was that of a ghost or druid, but the principal suspended him nonetheless. A discrimination lawsuit, *Boyce v. Knudsen*,⁵⁸ was filed in Federal District Court. U. S. District Court, and Judge Susan Mollway dismissed the case stating that as there was no history of the KKK in Hawai'i, plaintiffs could not prove intentional discrimination, despite the fact that the African American teacher had submitted an affidavit clearly describing both the discriminatory behavior of the student against other Black students and the DOE's prior knowledge of his anti-African American attitude. The case was not appealed.
- 1998: Non-Black students physically assaulted a young African American junior high student and shouted racial epithets at the same student enrolled at 'Iao Intermediate School on Maui.⁵⁹ The school principal remarked that the problem of racism needed to be addressed by parents not by the school. The AALA and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a complaint against the DOE; the principal was suspended and an investigation was ordered of the racially hostile environment at the school.⁶⁰ At the time of this incident, the National Bar Association (NBA), an organization of Black lawyers and judges, was holding a conference in Maui. The NBA had plans to donate a new computer to 'Iao School, but those plans were changed; the computer was donated instead to Waihe'e Elementary School. The remarks of the principal at 'Iao suggested to the NBA that the incident of racial discrimination against Black students had been handled inappropriately.⁶¹ Such behavior is not to be rewarded.

Knowing that the success of a multicultural multiracial society depends on the inclusion of under-represented races and ethnicities in positions of power and responsibility, the African American Lawyers Association called for the appointment of an African American Judge, and after two years of intense lobbying by the AALA, Governor John Waihe'e appointed the first African American woman judge in Hawai'i, Sandra A. Simms.⁶²

Sandra A. Simms came to Hawai'i from Chicago in 1979. She first clerked for Intermediate Court of Appeals Judge Yoshimi Hayashi and then obtained a job with the Corporation Counsel, City Attorney's office where she advised Mayor Frank Fasi and the City Counsel of Honolulu about legal matters, including racial discrimination at Waikiki nightclubs.⁶³ During the 1980s, discrimination against African Americans was all too common in Hawai'i nightclubs, some of which were infamous for their discriminatory tactics. One particular nightclub, located in the Hyatt Regency, required African Americans to show numerous identification cards before allowing them entrance to the club. Non-African Americans were allowed entrance without having to display multiple forms of identification. The Honolulu Liquor Commission rules that no establishments selling alcohol can openly discriminate, but also that they will lose their license if found to be in violation of anti-discrimination rules. Mayor Frank Fasi had appointed John W. Edwards, a prominent African American physician to the Honolulu Liquor Commission, and with Edwards at the helm, the Liquor Commission held hearings on discrimination complaints at Waikiki nightclubs.⁶⁴ In a 1988 appeal to the Hawai'i Supreme Court, the Hyatt Regency challenged the anti-discrimination rule previously adopted by the Honolulu Liquor Commission. Ruling on *Hyatt Corporation v. Honolulu Liquor Commission*,⁶⁵ the Supreme Court found against Hyatt, stating that:

The public policy of the State of Hawai'i disfavoring racial discrimination is embodied in our statutes and our Constitution. The strength of this expressed public policy against racial discrimination is beyond question.⁶⁶

The Hyatt settled the discrimination complaints before the Liquor Commission with payment to the NAACP scholarship fund, an evening at their nightclub in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr., and an agreement to eliminate discriminatory practices in the future.⁶⁷

In 1992, Sandra A. Simms became the first African American woman District Court Judge in Hawai'i. Appointed by Governor Waihe'e to the First Circuit Court in 1995, Simms has handled many controversial criminal cases.⁶⁸

In the case of *State v. Shabazz*,⁶⁹ three young African American men were charged with sex assault in the first degree on a young woman. In an opening statement, the prosecuting attorney referred to the race both of the defendants and of the complaining witness' race who was not Black. The jury convicted two of the defendants of a lesser degree of sex assault, which made them eligible for probation instead of jail, and Judge Simms did assign one of these defendants probation instead of jail. The prosecutor publicly criticized Simms' decision, accusing her of being soft on "criminals."⁷⁰ Cartoons, editorials, letters to the editor, and even then-Governor Cayetano, questioned Simms' judicial ability, merely because she had provided a young man a chance to rehabilitate himself instead of sentencing him to a jail term.⁷¹ Two years later, Hawai'i Intermediate Court of Appeals reversed the guilty verdict, ruling that the prosecutor's opening remarks that had included racial referencing, were discriminatory and therefore tainted the judicial process. The court ruled: "[W]e discern a distinct and reasonable possibility that the prosecutor's reference to race might have contributed to the convictions of Crawley and Shabazz."⁷² For its decision, the Court had relied on an earlier Hawai'i Supreme Court case *State v. Rogan*,⁷³ wherein the prosecuting attorney office similarly referred to a rape suspect as a "Black military guy on top of her." In *State v. Rogan*, the court had ruled that: "Arguments that rely on racial, religious, ethnic, political, economic, or other prejudices of the jurors introduce into the trial elements of irrelevance and irrationality that cannot be tolerated."⁷⁴

Faced with negative publicity, Judge Simms handled all criticism, deserved or not, with grace and wisdom. She continued her judicial tenure and did not allow negative publicity to affect her decisions. "Criticism," she says, "comes with the territory of being a Judge and I make decisions based on facts before me, not public outcry or popular opinion."⁷⁵ In 2004, it was announced that Judge Simms would not be reappointed for a new term.

Hawai'i Courts and Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission Administrative Decisions Concerning African Americans in Hawai'i

Courts

In general, the Hawai'i appellate courts have shied away from race sensitive issues in appeals. However, there are several cases where the appellate courts have addressed racism and African Americans in Hawai'i. In two cases, *State v. Rogan* and *State v. Shabazz*, the court ruled that an attorney cannot use

racial commentary in arguments to a jury for the purpose of activating the emotions or prejudices of jurors. Both of these cases involved Black suspects charged with sex assault against a non-Black complainant.

Two other cases, *State v. Batson*⁷⁶ and *State v. Richie*, addressed the sensitive, yet important, issue of juries, diversity, and justice. In *State v. Batson*, the Hawai'i Supreme Court relied on the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that attorneys may not make preemptory challenges of prospective jurors based on race:

Whenever the prosecution exorcizes its preemptory challenges as to exclude entirely for the jury all persons who are of the same ethnic minority as the defendant, and that exclusion is challenged by the defense, there will be an inference that the exclusion was racially motivated, and the prosecutor must, to the satisfaction of the court, explain his or her challenges on a non-ethnic basis.⁷⁷

In *State v. Richie*,⁷⁸ however, the Hawai'i Supreme Court ruled that the lack of African Americans on a jury was not grounds for reversal in a case involving a Black man, targeted by undercover police and charged with



Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., guest speaker at the University of Hawai'i Convocation, February 1968. Photo courtesy of Honolulu Advertiser.

promoting prostitution at a lap dance bachelor party on Kaua'i. The Court noted there were few African Americans in Hawai'i and, therefore, the fact there were no African Americans in the jury pool or on the jury could not be ruled as discriminatory. Although logical and based on fact, this decision was frustrating because it revealed how easily the language of logic can mask the practice of discrimination. The Richie case was a classic example of selective prosecution. Other owners and workers in establishments and organizations that regularly featured lap dancing had not been charged with promoting prostitution.⁷⁹

Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission

In two published decisions, the Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission (HCRC) addressed the unnecessary and destructive use of racial slurs against African Americans. *Smith v. MTL*⁸⁰ addressed a discriminatory incident that had occurred when a bus driver called an African American passenger "nigger" during a verbal dispute concerning a bus stop. The HCRC ruled that verbal epithet was racial discrimination in a public accommodation and awarded the passenger \$30,000 in damages. In *White v. State of Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i and Wallace*,⁸¹ the HCRC also ruled that discrimination had occurred when a student coach yelled at a fan and called him "nigger" at a University of Hawai'i (UH) basketball game. After the fan filed a complaint, UH failed either to investigate or to admonish the student coach—UH basketball coach Riley Wallace's son—for his discriminatory behavior. A \$30,000 fine was levied, and the money was awarded to the fan. The student coach later apologized and then settled with the fan, paying an unspecified amount of damages. The University has appealed the HCRC decision, arguing that the student coach was exercising his First Amendment right to free speech and that his actions did not reflect University policy. The Hawai'i Supreme court will decide this matter on appeal.

The Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission relies on individuals throughout the state to recognize the need to work steadily for civil rights, and many do just that. The late Darwell Leon Forster is one man who actively worked for civil rights during his short time in Hawai'i and made many necessary changes that helped employers realize the importance and benefits of a diverse workplace. After arriving in Hawai'i from California, Darwell Leon Fortson, Sr. became the Director of the U.S. Office of Contract Compliance during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Armed with the threat of having the power to take federal funds from employers who discriminate, Forston ensured that employers

abide by the Civil Rights Act. Although he maintained a low profile, Forston was highly effective. He organized mandatory training classes for employers who had fired without cause disabled employees and ordered the improperly fired employees rehired; within days, they got their jobs back. Forston also worked with the University of Hawai'i to establish an African American Task Force to document, study and implement an affirmative action plan to hire and retain Black faculty and keep statistics on Black employees and students. Unexpectedly, on November 24, 1995, Fortson died in Honolulu.

As the twenty-first century begins, multicultural and multiracial Hawai'i still faces problems of discrimination, but with the continued confrontation of such problems, prejudice, like slavery, may someday be banished from society, its memory filed away as an uncomfortable yet necessary reminder of what society was but is no longer. At the turn of the last century, Charles A. Cottrill stated confidently to his friend George Myers, that Hawai'i could certainly solve "the great problem of the twentieth century—the proper relations of the races." That problem has not yet been solved, but through education, through law, and through justice, it will be.

It will be. ❖

Appendix

African American lawyers in Hawai'i as December 31, 2003. (approximate date of arrival):

Daphne E. Barbee: state public defender; EEOC trial attorney, private practice (1981)

Rustam A. Barbee: federal public defender; private practice (1988)

Charles R. Brown: private practice (2001)

Eric Ferrer: private practice, Maui (1997)

Donn Fudo: deputy prosecution attorney (1988)

William Harrison: attended the University of Hawaii Law School; former President AALA (1981)

Victor James: private practice; Hilo prosecuting attorney office; private practice appointed State Judicial Selection Committee (1997)

Danielle Conway Jones: law professor at the University of Hawai'i (2000)

Christopher Jones: deputy director of the Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission (2002)

Joseph Mottle III: private practice (1982)

Khaled Mujtabaa: private practice (1988)

James Paige: Attorney General office (1988)

Adrianne Sanders (1989)

Sandra A. Simms: clerk, Intermediate Court of Appeals; Corporation Counsel; Judge of the First Circuit Court (1980)

Travis Stephens: deputy public defender (1987)

Jerry Wilson: trial lawyer (1974)

André S. Wooten: private practice (1985)

Notes

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3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Hawaiian Islands*, Schedule No. 1, Population (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1910); U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Hawaiian Islands*, Schedule No. 1, Population (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1920).
4. U.S. Kerner Commission, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968): 40, 120, 143; Marilyn Fife, "Black Images in American T. V.," *Black Scholar* (November 1974): 7–15.
5. On Stewart's life, see Albert S. Broussard, *African-American Odyssey: The Stewarts, 1853–1963* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1998).
6. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 20 November 1898, 1.
7. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 4 May 1900, 1.
8. 12 Hawai'i 142 (1900)
9. 12 Hawai'i 329 (1900)
10. 13 Hawai'i 632 (1901)
11. 14 Hawai'i 145 (1902)

12. The U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 became effective in 1898 when Hawai'i was annexed.
13. 12 Hawai'i 435–6 (1900)
14. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 1 March 1905, 4.
15. Ibid.
16. Broussard, 81.
17. Ibid., 84.
18. Ibid., 72.
19. George Nellist, *The Story of Hawai'i and Its Leaders* (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1925), 362–364.
20. Ibid.
21. *Montgomery Argus* was published every Saturday by the Argus Publishing Company, 14 South Street, Montgomery, Alabama. William F. Crockett, editor; Thomas A. Curtis, Associate Editor; and Thomas N. Harris, Business Manager.
22. Nellist, 362–364.
23. University of Michigan, *Record for the General Catalogue of Alumni and Former Students* (Ann Arbor: 1921), 419.
24. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 4 January 1979, A21 (Obituaries).
25. Bobette Gugliotta, *Nolle Smith: Cowboy, Engineer, Statesman* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1971).
26. Ibid., 66.
27. *Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 10 (1910) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 391–435.
28. Ibid.
29. Charles A. Cottrill to George Myers, 11 May 1911, George Myers Papers, Columbus, Ohio.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Charles A. Cottrill to George Myers, 6 March 1914, George Myers Papers.
34. Ibid., 18 May 1915.
35. Ibid., 10 April 1914.
36. Ibid.
37. George M. Johnson, "The Making of a Liberal: The Autobiography of George M. Johnson" (Unpublished Memoir, Honolulu, 1989).

38. A Photograph of John Waihe'e hangs on the wall of the University of Hawai'i William S. Richardson School of Law with the Class of 1973.
39. Johnson, 109.
40. University of Hawai'i, William S. Richardson School of Law, *The University of Hawai'i Law School Catalog, 2002–2003* (Honolulu: 2002), 243.
41. Ibid., 114.
42. Douglas Crosier, interview by Daphne Barbee-Wooten, 12 October 2002.
43. 323 United States 213 (1944).
44. 344 United States 483 (1954).
45. 418 United States 683 (1974).
46. Douglas Crosier, interview by Daphne Barbee-Wooten, 12 September 2002.
47. Ibid.
48. Johnson, 83.
49. Daphne Barbee-Wooten, "The Campbells," *Honolulu Bar Association Journal* (October 1999): 99–100.
50. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 24 November 2000, B12.
51. Ibid., B1, B2.
52. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 March 1986, A1.
53. 'Ōlelo tape archives of shows produced by Caroline and Andwela Gardner; also available from the archives of the African American Lawyers Association.
54. *Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Coalition—Hawai'i*, Souvenir Book (n.p.: 2002).
55. *Sanders v. Knudsen*, United States District Court, District of Hawai'i, Civil No. 97-01038 (1997).
56. United States Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, Case No. 10921017, Findings of fact and conclusion.
57. United States District Court, District of Hawai'i, Civil No. 97-01038 (1997). See also "Racial Slur in Yearbook Outrages Parents," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 28 June 1997, A1; "Yearbook Claim Settled for \$80,000," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 August 1992, A1.
58. United States District Court, District of Hawai'i, Civil No. 98-00797 (1998).
59. "Black Students Harassed at 'Īao, Complaint Says," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 December 1998, B1.
60. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 16 December 1998, B1, B4; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 January 1999, A3.
61. Andre Wooten, interview by Daphne Barbee-Wooten, 4 March 2002.
62. Sandra Simms, interview by Daphne Barbee-Wooten, 25 August 2002.

63. Ibid.
64. *Hyatt Corporation vs. Honolulu Liquor Commission*, 69 Hawai'i 238 (1988), 244.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Sandra Simms, interview by Daphne Barbee-Wooten, 25 August 2002.
68. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 January 1999, A7.
69. 98 Hawai'i 358 (App. 2002).
70. Ibid.
71. *Honolulu Weekly*, 16 September 1998, 3.
72. Ibid., 382.
73. 91 Hawai'i 405 (1999).
74. Ibid.
75. *Mahogany*, 1 May 1999, 1.
76. 71 Hawai'i 300 (1990).
77. Ibid., 302–303.
78. 88 Hawai'i 19 (1998).
79. Ibid.
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81. *White v. State of Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i and Wallace*, Hawai'i Civil Rights Commission, No. 97-001-PA-R, affirmed in Civil No. 98-2810-06, 1st Cir. Ct. (1999).

Let Us Pray: African Americans in Hawai'i and Experiences of Worship

MICHAEL STEPHENS

God is able this morning....God stands with His arms wide open, bidding each and every one of us to come unto Him. Let us pray...."

Reverend Willie T. Glynn, Jr., *Pastor*
Trinity Missionary Baptist Church
March 13, 1983

Hawai'i's religions are as diverse and multifaceted as its people; no church, no temple, no mosque is just like another. African American Christian churches on the Island of O'ahu find room for worshippers to congregate in storefronts, homes, chapels, churches, large public buildings, and even in tents. Although the stated mission of these Black churches is to reach the local people of Hawai'i as well as the Black community, they have ministered primarily to the African American population, allowing them to worship in a manner familiar, comfortable, and different from the majority of other Christian churches in Hawai'i.

The majority of existing Black churches on O'ahu have been established since 1960, but as early as 1901, African Americans have worshipped and have had a spiritual presence in Hawai'i. In 1901, the Reverend James A. Henderson, from Montgomery, Alabama established a church and a Sunday school for the newly arrived Black plantation workers at Spreckelsville Plantation on Maui. A graduate of Tuskegee Institute, Henderson had been well-respected pastor of the Mount Zion Church, near Montgomery, before coming to Hawai'i. At one time, President Benjamin Harrison had offered him as job as a postmaster. Only one year after arriving in Hawai'i to minister to the spiritual needs of those Blacks who had come to Maui to work the plantations, Reverend Henderson

died from a stroke at the age of 49 on January 8, 1902. His funeral service was held at the Native Church in Wailuku and officiated by the local pastor Reverend J. Nua. Henderson was buried near the Catholic Church. According to the *Maui News*, Rev. Henderson was "honest and upright in character as well as a sincere and zealous Christian. He rounded out a beautiful life, rich in the love and esteem of all who knew him."



New Era Community Church, CHA3, Pearl Harbor, 1944. Pictured are Mrs. Lucy Hundley (right) and Mrs. Barfield. Photo courtesy of University of Hawai'i Archives.

Henderson was joined in his mission to minister to the Black workers on Maui by the Reverend Augustus Hutchison who also came to Maui with the Montgomery group of plantation workers in Hawai'i in 1901. Hutchison, however, left the Pu'unēnē plantation after a short while and opened a barber shop in the Maui Hotel in Wailuku. Like Henderson, he also died in 1902. The local lodge of the Odd Fellows oversaw his funeral. Hutchison was buried in the Wailuku cemetery.¹

It was not until World War II did we see another Black church established on O'ahu. The New Era Community Church was established at Pearl Harbor in 1943 primarily to serve the growing number of Black civilian defense workers recruited from the Mainland. A decade later we discover a dynamic African American woman serving the spiritual needs of African Americans in Hawai'i. Mother Norine E. Evans came to Hawai'i in January of 1955 to become the pastor of a small church on 417 North King Street across from 'A'ala Park originally founded by Mother Willie Holt in November of 1954. Already serving as the District Missionary of the Church of God in Christ



Social gathering in CHA-3, 1944, home of Marion and Clarissa Wildy (seated from left). Photo courtesy of University of Hawai'i Archives.

of Northern California, Mother Evans arrived from Berkeley, California at the request of her church when Mother Holt fell ill. The church was heavily in debt when Mother Evans arrived and for months she held services both morning and evening in order to alleviate the financial situation. In 1962, she moved the church from 417 North King Street to 1917 Colburn Street and established the Norine E. Evans Mission Home. An area behind this 12 bedroom house served as the church, Prayer Center Church of God in Christ. During her lifetime in Hawai'i, Mother Evans also had a great influence on at least 12 other independent Pentecostal churches and on other ministers on O'ahu. At least one prominent local (Hawaiian/English) minister, the Reverend Dennis Welch, pastor of the Greater Mount Zion Holiness Church, credits his calling to the ministry to the influence of Mother Evans. In fact, Reverend Welch was the first person to be saved under the ministry of Mother Evans on January 6, 1955. Mother Evans died in 1969. One of the first Black Baptist churches in Hawai'i was the St. John Baptist Church of Mā'ili whose founder was the Reverend Ivory W. Collins.² His church was small and attracted Hawaiians and Samoans.

Not all Black ministers who came to Hawai'i during the mid-twentieth century shared the enthusiasm and dedication of Evans and Collins. Some ministers were exceedingly eccentric and even inexplicable. The Reverend Clennon King came to Hawai'i in the Fall of 1959 and accepted a pastor's post at Church of God in Christ at 'Ōma'o, Kaua'i. Born in Albany, Georgia, King was ordained as Elder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In April of 1961, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported that

since his arrival in the Islands, he has sought to run for office of the President of the United States; been in jail twice; been fired from his minister's post; entered Robinson Estate lands on Kaua'i seeking boat passage to the private Island of Ni'ihau.³

Minister, teacher, writer and voluntary commentator on what ails the human race, Rev. King wrote a weekly newsletter, *Hawai'i Calls*. In his third and fourth issues, he told of his adventures seeking boat passage to the forbidden Island of Ni'ihau. Fired from his pastorship by the O'ahu Bishop of the church, Reverend Wilbert Reed, King subsequently left the Island. Like most churches, Black churches make room for the wayward, allowing them to discover their own paths.

Black churches welcome all, but, nonetheless, the size of the Black church community is small in comparison to the total number of Blacks in Hawai'i.

This differs from the experience on the Mainland where historically the Black church is important to African Americans. Black churches have always been essential to the social and psychological health of the community. Benjamin Mays and Joseph Nicholson recognized this fact in their 1969 text:

The opportunity found in the Negro church to be recognized, and to be "somebody," has stimulated the pride and preserved the self-respect of many Blacks possibly completely submerged. Everyone wants to receive recognition and feel that he is appreciated. The Black church has supplied this need. A truck driver of average or more than ordinary qualities becomes the chairman of the Deacon Board. A hotel man of some ability is the superintendent of the Sunday church school of a rather important church. A woman who would be hardly noticed, socially or otherwise, becomes a leading woman in the missionary society. A girl little training and less opportunity for training gets the chance to become the leading soprano in choir of a great church.

These people receive little or no recognition on their daily job. There is nothing to make them feel that they are "somebody." Frequently their souls are crushed and their personalities disregarded. Often they do not feel "at home" in the more sophisticated Negro group. But in the church on X Street, she is Mrs. Johnson, the Church Clerk; and he is Mr. Jones, the chairman of the Deacon Board.⁴

In many respects, the African American church in Hawai'i has offered African Americans in Hawai'i this type of experience, but in an Asian/Polynesian environment that is foreign to some Blacks who have come to Hawai'i to serve in the military. The church also provides the familiarity of Black community and the comfort of Black forms of worship, including dynamic participatory services that feature gospel music. The following statements by Arnold Newkirk (Army) and David (last name unknown; Marine Corps) illustrate the importance of the Black church to the Black soldier stationed in Hawai'i.

I went to church on Friday night and once I got in that atmosphere, I was transformed. My whole soul and body was lifted from Hawai'i to back home to North Carolina. They really got things juiced up. It was natural flow. I felt good: it was my first time going to a Black church in Hawai'i. There's nothing else like it. I went to a Puerto Rican church, but it's not the same. It's not the same. It's not soulful. I've been to other churches and they're nice, but once I went to Peaceful, I was back home (Arnold Newkirk).⁵

...

When I first came to Trinity, I had tears in my eyes. I didn't think there were so many Black people on the island. The church reminded me of my home church. A friend told me about it. People over here [in Hawai'i] can sometimes really get to you (David).⁶

The majority of Black churches on O'ahu are Pentecostal and/or Church of God in Christ. There are only two Baptist churches and no Methodist churches. However, there is a saying among Blacks: "There is a little Pentecostalism in Black Baptists and a little Baptist in Black Pentecostals." Black churches in Hawai'i may not be as easy to find as one might imagine or as one might want. My own search required (figuratively speaking) a "fine tooth comb." Scanning the telephone directory, I discovered little information indicating the existence of Black churches in Hawai'i, but, then by listening to the radio on Sunday afternoon and evening, I discovered the existence of Black churches in Hawai'i. At least three Black churches broadcast programs on Sundays.

According to my inventory survey in 1985 and recent discussions with church leaders,⁷ approximately one percent of the total Black population in Hawai'i, 1800 to 2000 individuals, attend Black churches. Each of these churches offer services very much in the Black tradition of each denomination but also remind visitors that they are in Hawai'i by referencing the Islands in such ways as using the word "*Aloha*" or by presenting shell *lei* to visitors. On the other hand, none of the Black churches have incorporated elements of Hawaiian music into the Black gospel idiom with the exception of one—"Polynesian Praise." André Crouch fused gospel and Hawaiian music to compose this very popular song. Music plays an important part in every Black church without exception, although the congregation of each church responds with varying degrees of emotion. In some churches, the choir may be dynamic, but the congregation does not fully participate but rather remains as an audience that needs to be "warmed-up." In other Black churches, people participate with unbridled enthusiasm, allowing the spirit to move them. The spiritual attitude of both the congregation and the minister makes all the difference. When the congregation is "filled with Spirit" and with praise, the service is also lively, and when the minister is dynamic and enthusiastic, the congregation responds with equal enthusiasm.

In 2003, four on-base chapels at Hickam Air Force Base, Schofield Barracks, Kāne'ohe Marine Corps Air Station, and Fort Shafter have, in some cases, predominantly Black congregations. Black chaplains on O'ahu promote Black gospel choruses and provide the leadership for gospel services on base. In 2003, there were three Black chaplains serving military personnel and their leadership tends to positively influence participation both in chapel services and in gospel choirs. Historically, when Black chaplains leave a church, the choir and/or the service tend to falter due to the loss of leadership and expertise,

but, what the military takes, it also gives back. When one minister leaves, often another equally enthusiastic Black minister appears from the ranks of the military. In 2002, eleven Black churches served both the military and Black communities on O'ahu:

- **All Nations Church of God in Christ:** Incorporated on February 2, 1984, through the Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs in Honolulu, by Elder Juanito H.N. Rodriquez, the church meets in a large room located in a downtown building in Honolulu. With a membership less than 100, the church holds participatory Sunday morning services at 11:30 a.m. The minister, Elder Rodriquez, is a "singing preacher" who also plays the drums; music and preaching are spontaneous, and Rodriguez often begins his sermons with a song. Activities of the church which have music as an integral part include revivals and choir concerts. Gospel songs, hymns and congregational gospel songs are regularly used in church services.
- **Calvary Baptist Church:** Founded in 1979 by the Reverend Rubin L. Creel and the Reverend Jimmie L. Smiley, this church belongs to the Progressive National Baptist Convention. The church facility occupies one half of a building in Waipahu, Hawai'i. Its membership is also less than 100, and its Sunday morning service, much like a smaller version of Mainland Black Baptist services, is held at 10:45 a.m. The church has a choir featuring seven women and four men, and most church activities, including revivals, church anniversary celebrations, choir concerts, and evening services, feature music.
- **City of Refuge Christian Church** (non-denominational): Founded on February 8, 1980 by Elder Wayne E. Anderson and the Reverend Donald L. Duplessis, Sr., City of Refuge is one of the first Black churches to sponsor a television program in Hawai'i, "You Have a Right to Be Free" in 2004. The church facility is housed in a former theater in Waipahu. This church, with a membership close to 200, holds participatory Sunday morning services at 10:45 a.m. Like Elder Rodriguez of Church of God in Christ, the minister of City of Refuge Reverend Anderson, is also a "singing minister" who often begins a sermon with a song. Thirteen sing in the church choir, and tambourines, electric bass guitar, organ, and drums are also used in church services. The church sponsors revivals, special anniversary celebrations, choir concerts, and evening services, all featuring music.

- **Holy Ghost Corner Church of God in Christ:** Founded in 1982 by Elder Timothy Martin, the church is housed in a chapel at Schofield Barracks. Its membership is less than 100, and its participatory Sunday service is held at 2:00 p.m. Each service is begun with prayers and "spirited" singing.
- **Lighthouse Full Gospel Chapel:** Founded in 1962 by Sister Rosetta Garrison, the church, with a membership of less than 100, has its facilities in a private home in Salt Lake, Honolulu. The Sunday morning service is held at 11:30 a.m.
- **Peaceful Holiness Church Inc.:** Incorporated in 1974 by the late Bishop Clifton L. Mays, this church is located in a remodeled house in upper Kalihi Valley. Its membership is over 200. The participatory Sunday morning service is held at 11:30 a.m..
- **Prayer Center Church of God in Christ** (renamed New Life Church of God in Christ): Incorporated in 1970 by Bishop Thomas E. Sadler, the church, with a membership of less than 100, is housed in part of a house in Kalihi, O'ahu. The Sunday morning service is held at 11:30 a.m. The pastor is Elder Paul Martin.
- **St. Paul and Garden of Prayer Church of God in Christ:** Founded by Bishop W. H. Reid in 1949, the church has its facilities in part of a building in Honolulu. Its membership is less than 100, and Sunday morning services are held at 11:30 a.m.
- **Tabernacle of Holiness:** Founded in 1979 by Elder Restee Collins, this church offers Sunday morning services at 11:30 a.m. in church facilities that occupy a large section of a building in Waipahu. With painted palm trees and an array of bright colors typical of the Islands, interior decorations of this church capture the essence of Hawai'i more than any of the other Black churches on O'ahu.
- **The Deliverance Church and Revival Center:** Founded by Bishop George Odum in 1960, Deliverance Church is located in a large room of a downtown Honolulu building. Its membership is less than 100.
- **Trinity Missionary Baptist Church:** Founded in 1968 by the late Reverend Rubin L. Creel, Trinity Missionary Baptist Church is definitely "at the crossroads of the Pacific where East meets West and the Gospel is heard in sermon and song." This thriving church, with a

membership is over 500, is located in a building near the Honolulu International Airport. Sunday morning services are held at 7:30 a.m. and at 10:45 a.m. As the largest Black church in Hawai'i with a heterogeneous mixture of Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal Black people as members of its congregation, Trinity is a place Gospel music reigns supreme. Trinity's choir, the Voices of Trinity, has gained respect and recognition as a cultural resource for many on O'ahu, and the choir contributes significantly to O'ahu's church community. When Trinity hosts the Voices of Trinity choir's annual anniversary, at least four or five other church choirs participate in the service.

The Reverend Rubin L. Creel had a conviction that all Blacks need a place to worship freely through the spirited preaching and singing so familiar and comfortable to them. A humble, gregarious man of medium height, Reverend Creel was born in 1930 in West Virginia as one of five children. After quitting high school and joining the United States Army, his "appointment with destiny" began. A tour of duty brought him to Hawai'i in 1958, and upon arrival he found that there were already several small Black churches (two or three Church of God in Christ and one Baptist church, located in Mā'ili. Creel's first church membership on O'ahu was at the First Baptist Church of Honolulu. In 1960, Creel organized a church, but that church closed when he left Hawai'i upon the completion of his Air Force tour of duty. After he could not find anyone to succeed him as pastor, he made a promise to God that upon his return to Hawai'i, a new church would be established with his help. In 1962, Creel departed for the Mainland and became a pastor of a Baptist church in Gallipolis, Ohio. After returning to the Islands in 1965, and just before his retirement in 1968, Creel established Trinity. Creel spread the word on a radio program, "Gospel Music Time," aired on KNDI, and announced his intentions to start a Baptist church. On Tuesday evening, March 12, 1968, eleven people met at Reverend Creel's home to discuss the particulars of the new church, and on April 28, 1968 the first worship service was held in two rented classrooms at 'Aiea Elementary School. At this service, six people joined the church. Today Trinity Missionary Baptist Church is the largest Black church in Hawai'i, serving members of both the military and civilian communities.

The church soon left its classroom setting and moved first to a quonset hut in Hālawā near Camp Smith, and then to the old 'Aiea Theatre building. In September of 1969, Trinity held its first revival, led by evangelist Reverend

J. Barry Williams of Tacoma, Washington. The first guest ministers to preach at Trinity from the Mainland were the Reverends E. A. Pleasant and E. V. Hill. Also in 1969, Trinity became a member of the Progressive National Baptist Convention Incorporated, and the church made its first land purchase in Pearl City on Lehua Avenue in March of 1972. By the end of April, the church entered into the fellowship of the Hawai'i Association of American Baptist Churches. After the theatre building in 'Aiea was condemned, Trinity could not find another suitable place to worship. The church located an 11,250 square-foot lot at 912 Lehua Avenue that was selling for \$40,444. Due to zoning ordinances, Trinity could not build a church on that site. Undaunted, the church erected a huge tent on the land, and church members worshipped under the tent. Later, in 1977, the American Baptist Association of Hawai'i offered Trinity the facilities and site formerly used by First Baptist Church of Pearl Harbor, and on January 1, 1978, the church moved from the tent to this church building located at 3950 Paine Circle near the Honolulu International Airport.

The Reverend Creel remained with Trinity until May 5, 1977, when he resigned. Later that year, he accepted an offer to become the pastor of the First Baptist Church of 'Ewa Beach, with a membership representative of Hawai'i's cultural mix. His pastorship at the 'Ewa Beach Church lasted until 1979, at which time he and the Reverend Jimmie L. Smiley founded the Calvary Baptist Church in Waipahu. Creel remained at Calvary Baptist Church for nearly two years as interim pastor. The Reverends Jimmie L. Smiley, Clarence Woodard, and Joshua Speights were the pastors in succession from 1979, until Reverend Creel accepted the pastorate at Calvary Baptist Church in 1985. He died 1992.

In October 1979, the Reverend Willie T. Glynn, Jr., a member of the United States Air Force, came to Trinity, and in April 1982, Trinity received him as pastor. Born in 1954 in Louisiana, Reverend Glynn was one of nine children. When Willie T. Glynn was in the twelfth grade in school, his father moved his family to Houston, Texas, and the soon-to-be Reverend Glynn realized he would be a preacher. Like his two brothers, who are also ministers, Willie T. Glynn felt his call to preach at the age of seventeen. After moving to Houston, he attended Bishop College (a predominantly Black church-supported school) in Dallas, Texas. While a student, he joined the concert choir and toured the West Coast and the Midwest, and that experience would prove valuable as he began his preaching in Hawai'i. Glynn's passion for music and his fervent desire to preach have enriched services at Trinity.

Since 1980, the two largest and most prominent Black churches in Hawai'i have been Trinity and the City of Refuge Christian Church. Trinity has continued to expand despite an annual turnover of membership due to military reassignments. The choir, for instance, in February 1984 retained only 35 percent of its membership from the previous year. However, with almost a complete turnover annually, the quality of the choir remains constant. This consistent quality is perhaps due to the leadership of three individuals: the pastor, the minister of music, and the choir's pianist. Ironically, while the rapid turnover of the congregation may seem impossibly instable, the transience of the military population also contributes to the success of Trinity's renowned choir. The military provides a seemingly unending stream of ministers and musicians who arrive eager and excited to serve in a new location. Indeed, this abundance of ministers and musicians has also helped the development of other Black churches on O'ahu. In fact, many Black churches in Hawai'i have been started by ministers who came to Hawai'i via the military and then retired.

The music during a church service functions to encourage emotional expression, physical response, and aesthetic enjoyment. Music is significant to the church community because it inspires, prompts, and moves people of all ethnic backgrounds to feel connected to a singular source outside of themselves and also to one another, as they clap their hands in rhythm to the music. A church survey this writer conducted in 1983 shows that people enjoy music at Trinity, first because it makes them feel closer to God and second, because music simply makes them feel good. As an integral part of communication of the spiritual message, the music contributes as well to the continuity and stability of culture and to the integration of Black society with the surrounding community. Gospel music is obviously appreciated by the church community. Within the American Baptist Association on O'ahu, Trinity provides a distinctly different, but important, inspirational music for the Association's rallies, held at each of the member churches during the course of the calendar year.

The Voice of Trinity Choir has participated in the Christian Boat Cruises (Hawai'i Baptist Resort Ministries) which leave from Fisherman's Wharf nearly every month as well as in various Christian concerts for the community at large. On July 31, 1983, for example, the Voices of Trinity and its pastor participated in the second annual Jesus Hawai'i Concert at Iolani Palace in Honolulu. Most of the musicians who preceded the Trinity choir were soloists whose songs were accompanied by guitar. When Trinity's choir assembled on

stage, there was a noticeable anticipation among the audience, which included people from various churches on O'ahu. As the choir began to sing, the first phrases of "We're Gonna Have a Good Time," the audience began to clap (a rare occurrence that day). A lady in the audience said, "This is the kind of music we need." After the choir performed an encore to a standing ovation, it became even more evident that Trinity's choir and its music contribute significantly to the joy and to the unity of the church community on O'ahu.

Although Trinity's choir is not the only Black choir on the Island, it has developed a reputation as a quality choir. The group has made television appearances, including KHET-TV. The choir has performed at the Waikiki Shell with noted jazz artist Sarah Vaughan in 1982 and, in 1981 and 1984, at the East-West Center and at the University of Hawai'i in 1994. The Voice of Trinity's album, "Have a Good Time Praising Jesus," was nominated for the Hawai'i Academy of Recording 1983 "Nā Hōkū Hanohano Award" as "Religious Album of the Year." At Trinity, services, including printed bulletin with a written order of service, are closer to Baptist or Methodist services than to Pentecostal services. Yet, within those Baptist bounds is a church in which people occasionally speak in tongues (glossolalia), lift hands heavenward in ecstasy, or dance with the spirit (Holy Dance)—all characteristics of Pentecostal services, as are also several frequently performed congregational gospel songs. The musical organization of such a service provides Black church people with a sense of security because regardless of denominational background, all can participate comfortably in the worship experience.

The choir often sways or "rocks," and people in the congregation clap or sway as choir members move down the aisle. Women usually show more of the effects of the music than do men. Some men appear to sit stoically, unaffected by the rhythms and impulses of the music, but men in leadership positions, such as deacons, do dance, clap and shout, responding actively to the messages of the choir. They encourage the soloist with statements such as "Take your time" or "Come on now" or show their approval by standing and clapping to the beat of the music.

At Trinity, there are usually several people who are likely to shout or dance when the music gets "moving" or the minister gets "stirred up." One woman in particular speaks in tongues, shouts, and walks about frantically, waving her arms, most often during an emotional period in the service, such as after the altar prayer by the pastor or after a song by the choir. After the choir's song, lasting up to ten minutes, emotions run high. The keyboard

musicians keep playing until they sense that this mood has subsided or that the "Spirit is finished." During one service, this particular woman began shouting during the altar prayer and began to speak in tongues while walking up and down the center aisle. The choir began to sing their second selection and her words followed the melody of the song by the choir. At times, the musicians "shift gears" and play a "Holy Dance" theme that gives people in the audience the opportunity to move with the spirit, dancing, clapping, or shouting. The keyboard musicians remain especially sensitive and tuned to the spiritual atmosphere and therefore very important to the progression of the service. Their music provides direction.

A careful study of the history of Trinity Missionary Baptist Church reveals one keyboardist who might be identified as primarily responsible for the musical style of the church during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s—Mrs. Laborah Bolden, a gracious lady and gifted musician and a member of Trinity since 1968. Along with the Reverends Rubin L. Creel, Jimmy Smiley, James A. West and Willie T. Glynn, Bolden has been a major influence on the style of music at the church. Occasionally in the past, Bolden, playing piano or organ, was the only instrumentalist providing music for the church, but more frequently she was surrounded by talented musicians and instrumentalists. Bolden provides nuances of the gospel style for other musicians and singers to follow, including improvisation in the upper register of the piano and the use of bass on the organ, techniques she has learned over many years of playing.

In 1962, Laborah married a service man named William Bolden, stationed in Portsmouth, Virginia. In February 1968, William Bolden received orders that he would be stationed in Hawai'i. Mrs. Bolden was aware of only two Black churches when she arrived: Peaceful Holiness (Mānana Housing) and St. Paul Church of God in Christ. She attended Peaceful Holiness until Trinity began when she then joined that church. In January of 1969, she was hired as an English teacher at Leilehua High School, but she kept up both with her church work and with her music. In addition to being an outstanding gospel musician, Bolden has also written ten songs: four children's songs, three copyrighted songs and three unpublished songs. Her three copyrighted songs appear on the Voices of Trinity's second album (1968): "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," "I Can't Stop Now," and "Just One Touch."

In answering the question, "Would Trinity exist as a church if the military left the Island?" the pastor stated, "Yes, however the church would have to make an extra effort in evangelism, broaden its scope more, remove itself from

the Black congregation concept and develop a 'universal' congregation." This "universal" church would attempt to draw people from many of the ethnic groups represented on O'ahu.

Outside of Hawai'i, there are Black churches (i.e., Methodist, Catholic) similar to their non-Black counterparts. However in Hawai'i, the circumstances seem to indicate that Blacks who are members of Black churches in 2003 have little desire to assimilate on a large scale to different cultural modes of worship. Trinity and other Black churches on O'ahu were born of a desire by Blacks to worship in the manner to which they are accustomed. Some Blacks (military and local residents), but not many, do attend local non-Black churches and participate fully in such churches. However, with that participation, they are often adapting and assimilating to different cultural modes of worship, and whether that adaptation is desired or merely convenient is unknown. In these other churches, although there may be Black singers or instrumentalists in these churches who provide the congregation with the opportunity to be exposed to gospel music in a limited way, the more traditional forms of Black worship are not present. Nevertheless, the message of hope that gospel music brings will continue to cross racial, political, social and cultural boundaries in the Hawaiian Islands for "We've Come This Far by Faith." ♦

Notes

1. *Maui News*, 24 April 1902.
2. Ivory Collins, interview by Michael Stephens, 28 November 1983.
3. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 April 1961.
4. Benjamin Mays and Joseph Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Arno Press, 1969).
5. Arnold Newkirk, interview by Michael Stephens, 23 January 1985.
6. David, interview by Michael Stephens, 5 April 1984.
7. As an ethnomusicologist the author has had an interest in Black religious practices in Hawai'i since 1985. He has an ongoing interest in religious practices among various ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

Healing the Sick

PAUL WERMAGER

Black Healer Opens Hawai'i's First Hospital

After rising from vast Pacific Ocean millions of years ago, the volcanic Hawaiian Islands remained isolated and unpopulated until settled by early Polynesians. The Isles were later renamed the Sandwich Islands by Captain James Cook.¹ Three surgeons and three surgeon's mates were on board Cook's two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, when they anchored offshore of Waimea, Kaua'i, in January 1778. These men were the "first Western medical practitioners to visit Hawai'i."²

Although for many centuries, canoes and, later, ships offered the only means of transportation for Island visitors, in 1936 Pan Am began weekly flights between San Francisco and Honolulu, charging a one-way fare of \$360,³ an exorbitant sum in 1936 dollars. For a long time, the combined constraints of distance and cost restricted visitors to Hawai'i. Only the truly adventuresome or wealthy made the journey.

The mystique of adventure and romance is usually associated with life on the high seas, but life aboard ship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was anything but glamorous. Quarters were cramped, vermin-infested, and reeked of sweat, moldy food, and foul bilge. Weeks or months of tedious boredom on languid seas were contrasted with hellish storms, often resulting in injury, illness, or death for crewmen. Shipwrecks were an occupational hazard. Scurvy and beriberi plagued seamen on long journeys. Discipline was strict and often brutish. Not surprisingly, many sailors jumped ship at first sight of land. Anthony Allen was one such individual.

Having been a sailor and knowing first-hand the hardships ill and injured seamen faced, Anthony Allen must have sympathized with their plight. In his typical entrepreneurial manner, he did something about it by establishing the Islands' first hospital. During the nineteenth century, merchant ships sailed without physicians, and sick and injured sailors were always a dangerous liability. Unable to contribute productive work, they consumed precious food and water, and those sick with contagious diseases risked infecting the rest of

the crew. Captains routinely dumped the sick or injured at the nearest port where they were expected to fend for themselves. To deal with growing numbers of deserted and ill sailors, the governments of Britain, France and the United States began establishing hospitals for seamen in Hawai'i during the 1830s, long after Allen had established his own hospital for seamen.

It is not known when Allen opened his hospital, but researcher Robert Schmitt states that "the convalescent hospital for seamen maintained by Anthony D. Allen" was operational "as early as 1823," eight years before the "health station" at Waimea on the Big Island was established. The British Hospital for Seamen "opened in a Honolulu bar in 1833,"⁴ but as early as 1824, a well-known sea captain, "Capt. Best," was reported recuperating at Allen's hospital along with several of his crew who were being treated for scurvy.⁵ Allen's fresh food, including fruits and milk from his farm and dairy, would have been just what a doctor would order to treat scurvy.

Nineteenth century medicine was very primitive compared to today's standards. At the time of the American Revolution there were 3,100 apprentice-trained practitioners in America as compared to only 400 university-educated physicians with medical degrees, mostly from European institutions. As Louis Pasteur did not publish his landmark "germ theory" paper until 1878,⁶ many of these earlier physicians believed diseases were caused by "bad air" or by an imbalance of humors. Physicians, however, were not the only medical practitioners: "barbers set bones, pulled teeth and bled patients."⁷ Phlebotomy, or bleeding with lancets or leeches, was considered an essential medical treatment, and was even used on George Washington in his last illness.⁸

Judging from the very cordial and friendly tone of Allen's letter to the son of his former master, Dr. Dougal, they appeared to have a mutually caring and respectful relationship. Dr. Dougal's father may also have been a doctor, and since Allen may have lived in a medical household, it would seem likely that he either received medical training as an apprentice or that he gained medical skills from observing and assisting the doctor.⁹ Whatever avenue of medical learning he pursued, Allen's reputation as a healer was well known. Tyermann and Bennett, visitors from the London Missionary Society in 1822, commented that Allen "practices physic [the art or practice of healing disease; the practice or profession of medicine]...and is often consulted by natives and seamen, having gained credit also in this profession."¹⁰ In his journal, the Reverend Charles S. Stewart recorded that "the sick from the ships [are] being

generally sent to be boarded and nursed by [Allen]."¹¹ For almost ten years, Anthony D. Allen served as Hawai'i's sole resident Western and Black healer in Hawai'i's first hospital, established by him to care for ill sailors.

Black Healers in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i

During the remaining years of the nineteenth century, many ships came and went, carrying passengers who visited or remained in the Islands. However, there is scant information recorded about other Black health practitioners living in Hawai'i during this time. Barbering was a fairly common occupation for Blacks in Hawai'i during this era, and as noted earlier, in addition to cutting hair, barbers often served as surrogate doctors. One possible Black "healer" may have been Frederick E. Binns, a Honolulu barber, who in May 1845 advertised "to cure without exception the most severe headaches."¹³ A barber becoming a doctor was not an unheard of occurrence. Joseph Ferguson, a Black barber from Richmond, Virginia, who prior to 1861 combined "the three occupations of leecher, cupper and barber," later went on to study medicine in Michigan and practiced there as a physician for many years.¹⁴

However, for a Black to become a university-trained physician, the task was Herculean and Byzantine, to say the least. This is evidenced by the fact that the first American Black doctor, David J. Peck, was not graduated from a U. S. medical school until 1847, when he received his M.D. from Rush Medical College in Chicago. In 1860, out of the sixty medical schools in the U. S., only nine Northern medical schools had admitted Blacks.¹⁵ The number of admissions at those schools must have been miniscule; only twenty-eight courageous Black physicians had graduated by that date.¹⁶

It was painfully obvious that American institutions of higher learning were failing to educate enough Black physicians to meet the growing health care needs of the struggling Black population before and after the Reconstruction. Two medical schools, Howard and Meharry, were created to train more Black doctors. Howard, the first Black medical college in the U. S.,¹⁷ was located in Washington, D. C., and opened its doors to all students, regardless of color. Its first class of eight students—"seven were colored and one white"—began in November 1868.¹⁸ Located in Nashville, Tennessee, Meharry Medical College, unlike Howard, admitted only Black students, enrolling its first students in 1876.¹⁹ These two institutions served as the foundation for the medical careers of future Black medical professionals, but few of these trained professional had Hawai'i as their goal.

While distance and cost continued to restrict the number of travelers to Hawai'i, there were other factors that also prevented Blacks and particularly Black healers from immigrating to Hawai'i during these years. Following the Civil War, the corrosive Jim Crow laws and the inhumane attitudes they engendered made life, and especially travel, humiliating and treacherous for Black Americans. Recalling the "Colored" sections of trains and diners, separated drinking fountains, and lynchings, one can understand why the freedom to travel, taken for granted by the majority of Americans, was not enjoyed by Blacks. Hawai'i was not a destination for most Black Americans for another practical reason. As one researcher noted, even members of "the Black middle class" were not familiar with Hawai'i, which "was rarely cited in either Black newspapers or periodicals."²⁰ During the 1850s, missionaries and abolitionists also actively lobbied to exclude Blacks from being imported into Hawai'i as contract labor.²¹

By the 1870s, Hawai'i was experiencing reverse growing pains. In 1872 the total population was 56,897, including 51,531 Hawaiians and 5,366 (9.4 percent) foreigners,²² and by 1875 the labor shortage had become critical, especially on the plantations, which began importing laborers from various foreign countries.²³ As the plantations grew in size and number, the need also increased for better medical care for their growing number of workers. By 1895 the major plantations had cooperated to form the Hawaiian Sugar Planter's Association (HSPA),²⁴ which began to consolidate resources and to address island-wide agricultural and management problems, including the need for improved health care for workers. Acutely aware that sick or injured employees negatively impacted profits, the Association's decision to hire full-time physicians for their plantations was, perhaps, motivated more by economic motives than humanitarian ones.

The First Black Plantation Doctor

Dr. William L. Maples, the Islands' first Black plantation doctor, arrived in Hawai'i in 1901. Born near the Great Smoky Mountains in Sevierville, Tennessee, Maples was in the first class to graduate from the city school in Knoxville and was awarded the Dodson Medal for Excellence in Oratory. After graduating, Maples taught high school for one year in Knoxville before enrolling in Howard University Medical College where he was a student from 1889 to 1892.

While attending medical school, Maples also received an appointment in the Federal Pension Office in Washington, D. C., as a clerk typist, from 1890 to 1891. Most Black students found it necessary to find jobs to support themselves while attending school. To accommodate its working students, Howard University began its sessions at 3:30 o'clock in the afternoon, ending at ten 3:30 o'clock in the evening. This allowed students to "work for the government, whose official day ended at three," but such a schedule also made for a very grueling work and study routine. Tuition was kept low, ranging from "\$105 in 1868–1869 to \$235 in 1872–1873."²⁵

After graduating from Howard in 1892, Dr. Maples returned to Knoxville to practice. In 1896, the Mayor of Knoxville appointed Dr. Maples the commissioner of the colored exhibits at the Tennessee centennial. The Spanish-American War interrupted his medical practice in 1898, but as a member of the 3rd regiment of the North Carolina Volunteers, he served in the Hospital Corps.



*Dr. William Lineas Maples,
June 8, 1888–January 22,
1943. Photo courtesy of
Hawai'i Medical Library.*

This young Black physician and war veteran, watching from the deck of his arriving ship as the majestic cloud-crowned Haleakalā rose from the expanse of blue ocean, would have scoffed at anyone suggesting that he would be spending the rest of his life on Maui. Dr. Maples reportedly came to Maui with one of the first groups of Blacks brought to Hawai'i to work on the sugar plantations, but he had not intended to stay. The Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company of Pu'unēnē, Maui, employed him in its hospital where he worked as an anesthetist until 1931. Dr. William Maples was a diligent worker but seemed to be a very private man, attracting little attention. Consequently, except for brief notices in newspapers, there is limited information about him and his life in Hawai'i. A photograph of him, included in the 1917 edition of *Men of Hawai'i*, reveals a youthful, yet almost bald, pleasant-looking Black man with a moustache, wearing a jacket and tie. According to the information he supplied with his picture, Dr. Maples and his bride, Sadie, were newlyweds when they arrived in Hawai'i shortly after their wedding on December 21, 1901.²⁶

Pu'unēnē hospital, where Dr. Maples worked for thirty years, was located on the North shore of Maui, between Kahului and Sprecklesville, and had an impressive view of the ocean. Within the hospital, each ethnic group had its own ward, and a beach house associated with the hospital was used by both convalescing patients and hospital employees. It was said of Pu'unēnē that Maui could boast of the "handsomest and most modern hospital of the Islands or of the Pacific Coast." By 1904 the hospital sported a new operating room where Dr. Maples spent much of his time as the hospital's only anesthetist. The hospital also had the largest x-ray machine on the Island and the "newly discovered radium of which Pu'unēnē has a generous supply." Dr. Dinegar oversaw all operations of the hospital and had "an able assistant in Dr. Maples."

The year 1905 was a busy one for the Maples. In March, the *Maui News* announced that Dr. Maples had rented space in Wailuku to open a "first class drug store," which would carry "a full line of drugs, proprietary medicines, perfumes and other lines." A visit in May by "Mrs. S. R. Maples, sister-in-law to Dr. Maples," confirmed another reference that Dr. Maples' older brother was "Samuel R. Maples, an attorney, who also settled in Hawai'i."²⁷ By April 10, Dr. and Mrs. Maples had left their plantation house in Pu'unēnē to reside in Wailuku. The Maples Drug Store opened its doors for business on April 12 with a "soda water fountain" to be installed later. Although Dr. Maples continued working at the Pu'unēnē Hospital, the drug store would provide

additional income to help support his expanding family. The Maples' first daughter, Elizabeth or Bessie, was born in August and a second daughter in 1910.

Except for drug store advertisements, which continued through most of 1905, and interisland departure and arrival information in newspapers, there is scant other information about the Maples family. In 1906 when Dr. Dinegar "severed his connection with the Pu'unēnē Hospital," it is very likely that, as his assistant, Dr. Maples may have then assumed charge of the hospital but that transfer of responsibility was not reported. A cryptic advertisement on October 6, 1906, noting that Dr. Dinegar's temporary new office was "in the building formerly occupied by Maples Drug Store," might imply the drug store had either moved or gone out of business, perhaps due to Dr. Maples' new responsibilities at the hospital. One of the last news items about Dr. Maples appeared in 1925, reporting that he was a trustee and past Chief Ranger of the Court of the Valley Isle of the Foresters. On January 22, 1943, at the age of 73, Dr. William L. Maples died at his home in Wailuku, Maui, survived by his widow, Sadie, and two daughters, Bessie and Gladys.²⁸ This Black healer, both physician and druggist, lived and worked through the boom years of Hawaiian agriculture—1900 to 1940—when sugar was "king" and pineapples were Hawai'i's second most valuable cash crop.²⁹ He dedicated thirty years of his life to one plantation and its laborers; such loyalty in today's world is little understood or appreciated. Dr. Maples served his country in the Spanish-American War, yet his country did not respect or treat him as an equal citizen. Instead of becoming a bitter, angry man, Dr. William Maples, the Black plantation healer, led a highly productive life, teaching by example the true meaning of compassion, loyalty and integrity.

Black Healer Lost in Time

A healer touches people. A good healer touches a person's body, mind, and spirit. A great healer touches many people's lives. Our lexicon almost fails us when attempting to describe a healer who touches the lives of thousands of sufferers around the world except, perhaps, to call that individual a saint. Hawai'i has one "official" saint who touched people no one wanted to touch—a Belgium priest who brought hope, improved living conditions, and spiritual succor to the thousands of souls suffering from Hansen's Disease and banished to Kalaupapa. Another healer, who seems a saint to many, was a young Black woman—Alice Augusta Ball—who, through her brilliant chemical wizardry, isolated an injectable ethyl ester from the chaulmoogra tree that was then used

for almost a quarter of a century by tens of thousands of people worldwide to alleviate the suffering brought by this dread disease.

The life and work of Father Damien, who died of Hansen's disease on Kalaupapa in 1889, is well-known as a model for dedication and sacrifice, but less known is the life of Miss Alice Ball, the Black chemist and pharmacist, who at the age of twenty-four made a revolutionary discovery that changed the lives of Hansen's disease sufferers. Once known as leprosy, Hansen's disease has long terrified too many because of its disfiguring and incurable traits. The terror of infection fostered the inhuman practice in Europe's early churches called the "Leper's Mass" during which a shrouded victim was first "forced to listen to the solemn cadences of the Burial Service read over him," then forbidden to enter the church again, and finally told "to regard himself as 'one dead.'"³⁰

There are still millions of Hansen's disease patients in the world today. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, 738,284 new cases worldwide were reported in 2000. As of 2001, 91 new cases occurred in the U. S.; one to two million people worldwide are permanently disabled because of the disease; and 91 countries are listed by World Health Organization (WHO) as endemic for the disease.³¹ The Hawai'i Department of Health reported 15 new cases in 2000, and 321 Hansen's disease patients are registered with the state,³² admittedly far fewer than the 8,000 patients who were ultimately sent to live in isolation at Kalaupapa, but still a considerable number.³³

Possibly present in the Islands as early as 1830,³⁴ Hansen's disease had no known cause at this time. Blame for the disease appeared to shift according to its various local names—"Ma'i-Pākē" (Chinese sickness) or "Ma'i Ali'i" (the chief's sickness), supposedly named for the Hawaiian chief who had contracted it abroad and spread it after his return, but the most poignant Hawaiian name describing Hansen's disease was "Ma'i ho'oka'awale 'ohana," or disease-that-separates-families,³⁵ a name that describes the painful emptiness experienced by a mother seeing her child being carted off to exile or the horror shared by a family witnessing their mother or father walking down the gangplank to a waiting cattleboat to be hauled away forever.

The disease was renamed only after Dr. Gerharad Armauer Hansen, a Norwegian physician, discovered the causative microorganism in 1873, the same year that Father Damien volunteered to serve at Kalaupapa. Mycobac-

terium leprae, related to the tuberculosis organism,³⁶ is a weakly infective agent which spreads most easily in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions such as those generated by the increased urbanization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Throughout many centuries, desperate physicians have tried many treatments to combat the disease, including surgery, diet, x-rays, mercury, dyes, strychnine, and many other esoteric concoctions administered as ointments or injections. All failed to cure the disease, and most, except for one, offered little relief. Since the fourteenth century in China and even earlier in India, one substance was used with moderate success to ameliorate the effects of Hansen's: chaulmoogra oil.³⁷ Obtained from the seeds of the chaulmoogra tree, or *Taraktogenos kurzii*, healers have administered chaulmoogra oil orally or applied it as an ointment to treat patients with Hansen's disease. One reason for the only limited effectiveness of early chaulmoogra treatments resulted from a botanical mix-up. *Taraktogenos* is from a Greek word meaning confused and refers to the earlier confusion between it (the true chaulmoogra) and other genera, *Hydnocarpus* or *Gynocardia* (both false chaulmoogras).³⁸ As much of the commercial chaulmoogra oil on the market was made from false chaulmoogra, unsuspecting patients often experienced disappointing results from chaulmoogra treatments.

First introduced in Hawai'i in 1879, chaulmoogra failed to gain widespread use, perhaps due to its varying therapeutic effects. Physicians and researchers continued to be frustrated but were also intrigued by the mystery of why some patients showed improvement with chaulmoogra oil and others did not. Plain chaulmoogra oil had a disagreeable taste and often upset the stomach, thus patients were very reluctant to take it long-term. Although that reluctance did not explain all the erratic therapeutic effects experienced by patients, if scientists could discover another way to administer the drug, experiments could be better controlled. Scientists searched diligently for a way to administer chaulmoogra oil as an injection. Early attempts with injectable forms of chaulmoogra often failed because the virtually insolvent drug created painful muscle abscesses.

One persistent researcher who refused to give up on chaulmoogra was Dr. Harry T. Hollmann, who had much experience working with Hansen's disease patients. In 1916, he was the Acting Assistant Surgeon at the Kalihi Hospital and had also been a medical assistant at the federally funded Kala-wao Leprosy Investigation Station when it opened at Kalaupapa in 1909. Dr.

Hollmann related in his 1922 article in a leading medical journal how he had sought help in 1916 with the chaulmoogra problem:

I interested Miss Alice Ball, M.S., an instructress in chemistry at the College of Hawai'i in the chemical problem of obtaining for me the active agents in the oil of chaulmoogra.³⁹

Twenty-four years old in 1916, Alice A. Ball tackled the problem that had thwarted innumerable chemists, pharmacologists and researchers, working in some of the world's most sophisticated and well-equipped laboratories, and accomplished what no other scientist had. She isolated an injectable ethyl ester of chaulmoogra oil.

Alice Augusta Ball

On 24 July 24 1892 in Seattle, Washington, Alice Augusta Ball was born to James P. Ball and his wife, Laura. Although on her birth certificate both parents are listed as "White," other sources, including photographs of her Black grandparents, indicate the family was indeed Black.⁴⁰ The light complexioned parents may have considered this "white lie" a parental gift that might help their first-born daughter overcome some of the prejudice she



Alice Augusta Ball at her University of Hawai'i Master of Science degree graduation, 1915. Photo courtesy of University of Hawai'i Archives.

would inevitably and unfortunately face in the future. "Passing" as White was common for Blacks in the nineteenth century.

Alice Ball grew up in a remarkable Black family that would have been considered middle class or even upper-middle class. Her grandfather, J. P. Ball, Sr., a photographer, was of the first Blacks in the U. S. to learn the art of daguerreotype and created in Cincinnati one of the more famous daguerreotype galleries. During his lifetime, Ball also opened photography galleries in Minneapolis, Helena, Montana, Seattle, and Honolulu, where he died at the age of 79. A respected artist and obviously a more than competent business man, J. P. Ball, Sr. was also a compassionate man who cared deeply about community, music, and promise. Booker T. Washington recalls that Ella Shepard, a famous Black singer with the Fisk Jubilee Singers, "who first made the Negro folk-music popular in America and in Europe," had become fatherless at thirteen and, "Mr. J. P. Ball, of Cincinnati... adopted her and gave her a thorough musical education."⁴¹

Like his father before him, Alice's father, J. P. Ball, Jr. was also a photographer, but he worked also as a newspaper editor and lawyer and was credited for making a lasting impact on Montana history. The Balls lived in Montana several years before moving to Seattle, and Ball's newspaper, the *Colored Citizen*, had "campaigning vigorously on Helena's behalf" during the "war between Helena and Anaconda for the designation as state capital." When the voters selected Helena, "Ball claimed no small part in the result."⁴²

Alice Ball attended Seattle High School, earning excellent grades, especially in the sciences. According to the Honolulu City Directory, her mother and grandfather moved to Hawai'i in 1903 and lived at two different residences between 1903 and 1905. She made a lasting impression on an eighth-grade classmate at Central Grammar School. Sixty years later, John Pratt wrote in his memoir that "Alice Ball was brilliant, and later went far in chemistry."⁴³ Returning to Seattle and the University of Washington, Alice Ball earned not just one degree but two: a degree of Pharmaceutical Chemistry (1912) and a Bachelor of Science in Pharmacy (1914).⁴⁴

On June 1, 1915, Alice Ball graduated with her Masters of Science in Chemistry from the College of Hawai'i (later the University of Hawai'i) as the first, and only, woman to do so in the history of the College.⁴⁵ From all accounts, she also was the first Black woman instructor at the college's chemistry department from 1915 to 1916. Her college graduation photo shows her

to be a beautiful, soft-featured woman with an air of seriousness. She could have easily passed as Hawaiian, and in fact, in 1925 a *Honolulu Advertiser* article announced in bold front-page headlines: "Hawaiian Girl Heroine First Made Possible the Chaulmoogra Leprosy Cure."⁴⁶

Nine years previous, this brilliant, young Black healer had managed to perfect a treatment for Hansen's disease, but the strain of her careful research had been too much. The 1925 article stated that: "Dr. Hollmann...used this ethylester of the fatty acid of the oil experimentally, with such happy results that Dr. Hollmann kept the girl [Alice Ball] busy preparing it until she became ill." At the height of her astounding success, Alice Ball returned home and died in Seattle on the last day of December 1916, at the age of 24. Some accounts report she died of tuberculosis, however, the cause of death on her death certificate has been altered, so the real cause may never be known.⁴⁷ What is readily evident by a close examination of her graduation photo is that one year before her death, she had been a very healthy and robust young woman who did not appear to be suffering from the debilitating symptoms of chronic consumption.

Alice A. Ball left her priceless legacy—the injectable ethyl ester of chaulmoogra oil—to the many Hansen disease patients who continued to live on after her death. Her breakthrough discovery was later given further trials by Arthur L. Dean, head of the Chemistry Department and Alice Ball's advisor while she was pursuing her graduate work. After her graduation, Dean became the dean of the College of Hawai'i and later president of the University of Hawai'i for more than twelve years. As a chemist and the one person most privy to Ball's chemical experiments, Dean was most capable of carrying on Ball's pioneering work, which he did very successfully. A College of Hawai'i chemistry laboratory began producing large quantities of the new injectable chaulmoogra, and, by some accounts, workers in the laboratory, including Dean, refined Ball's original and apparently useful compound. During the four years between 1919 and 1923, no patients were sent to Kalaupapa. Ball's injectable compound seemed to provide effective treatment for the disease, and as a result the lab began to receive "requests for their chaulmoogra oil preparations from all over the world."⁴⁸

Soon however, patients began relapsing, and ships began returning to Kalaupapa with their human cargo. It appeared that the devious bacterium had been stalled only temporarily by Ball's chaulmoogra. Once again, the disease began to reclaim old patients and destroy new lives, but with nothing

better to offer patients, chaulmoogra remained the standard of care until the sulfones (e.g., promin and dapson) were developed in the 1940s. However, as late as 1999, a medical journal reported a chaulmoogra treated group of Hansen's patients "showed a significant increase in body weight and strength of scar tissue" and indicated its use as "a useful adjunct in the healing of wounds and ulcers in leprosy patients."⁴⁹

Oddly, Dean does not acknowledge Ball in any of his articles about chaulmoogra. Explanations might be hastily offered: Dean was a very busy and important man who had a department and later a university to run. Ball was merely a hired instructor. He had a Ph. D.; she, a Master of Science. He was a published researcher; her only "published" work was her thesis. He was a middle-aged man; she a young woman. He was White; she was Black.

A 1921 *Paradise of the Pacific* article by an unnamed reporter who interviewed Dean about chaulmoogra contained a curious caption under his picture: "While Dr. Dean insists that he shall be given no more credit for the development of the chaulmoogra oil treatment than his associates and those who preceded him in the field, the public will say he is the Man." The three-page article mentioned Hollmann and other colleagues but not Alice Ball.⁵⁰ Indeed, by 1920 the chaulmoogra process was already being labeled in professional journals as "Dean's Derivatives"⁵¹ or "The Dean Method."⁵² On the front page of the University of Hawai'i student newspaper, announcing the resignation of Dean in 1927, a brief, unattributed story reported that "the specific was first developed by Dr. Hollmann and Miss Alice Ball and that the advanced specific was discovered and prepared by Dr. Dean."⁵³

Unlike Dean, Harry T. Hollmann did acknowledge Ball's substantial contribution to the development of injectable chaulmoogra oil, entitling an article also published in 1927 as "Ball's Method of Making Ethyl Esters of the Fatty Acids of Chaulmoogra Oil." When comparing the two methods (Dean's and Ball's), Hollmann suggests that Dean did not develop an advanced specific, stating firmly that "I cannot see that there is any improvement [with Dean's Method] whatsoever over the original technic as worked out by Miss Ball." Hollman thought Ball's Method simpler and therefore superior as it permitted physicians to prepare their own injectable chaulmoogra without the expensive and complicated equipment required by Dean's Method.⁵⁴ Hollman's article rescued Alice Augusta Ball, the young Black healer, from the charnel houses of history and gave her the credit she deserved for the remarkable work she had accomplished.

Black Healers in Contemporary Hawai'i

Physicians

Dr. Albert Chandler Johnston, M.D.

Born in 1900, Dr. Albert Chandler Johnston, a Black physician who lived 22 years on Kaua'i, graduated from Rush Medical School in Chicago in 1929. After being turned down by numerous hospitals, Dr. Johnston was able to intern at Portland, Maine's White hospital, because no one asked his ethnicity and he offered no details. Then, at the age of 37, Harvard offered Dr. Johnston a Graduate Assistantship of Radiology at Harvard Medical School, and he became the first Black doctor to study radiology at the prestigious institution. Just four years later, however, the Navy rejected his request to serve, informing him that, although they hadn't given him a physical examination, he nonetheless didn't meet their physical requirements. That rejection changed his life and the lives of his wife and children. After living for more than two decades in all-White towns in Maine and New Hampshire and "passing" as White, Dr. Johnston had the difficult task of telling his oldest son that he was Black and not White, like his friends and classmates. To some people the idea of "passing" was cowardly. To others it was a practical solution to the prejudice and discrimination facing Blacks in intolerant America during the early twentieth century. Johnston told how he and his family would go to Boston to visit friends darker than themselves, yet never invited these friends home. W.L. White's 1948 *Lost Boundaries* relates the story of Dr. Albert Johnston and his family and what it meant to be Black in the U. S. during early twentieth century. Academy Award-winning film producer Louis de Rochemont broke color barriers with the film version in 1949 by hiring many Black actors, and that movie later won an Academy Award for Best Screenplay and the Best Script Award at the Cannes Film Festival. *The New York Times* cited it as one of the 10 Best Films for 1949.⁵⁵

Dr. Johnston went on to become a respected physician in Hawai'i, serving for eight years, as Councilor to the American College of Radiology and as president of the Kaua'i Medical Society in 1968. Dr. Albert C. Johnston, the Black healer who courageously shared his controversial life with the world, died in 1988 at the age of 88 in Kapa'a, Kaua'i.⁵⁶

Dr. John W. Edwards, M.D.

Unlike Dr. Johnston, Dr. John W. Edwards did serve in the military. Stationed at Tripler Army Medical Center for three years as an urologist, he

served his country for eleven years in the Air Force and in the Army, working both at Walter Reed Army Medical Center and Andrews Air Force Base during the 1960s. Serving with the 4th Infantry Division and as Deputy Commander and Chief of Urology at the 91st Evacuation Hospital in Chu Lai, Dr. Edwards witnessed the carnage of the Vietnam War first-hand, and his heroic work as a healer earned him the Bronze Star. He retired with the rank of lieutenant colonel. After completing military duty, Dr. Edwards settled with his family in Hawai'i in 1970, working at Straub Clinic. Born in Detroit, Michigan, Dr. Edwards earned his Bachelor of Science from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and then, after graduating with honors from Howard University Medical School in 1960, he completed his internship and rotating residency in general surgery and urology at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington D.C. His colleagues quickly recognized Dr. Edwards's medical acumen and leadership skills. The American College of Surgeons elected him as a Fellow in 1971, and he served on their Board of Governors for six years. Later, Straub Clinic appointed him Chief of the Department of Surgery, and for two years, he worked as the Assistant Chief of Queen's Medical Center's Department of Surgery, and later as Chief. By 1974, Dr. Edwards had joined the faculty at the John A. Burns School of Medicine of the University of Hawai'i as an Assistant Clinical Professor, and by 1999, he retired as a Professor Emeritus. Dr. Edwards also served as president of the Western Section of the American Urological Association (1989) and the General Chairman of its 56th and 63rd Annual Meetings.

Dr. John Edwards has demonstrated an impressive track record of medical management and leadership skills throughout his career as a Black physician. The National Medical Association, the Black equivalent of the American Medical Association, awarded him its Howard O. Gray Award for Professionalism, Service and Excellence in Urology in 1988. From 1989 to 1992, Dr. Edwards served as Chief of the Department of Surgery at Queen's Hospital, and by the next year, he was Vice-President of its Medical Staff Services. The Hospital soon promoted him to Vice-President for Physicians' Relations in 1994, and today, he is President of Diagnostic Laboratory Services, Inc. Despite his hectic work schedule, Dr. Edwards shares his experiences as a physician and a scientist in medical journals and is active in his community. In 1991, the Hawai'i Chapter of The Links awarded him the African American Humanitarian of the Year award. The next year, Queen's Medical Center named him: *Ke Kauka Po'okela* or "The Outstanding Physician." His appointments to the Boards of service organizations testify to the multiplicity of his talents and

interests: Hawai'i Medical Service Association; Hawai'i Heart Association; American Cancer Society, Honolulu Unit; Physicians' Exchange of Honolulu; Kaa'i Medical Clinic; City and County of Honolulu Liquor Commission; Mothers Against Drunk Driving; Mediation Center of Hawai'i; Boy Scouts of America; and others.

Whether in the jungles of Vietnam or the boardroom of a hospital, Dr. J. W. Edwards has touched countless patients' lives with his healing and administrative skills and serves as a model of integrity, professionalism and service for all future physicians. Although retired from private practice, this Black physician remains actively involved with medicine, running his company and helping the community he has served for the past thirty years.⁵⁷ Edwards retired in 2003.

Dr. James McKoy, M.D.

As a board certified rheumatologist, Dr. James McKoy, a Black healer at Kaiser Permanente Medical Center, Moanalua, sees his share of patients in pain, and, aiming to treat the whole person, not just their symptoms, he uses massage, acupuncture, herbal remedies, yoga, and laughter to combat chronic pain. A growing number of physicians are taking a second look at Eastern medicine and other therapies to see if they can be integrated with Western traditional medicine in order to obtain the best results from both therapies. As a Western doctor, Dr. McKoy experienced frustration as he watched his five brothers die of cancer: "I didn't see where traditional medicine benefited them that much," he said.⁵⁸ Many Americans agree with Dr. McKoy, and use their pocketbooks to show that agreement, spending more than \$30 billion each year on complementary and alternative medical (CAM) therapies.⁵⁹ Currently, The National Institutes of Health's National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine is conducting ongoing clinical trials on various alternative therapies to evaluate the effectiveness of these treatments.

Growing up in North Carolina, Dr. McCoy learned early the consequences of being Black and poor, and what he learned motivated him to become a physician. Black patients were treated in the back rooms of hospitals, and doctors would not make house calls to his parents' modest home. After graduating from A&T State University in Greensboro, North Carolina, McKoy plunged into the challenging world of the primarily White environment of medical school at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. He graduated as a Medical Doctor in 1974 and went on to complete his internship and residency at Letterman Medical Center in San Francisco.

Dr. McKoy was fortunate to have an encounter with a charismatic rheumatologist with an amazing rapport with his patients. McKoy witnessed a woman with arthritis going to see the rheumatologist on crutches: "When he finished talking to her, she walked out without crutches," Dr. McKoy recalls. That incident inspired him to specialize in rheumatology.⁶⁰ By 1981, Dr. McKoy had completed a three-year fellowship in rheumatology at the University of California, San Francisco, and was on his way to Hawai'i and Tripler Army Medical Center in 1981. He served there as Staff Rheumatologist for one year and Chief of Rheumatology for fourteen years. During this time, he also taught as an Assistant Clinical Professor with the University of Hawai'i John A. Burns School of Medicine. After completion of twenty-two years of medical service in the U. S. Army, Dr. James McKoy retired as colonel in 1996. His military duty and rheumatology consultant work took him many places, including Thailand, South Korea, the Philippines, Guam, and Japan.

Currently, Dr. James McKoy is Chief of Rheumatology, Director of Complementary/Alternative Medicine, Assistant Chief of the Department of Neuroscience, and Director of Pain Management at Kaiser Permanente. This busy man also helped organize the local chapter of the National Medical Association and served as its president since its charter in 1998. As a long-time member of the Arthritis Foundation, Dr. McKoy chairs the Hawai'i Branch's Medical and Scientific Committee of the Foundation, serves on Southern California Chapter's similarly named committee, and is also on the Medical Advisory Board for *Arthritis Today*, an award-winning publication of the Arthritis Foundation. Since 1982, he has been a spokesperson for the Arthritis Foundation throughout the State of Hawai'i. In 2002, the Arthritis Foundation honored Dr. McKoy as National Arthritis Hero. Stanford Medical Center recently invited him to teach as a visiting professor, and Dr. McKoy served on the pain management delegation to China in June 2002. A gifted speaker, he has made numerous presentations at national and state medical meetings and conventions and has been invited to appear on local TV and radio shows. Mindful of giving back to his community, Dr. McKoy also provides family counseling services and is Director of the City of Refuge Health Ministry, and as a strong proponent of patient education, he offers regular seminars for patients on a variety of health-related topics. Recently, he co-authored an arthritis cookbook and has frequently published in medical journals.⁶¹ To unwind, Dr. McKoy enjoys a competitive game of tennis or racquet ball.

Hawai'i is indeed fortunate to have such a gifted physician and pioneering holistic healer as Dr. James McKoy. As someone who has experienced his own

share of pain in life, he is uniquely sensitive to each of his suffering patients and touches the whole person in a manner reminiscent of his mentor's gift.

According to McKoy, in 2002 approximately 34 African American physicians practice medicine in Hawai'i, not including military doctors. These talented healers practice most major specialties in medicine.⁶² Although a book could, and should, be written about all the African American physicians who have contributed and continue to contribute their healing talents to our Island community and its people, space constraints limit information on the following Black healers to short notations.⁶³

- **Dr. Michael Carethers, M. D.:** one of Hawai'i's first Geriatric trained physicians; Chief of the Geriatric Program, Veteran's Administration; Assistant Program Director, Geriatric Medicine Fellowship Program, John A. Burns School of Medicine, University of Hawai'i.
- **Dr. Bernard Robinson, M. D.:** 1973 Howard University graduate; Board of Medical Examiners, 1996-99; Chair, Department of Neuroscience, Kaiser Permanente.
- **Dr. Winifred J. Simmons, M. D.:** 1963 Howard University graduate; Psychiatrist; Kailua
- **Dr. Carver G. Wilcox, M. D.:** 1974 University of Washington graduate; honored as "Best Dermatologist" in Hawai'i by *Honolulu Magazine*, July 20002; Wahiawā practice.

Nurses

Hawai'i's early record is virtually silent about Black nurses, male or female. The 1827 missionary records mention a Hawaiian woman caring for a child whose mother had died,⁶⁴ but by this time Anthony Allen had been nursing ill sailors for years at his hospital in Waikīkī. Thus, perhaps, it might be more accurate to say that Hawai'i's first Black healer, Anthony Allen, was also Hawai'i's first nurse. Black male nurses were not uncommon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. James Derham, a Black slave in New Orleans, worked as a nurse to buy his freedom in 1783; six years later, he became a successful practicing physician.⁶⁵ The first official mention of a nurse in Hawai'i is perhaps the recorded comment of a Queen's Medical Center physician who praised the work of "a female nurse" Mailehaiwale in an 1872 medical report.⁶⁶

Mary Elizabeth Mahoney was the first Black nurse to graduate from a nursing school in the United States. In her thirties when she entered Boston's New England Hospital for Women and Children, the first nursing school in America, she received her degree in 1879,⁶⁷ the same year that J. P. Rodrigues, a Black male nurse, started working at Queen's. Since surgeries were done without anesthetics, his task was "to get the patient inebriated so as not to feel the pain."⁶⁸

Founded in 1891 by the famous Black physician Dr. Daniel Williams, Provident Hospital in Chicago has America's oldest continuing school for Black nurses. An intriguing entry about the hospital states that one of the first two nursing students to graduate in 1923 was Lillian Haywood, "the first [student] from Honolulu."⁶⁹ While it is tempting to assume Ms. Haywood was Black because she attended a Black nursing school, progressive Provident Hospital, unlike many White schools that refused admission to Black students, had an open admission policy.



Elizabeth Brown, nurse, 1915. Photo courtesy of On Char Collection, Bishop Museum Archives.

Goldie D. Brangman

Goldie D. Brangman, Certified Registered Nurse Anesthetist (CRNA) and former director of Harlem Hospital School of Anesthesia, has dedicated her life to helping others, and during the last seventeen years those others have been here in Hawai'i. In 1996, the American Red Cross recognized this Black healer's years of humanitarian service with two awards: the Hawai'i Chapter's Outstanding Volunteer of the Year Award and the national Ann Magnussen Award, the highest honor of nursing achievement in the Red Cross given annually to only one registered nurse. Ms. Brangman has been a volunteer with the American Red Cross since 1940, touching the lives for more than sixty-eight years.⁷⁰

After obtaining her nursing degree, Goldie Brangman went on to become a certified registered nurse anesthetist. Highly trained, a nurse anesthetist must be able to make sound, accurate, and quick decisions in emergencies. In the United States, CRNAs administer about 65 percent of all anesthetics given to patients each year, and in America's rural areas, they are the sole anesthesia providers in more than 65 percent of the rural hospitals. Ms. Brangman was recognized not only for her technical expertise but also for her leadership skills. Harlem Hospital in New York City recruited her to become its Director of the School of Anesthesia, and she worked hard to improve the quality of education at the school. As a member of the American Association of Nurse Anesthetists' (AANA) Government Relations Committee, she was instrumental in securing the approval of the "Standards for Nurse Anesthesia Practice" by the AANA Board of Trustees, which were later adopted by the members of the Association in 1974.⁷¹

For her long and distinguished record of work, Harlem Hospital bestowed on her the honorary title of Director Emeritus, and the American Association of Nurse Anesthetists honored her with the Helen Lamb Outstanding Educator Award at their 50th Annual Meeting in 1988.

From 1973 to 1974, Goldie Brangman served as one of the first African American Presidents of the American Association of Nurse Anesthetists,⁷² a professional group representing the more than 28,000 certified registered nurse anesthetists in the United States. In 1995 her colleagues in the national AANA once again honored Ms. Brangman, with Agatha Hodgins Award for Outstanding Accomplishment, an award recognizing individuals whose "dedication to excellence has furthered the art and science of nurse anesthesia."⁷³

In 1985, Goldie Brangman moved to Hawai'i where she has continued to serve as a consultant to the Hawai'i Chapter of the Red Cross for the past seventeen years. Accustomed to handling emergencies in operating rooms, she responded quickly during Hurricane Iniki emergency, traveling to Kauai in September 1992 as part of the Red Cross team organized to provide food, shelter and medical care to the survivors. This dynamic, and seemingly tireless, African American volunteer works daily at the local Red Cross and is also an HIV/AIDS Coordinator with the AIDS Education Project of the medical school at the University of Hawai'i. The Hawai'i Department of Health values her expertise and lists her in its *2002 Prevention Directory*. She also makes possible greater educational opportunities for nurse anesthetist students throughout New York State with a scholarship, the Goldie Brangman Award.⁷⁴

In today's world of pain and suffering, disease and natural disaster, Hawai'i and its citizens are blessed to have a volunteer extraordinaire like Goldie D. Brangman, who generously shares her years of wisdom and experience as a caring and compassionate healer in Hawai'i.

Mercedes Foster

African American healer Mercedes Foster has been a nurse for thirty-six years, but, like Goldie Brangman, is also too busy to retire. On February 22, 1997, she was one of five people in the state honored in a "Salute to African American Women" by Delta Sigma Theta, the Black service sorority. In 1996 she and several other colleagues founded the Honolulu Black Nurses Association, the first chapter of the National Black Nurses Association (NBNA) in Hawai'i.

After settling in Hawai'i with her husband in 1995, Ms. Foster worked until recently as a pediatrics nurse at Tripler Army Hospital. Fulfilling her desire to help others, she joined the Army and worked as a licensed practical nurse (LPN) for nineteen years. While stationed in San Antonio, Texas, she completed both her Bachelor's and Master's degrees in nursing. During the gulf war crisis in 1991, she answered the nation's call for nurses and joined the Navy, serving as a Lieutenant in Okinawa.

After being in Hawai'i for less than a year, Ms. Foster noted both that "Black nurses were invisible on this island." Rather than waste time lamenting that fact, Mercedes Foster founded the Honolulu Black Nurses Association in February 1996 and still serves as President. The Honolulu Black Nurses Association is one of seventy-three chartered chapters of the National Black

Nurses Association, which represents approximately 150,000 African American nurses from the United States, Eastern Caribbean and Africa. The NBNA was organized in 1971, and its name exists as "a historical marker to a time when Black members were not accepted in national nurses' organizations." Foster and the other African American nurses of the association are busy in the community, staffing health fair booths, testing blood pressure, teaching breast self-examination, and distributing brochures on diabetes, healthy diet, and lifestyles. They actively participate in the activities of the American Cancer Society, American Diabetes Association, American Heart Association, American Lung Association, Kidney Association, Alzheimer's Association, Mental Health Association, and Juvenile Diabetes Association, among others. They also have hosted a Public Television show, "Health Talk," for two years.⁷⁵ In addition to organizing the Honolulu Black Nurses Association, Mercedes Foster organized two other nursing groups dedicated to promoting scholarship among nurses and to providing a forum for nurses to discuss problems and to update their nursing skills. She also works as the quality improvement coordinator for the Mountain-Pacific Quality Health Foundation, cooperating with consumer groups, hospitals and physicians to improve health care, to promote health quality and to produce positive patient outcomes.

Mercedes Foster's community spirit and organizational skill extends well beyond issues of nurses and nursing. As a long-time lover of music and dance, Ms. Foster founded the Beledi Association of Hawai'i, Inc. in 1999. "Beledi," or Belly Dancing, is one of North Africa's oldest dance forms. In addition, she has organized a Brazilian band and a group of senior dancers called "Steptaculars" who perform tap and Broadway dances. The dynamic Mercedes Foster leads the way in Hawai'i with her nursing expertise, organizational skills, can-do attitude, and compassionate heart.

Patricia Burrell, Ph. D.

Dr. Patricia Burrell assumed the duties of Assistant Dean of Nursing at Hawai'i Pacific University (HPU) in June 2002 where she also serves as a faculty member of the new Transcultural Nursing Center, established at HPU in the Fall of 2002 with Burrell as co-founder. Having worked as a Jungian therapist for over eight years and as a therapist and counselor for more than twenty-seven years, this African American healer has had many years of clinical expertise in psychiatric and transcultural nursing.⁷⁶

Patricia Burrell graduated with her Bachelor of Science degree in Nursing from Northwestern University in Boston and then completed her Master

of Science degree in Mental Health/Psychiatric Nursing at the University of Hawai'i while working as a psychiatric staff nurse. After graduation she practiced as a clinical nurse specialist and joined the Windward Children's Mental Health Team. Ms. Burrell was recognized for her work by the national nursing organization as an "American Nurses' Association Minority Registered Nurse Fellow." She later moved to Salt Lake City to complete her doctoral thesis on Transcultural/Psychosocial Nursing at the University of Utah. To augment her therapist skills, Burrell traveled to Zurich, Switzerland, and received her diploma in Analytical Psychology from the C. G. Jung Institute in 1994.⁷⁷

Many of the African American nurses serving in the military and stationed in Hawai'i who plan to pursue an advanced degree in nursing usually attend HPU's Nursing School. They are attracted not only by its convenient evening classes but also by the prospect of having Burrell as their role model and mentor to help guide them through the Master's program. Patricia Burrell, an experienced and well-trained mental health professional, instructs and inspires students to be future mental health healers in Hawai'i who can work to improve mental health care and mental health care facilities in the State of Hawai'i. ❖

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A Different Drummer: African Americans in the Military in Hawai'i

MILES M. JACKSON

Since 1775, African Americans have been part of the U. S. military, and, not surprisingly, their involvement with the military has been marked by the painful realities of racism and slavery. African Americans fought against the British while serving in the Army and the Navy and, to a limited extent, in the Marine Corps in the War of 1812. Between World War I and 1940, the number of active duty Black personnel declined to around 5,000 individuals in standing force of 230,000, but, because of the increasing ferocity of the war in Europe and because of the growing militarism and territorial expansion of Japan into the Pacific as World War II approached, the War Department needed to strengthen its military. The War Department ordered a military buildup that would include Blacks in proportion to their representation within the total population of the country. It is estimated that 30,000 Black military personnel and civilians were stationed in Hawai'i between 1940 and 1945.¹

The United States Army

Prior to the American Revolution, Blacks were active in the Continental Militia. The British colonists had welcomed slaves and free Blacks into the ranks of the Militia that served to protect towns and villages both from French and Spanish aggression and from attacks by Native Americans. Later, after Abraham Lincoln authorized the recruitment of Blacks for military services during the Civil War, large numbers of African Americans joined the Union Army. They served bravely and played a key role in winning the Civil War. During the Spanish American War, the all-Black 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments played significant roles in liberating Cuba from Spain.² Following the War, the four regular army units, along with two volunteer regiments, the 48th and 49th Volunteers, were ordered to the Philippines to engage the Filipino freedom fighters who had disagreed with the

occupation that had followed the "liberation" of their country from Spanish domination by the United States. During 1899 and 1902, African American soldiers first came to Hawai'i on troop ships for brief stopovers on their way to Manila, and then, in 1913, the 25th Regiment was assigned to Hawai'i.

All-Black Units Stationed in Hawai'i Prior to World War I

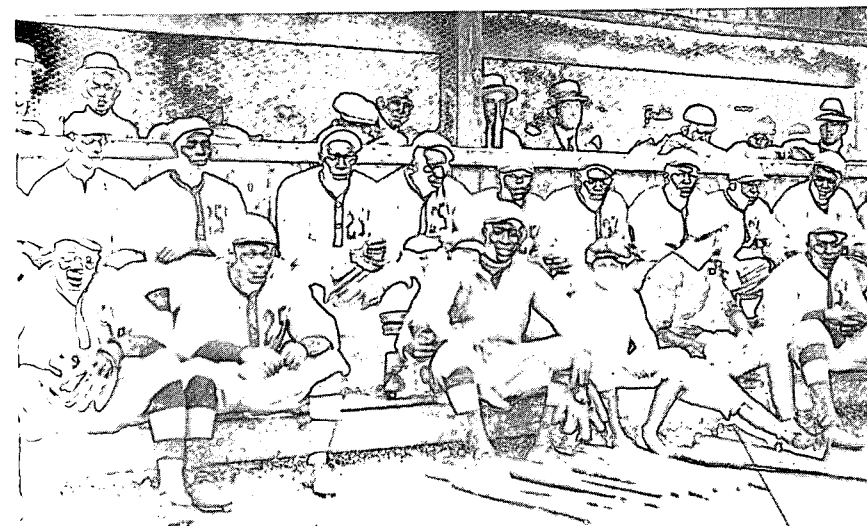
25th Regiment

Great efforts were made by Hawai'i government officials and some corporate leaders to persuade the War Department not to station an all-Black unit in Hawai'i, but the War Department was not to be dissuaded and assigned the 25th to Hawai'i. The unit had already made a name for itself in Cuba, and its men were seasoned soldiers whose duties in Hawai'i did not radically differ from garrison duties at other posts in the West. Much of their time was spent with ceremonies, parades, drills, inspections, guard duty, marches and maneuvers, but they were also responsible both for building trails up the side of Mauna Loa on the Big Island and for numerous activities that contributed to their host community.³

Volcanologist T. A. Jaggar was interested in studying Mauna Loa, but had found it difficult to gain access because of terrain and weather. On several occasions during winter months, he and his mounted expedition were prevented by severe wind and snow storms from reaching the summit of Mauna Loa. After determining the need for at least a horse trail and a shelter for people and animals, a request was made to the War Department by the Hawai'i Volcano Research Association, asking for the Army's help to build both a trail and a cabin near the summit. The War Department authorized a unit from the 25th Regiment to build both. Soldiers of Company E volunteered to undertake the dangerous task of cutting a 35-mile trail from the scientific observatory at Kīlauea Crater, approximately 4,000 feet above sea level, to the summit of Mauna Loa at 13,784 feet.⁴ The first group departed Honolulu on the *Matsonia*, arriving in Hilo on October 15, 1915; the second group sailed two days later on the *Mauna Kea*.⁵ A budget of \$4,000 provided by the Hawai'i Volcano Research Association was used to buy materials and rent mules to pack supplies and equipment up the mountain where they then established the temporary Camp Bates. The camp was named after Captain Bates.⁶ Company E successfully completed their assignment to build a foot trail large enough for horses, several rest stops, a cabin to sleep 10 people, and a stable for 12 horses at 10,000 feet above sea level before returning to Schofield



25th Infantry Regiment in Honolulu in 1915 parade pass the Queen's Palace. Photo courtesy of U. S. Army Museum of Hawai'i



Baseball team of the 25th Infantry Regiment at Schofield Barracks, Hawai'i in 1915. Photo courtesy of U. S. Army Museum of Hawai'i

Barracks on O'ahu on December 15, 1915, just in time for Christmas. The Mauna Loa Trail and that original shelter are today listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and the cabin, Pu'u 'Ula'ula (red hill) rest cabin, is still used by hikers and researchers. Since 1996, more than one thousand registered hikers have sought shelter there from the often severe weather at the summit of Mauna Loa.⁷

When an advertisement announced to the 25th Regiment's baseball team fans that "they were due to see baseball like it was never seen here before," they knew it to be true.⁸ The 25th's baseball team was well-known for its star baseball players. They played most of the competitive teams on O'ahu and, on occasion, visiting teams from the West Coast. A game between the 25th and any popular local team was always "standing room only." The team was popular not only for its players, but also for the band that always accompanied the team and often provided "some real southland ragtime music."⁹ The band often punctuated home runs or change of innings with lively and spirited music. The fans loved it. According to a reporter for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, at a game between the Portuguese Athletic Club (PAC) and the 25th: "The musicians were 'throwing a few sharps into them, hurling some bars and sounding the flats when necessary.'"¹⁰ Despite the overwhelming community support for the 25th baseball players, the staff cartoonist for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* created on at least one occasion caricatures of team members that were not appreciated by the players. Many were angry when these caricatures were displayed in barrooms, stores, and other public gathering places. A delegation from the team, Lawrence Lightfoot and George W. Williams, called on the Advertiser to register their disapproval, and when men of the 25th saw the caricatures displayed they tore them down.¹¹

Baseball wasn't the only sport sponsored by the 25th and appreciated by the community. American-style boxing was yet another popular sport practiced by the men of the 25th, and an article in the *Honolulu Advertiser* lauded the boxers of the regiment for their highly skilled boxing talents:

The 25th is proud of its colored ringmasters, and particularly of Holly Giles, a welter-weight of 155 pounds, who is described by the men as a "whirlwind fighter." Morgan, a heavy weight at 190 pounds, Carson, a light heavyweight and Ananiae Harris, a light heavy weight.¹²

The presence in the community of more than 2,000 Black males, including a cross-section of African Americans from the North and the South, was definitely impressive. Many rural locals had never before had the opportunity

to meet and interact with so many Black men with such diverse talents and backgrounds, but it did not take very long for friendships to form. Many of the unit's maneuvers and bivouacs required them to take long and intense hikes around the Island of O'ahu, and these marches, often days and even weeks long, provided multiple opportunities for social contact with the residents of rural O'ahu. For example, on September 1, 1913, the entire regiment spent eight days on a march under the command of Colonel Lyman W. V. Kennon. His record of that march describes a typical long hike on O'ahu for the 25th that included a not so typical tragic event:

September 1st: left Schofield Barracks at 7:13 a.m. and marched to Pearl City, arriving at latter place at 12:10 p.m. Distance marched, 12.5 miles.

September 2nd: left Pearl City at 6:35 a.m. and marched to Honolulu, arriving at latter place 10:50 a.m. Distance marched, 10.8 miles.

September 3rd: left Honolulu at 7:05 a.m. and marched to He'eia, arriving at latter place at 11:15 a.m. Distance marched 11 miles.

September 4th: left He'eia at 6:30 a.m. and marched to Ka'a'awa, arrived at latter place at 10:10 a.m. Distance marched 8.5 miles.

September 5th: left Ka'a'awa at 6:30 a.m. and marched to Lā'ie, arriving at latter place at 10:15 a.m. Distance marched 10.8 miles.

September 6th: Left Lā'ie and marched to Lyman's Ranch, arriving at latter place at 1:00 p.m. Problem solved during the march. Distance marched 10 miles.

September 7th: left Lyman's Ranch at 6:30 a.m. and marched to Kawaihoa, arriving at latter place at 8:40 a.m. Distance marched 7.5 miles. One enlisted man drowned while at camp (Private Paul Elzey).

September 8th: left Kawaihoa at 6:30 a.m. and marched to Schofield Barracks, arriving at latter place at 10:20 a.m. Distance marched 11.2 miles.¹³

Ordinarily, the men of the 25th were productive and welcomed members of their host communities, but, on rare occasions, as might happen in any community, trouble erupted. In January 1916, the "Iwilei Riot," following a celebration hosted by the 25th for the soldiers of the 9th cavalry, made headlines. About 500 troops of the 9th cavalry had arrived in Honolulu on the troopship *Sheridan* for a brief stop on their way to the Philippines. The men of the 25th hosted a Hawaiian *lū'au* (party) for their 9th cavalry comrades at the National Guard Armory, and following the meal, some of the men continued to party in Iwilei, an area of Honolulu known for brothels, gambling, and bars

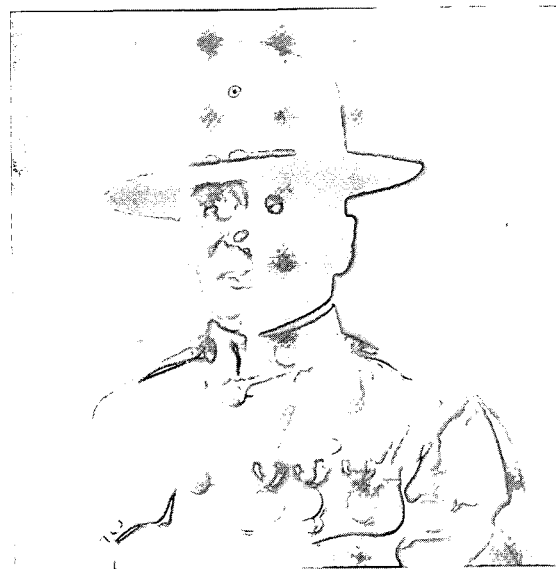
popular with servicemen. Newspaper reports suggest that the riot started when some women refused to socialize with the company of the "colored" soldiers who were pretty well intoxicated after a night of heavy drinking. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* described the riot scene as follows:

The Iwilei district today is a scene of near desolation. Windows are broken, Lanais are torn down, mattresses, furniture, bedding, women's clothing and household articles are strewn about on the ground.¹⁴

Approximately 400 soldiers from the 2nd Battalion at Fort Ruger were called in to quell the rioters. Forty-five men were arrested from both units. The commanding officer of the 9th cavalry blamed the men of the 25th for starting the riot, but the Provost Marshal could not find evidence for blaming anyone and dismissed the charges. The Iwilei Riot was an unfortunate incident that damaged community relations and blemished the reputation of the men of the 25th who had previously visited the Iwilei "red light" district without incident, but such events were not the norm. Indeed, the riot is remembered today because it was extreme and unexpected. History, unfortunately, tends to highlight such events and neglects to focus on the more benign and useful activities of the every day. The baseball games, the quiet conversations between soldiers and locals, the simple gestures of human kindness remain unannounced and uncelebrated.

When World War I began in earnest, the 25th received orders in October 1918 to move to Camp Little in Nogales, Arizona. The 25th Regiment would not return to the Pacific until World War II when it was attached to the 93rd Division which saw action in the South Pacific. Soon after the United States entered World War I, orders came to the regiment for enlisted men to be trained as commissioned officers for the newly created "National Army."¹⁵ Many of the experienced noncommissioned officers became second lieutenants, and privates were promoted to positions of noncommissioned officers. Eventually, most of the White officers in the regiment were transferred and replaced by Blacks.¹⁶

However, when the Army reduced its ranks, there were only four Black Regular Army regiments, the 9th and 10th Cavalry units and the 24th and 25th Regiments. Vacancies and promotions were fewer as these units had a high percentage of career soldiers. However, National Guard units in the larger cities in New York, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and the District of Columbia provided opportunities for young Black men to



Sgt. E. P. Moses, circa 1915.
Photo courtesy of On Char
Collection, Bishop Museum
Archives.



General Harry Brooks, Commander, 25th Infantry Division, Schofield Barracks, Hawai'i, 1976. Photo courtesy of Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

volunteer and to receive compensation for their service. If a young Black man found a place in the regular Army, he considered himself fortunate.¹⁷

In 1940, the War Department began its mobilization program for the armed forces and developed manpower plans for calling up reserve units for active duty. When the War Department announced it was sending a Black labor battalion of 600 men to Hawai'i to help unload army equipment, the announcement caused an unexpected furor in Honolulu among city and county government officials. The Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, and the Central Council of Hawaiian Organizations, which represented 1,200 Hawaiians and members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) resisted the government's plan. Their expressed concern was economic, they said, since Honolulu would be getting laborers at \$21.00 a month, the pay of soldiers at the time, and such pay might undermine the wages of non-military workers, which was more than ten times as much as the basic pay of a soldier. The disagreement produced no open discussion of race, but some reported that there was fear in the community of so many Black men coming to Hawai'i. The protesters won, and the War Department backed down on its original plan, announcing that it "was not sending colored labor" to Hawai'i.¹⁸

All-Black Units Stationed in Hawai'i: World War II

93rd Infantry Division

After the Pearl Harbor attack and the widening of the war into the Pacific, the Department of War ordered Hawai'i's military forces further strengthened, and the military could no longer afford to humor racist objections to the stationing of troops. Operations Headquarters in Washington, D. C. made plans to assign the all-Black 93rd Infantry Division to Hawai'i. Units of this Division had distinguished themselves during World War I in France when they were assigned by General Pershing to fight with the French Army. General Millard F. Harmon, Commander of the Army Forces in Hawai'i, indicated that if there were no White Divisions available he would accept the 93rd as a garrison force in the Hawaiian Islands. The plan called for members of the 93rd to be stationed in 1943 on the Islands of Hawai'i, Kaua'i, Maui, and Moloka'i. General Delos C. Emmons' response, however, was one of reluctance. Emmons feared racial friction between the races and thought that such friction should be avoided at all times. Orders were changed in January 1944, and the 93rd was sent as replacement for those first line units

in the South Pacific due for rotation and rest.¹⁹ Fear triumphed. Race it seems was still a real consideration in every deployment of African American units overseas, whether to the Pacific or European theaters.²⁰

369th Infantry Regiment

The 369th Infantry Regiment, an elite National Guard unit known as "The Harlem Hell Fighters," was mobilized at the beginning of World War II. Like the 93rd Infantry, the unit had distinguished itself during World War I combat in France. The regiment's men hailed mostly from Harlem, New York and took great pride in their membership in the unit. Many of the men were well-educated and all had lived within 10 blocks of the armory where they had initially met. All officers of the 369th were African Americans and, typically, were also professionals in civilian life. Members of this National Guard unit were literally handpicked. Before an applicant was accepted into the ranks of the 369th, he had to be first recommended by an active member; then, references were thoroughly checked, often by visiting the candidate's employer.

After being activated, the 369th Infantry Regiment was converted to coast artillery and after training in Georgia and California, arrived in Honolulu in September 1942. When the 369th arrived at Schofield Barracks, racial tension was high between White and Black servicemen and further tensions occurred off the military bases. Many problems originated with Southern Whites who had arrived in Hawai'i carrying deeply ingrained prejudices against Blacks and darker-skinned people. In their 1992 book *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II in Hawai'i*, Beth Bailey and David Farber discuss racial problems in wartime Hawai'i, noting that racial epithets were not only directed at African Americans, but at locals as well.²¹ The men from the 369th did not agree with the commonly held notion that racism was inevitable. Easily recognized by the red piping on their caps, they quickly earned respect in Honolulu among the other soldiers, both White and Black, and among the civilians and locals because they calmly defied racial discrimination, refusing to accept any ill-treatment.²²

811th Engineer Aviation Battalion

The 811th Engineer Aviation Battalion arrived in Hawai'i not from the Mainland but from the Pacific. The Battalion began its circuitous route at Langley Field, Virginia on December 7, 1941, and departed January 23, 1942, for Australia before shipping out to New Caledonia and the New

Hebrides. In record time, the unit built landing strips, roads and buildings, and then, remained in Melanesia through mid-1944. In September 1944, the unit received word that it was to be rotated to Hawai'i and would soon be stationed at Hickam Field in permanent barracks. This was welcome news as they had been living in tents for more than two years in the jungles of the South Pacific.²³

Shortly after settling into their new quarters, the soldiers of the 811th were summarily ordered off their job of building airport hangars and ordered into trucks. They were driven to Bellows Field located on the Windward coast of O'ahu, quite a distance from Hickam Field. Later, they discovered that there had been a disturbance in the White civilian housing area, near their barracks, and that men of the 811th had been accused of causing the trouble. The accusation was proved false after investigation, but by then, the men had been forced to bear the burden and humiliation of the accusation. In December 1944, the 811th began training at the Jungle Training Center, followed by further training in amphibious landing. On March 28, 1945, the 811th departed O'ahu for Iwo Jima where the battalion remained until the war's end in August 1945.²⁴

29th Chemical Decontamination Company

Early one Sunday morning May 21, 1944, 104 Army troops from the 29th Chemical Decontamination Company stationed at Schofield Barracks assembled and left the base to load ammunition at West Loch, Pearl Harbor. The Pacific War had intensified, and United States forces were mobilizing from the Pacific theater. At Pearl Harbor, a huge armada had been amassed in preparation for invasion of Saipan and other neighboring Micronesian Islands occupied by the Japanese. An all-Black unit, the 29th had been given the task of countering threats of crippling gas attacks near or on service facilities, but since gas was no longer considered a threat in the war, the unit had been re-assigned to attend to other hazardous tasks. Loading ammunition for army units going into battle had become a routine assignment for the 29th.²⁵

The 29th set out to load this explosive cargo aboard an LST 353, moored next to other LSTs and ships in a "nesting" formation, a method of tying ships next to each other in port. All of the ships in formation were combat-ready and the LST 353 was one of the last ships to be loaded. About 3:00 p.m., while mortar shells were being loaded, an explosion ripped through the LST 353.²⁶ Immediately following the blast, fire spread rapidly to adjacent LSTs and

ships. A second explosion threw burning fragments skyward. As they fell, the fragments set fire to drums of gasoline, canvas, bedding, and other flammable materials stored on the decks of other LSTs. Twenty minutes later, a third explosion occurred, and more ships were engulfed by flames at West Loch.

The Navy's inquiry concerning the cause and the consequence of the blasts reported that 127 men died, 380 were wounded, and 10 were missing and presumed dead.²⁷ William L. C. Johnson's eyewitness account of the disaster, published in 1986, suggests that as many as 163 men died.²⁸ According to the Navy's report, 74 men of the 29th Chemical Contamination Company died from the explosion, nine ships were destroyed, and many others damaged or crippled by the blasts. Many varying theories were put forward as explanations for the cause of the initial explosion, including the possibility of men smoking aboard the LST as ammunition was being loaded or of acetylene torches being used prior to the explosion.

Ultimately, the investigation determined that most likely "the initial explosion [had] resulted from one or more 4.2 inch mortar shells exploded while they were being loaded on the LST."²⁹ All of the shells "had been removed from the boxes and made ready for firing and then replaced in the boxes without the covers being nailed down."³⁰ The Army was blamed for mishandling the ammunition, and the Navy cited for taking a calculated but unnecessary risk by nesting combat-ready vessels. As the cause of the explosion was never clearly determined to be the result of carelessness by members of the 29th Chemical Contamination Company, the unit itself was never blamed. No official public announcement reported results of the Navy's inquiry, but on May 25, 1944, *The Honolulu Advertiser* printed two paragraphs mentioning the explosion. Citing the need for secrecy to ensure National security during wartime, the reporter provided no details about men killed or injured, or about ships lost.³¹ For more than forty years, the details of the West Loch disaster remained classified. In 1995, a monument to the disaster was erected on the shore of the West Loch.

For different reasons, these all-Black units in Hawai'i have earned places in the history of Hawai'i, but they are not the only all-Black units that have lived and worked in Hawai'i. Other all-Black units stationed temporarily on O'ahu initially came for training in preparation for the battlegrounds of the South and West Pacific or stopped briefly en route from battle to the United States Mainland for deactivation.

Other All-Black Units Stationed on O'ahu³²

- **1320th Engineer General Services Regiment:** arrived in Hawai'i February 20, 1944; disbanded December 17, 1944.
- **1322nd Engineer General Services regiment:** arrived in Hawai'i January 16, 1944; transferred to Palau Islands November 3, 1944.
- **4113th Quartermaster Truck Company:** Schofield.
- **4344th Quartermaster Company:** Schofield.
- **1325th Quartermaster Truck Company:** arrived in Hawai'i August 12, 1945 after service in Europe; departed for Guam August 15, 1945.
- **4161st Quartermaster Fumigation and Bath Company:** Schofield Barracks.
- **895th Quartermaster Truck Company:** Schofield Barracks.
- **855th Port Company:** Sand Island, Hawai'i.
- **892nd Engineer Aviation Company:** Wheeler Field.
- **702nd Chemical Company:** Hickam Field.
- **726th Chemical Company:** Schofield Barracks.
- **366th Engineer Company:** arrived in Hawai'i en route to San Francisco for deactivation.
- **367th Engineer Special Service Regiment:** arrived in Hawai'i June 30, 1942; departed Schofield Barracks June 3, 1943.
- **1314th Engineer General Service Regiment:** arrived in Hawai'i October 14, 1944; disbanded December 1944.
- **1319th:** arrive in Hawai'i November 1944; disbanded December 1944.

The United States Navy

In 1775, Naval recruitment posters appeared in most New England cities, calling for "Ye able-bodied sailors, men, White or Black to volunteer for naval service in ye interest of freedom."³³ Approximately 1,500 Blacks answered that call and served as able-bodied and ordinary seamen, pilots, boatswain mates, cooks, and gunners' mates. When the war ended, however,

African Americans were barred from enlisting in the Navy again until the War of 1812. During the Civil War, Blacks served on almost all of the Union's 700 Naval vessels and, by all accounts, they performed heroically.³⁴ Between 1862 and 1865, approximately 30,000 African Americans, including many former slaves, served in the Union Navy as seaman of all ranks. Hoping to recruit Blacks with nautical experience from the coastal South and from the Mississippi River area, Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, recommended that escaped slaves or "contraband" be offered a chance to enlist in the Navy for service in the Pacific at Landsmen's wages of \$12.00 a month. Navy's Pacific plan was not implemented, however. Rear-Admiral Samuel F. Dupont, suggested that these Black men "evinced strong local attachments and great reluctance to be separated from family,"³⁵ and indeed many former slaves, reluctant to leave their families for long or indefinite periods of time, refused to enlist unless their families could accompany them.

As American influence grew stronger and more pervasive in Hawai'i and as foreign governments grew more interested in Hawai'i as territory, it became increasingly obvious to leaders in Washington that economic investments would require military protection. In 1887, a treaty was signed that gave the United States permission to establish Pearl Harbor as a naval base, and, with a more permanent base in the Pacific, the United States Navy strengthened its power.³⁶ By 1900, Blacks serving in the Navy had been relegated to performing menial tasks, mostly as cooks and stewards.³⁷ The Navy had begun to recruit Filipinos to serve in the Steward's Branch, and by 1917, Filipinos outnumbered Blacks in the Navy. Following World War I, Blacks were barred from enlisting in the Navy but in 1932, when the Filipino enlistments dropped, the Secretary of the Navy re-opened enlistment to African Americans, permitting them, however, to serve only, once again, as stewards or cooks. Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, stated in writing that "the Navy is reserved exclusively for Negroes" to serve solely as mess attendants.³⁸ The editor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) *Crisis Magazine* suggested firmly that "it is not worth any colored youngster's time" to join the Navy where opportunities were limited to menial jobs.³⁹

Such practices of segregation and discrimination caught up with the Navy and with the nation on December 7, 1941 when Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese. All but six of the 4000 African Americans serving in the Navy at the beginning of the war were in the Stewards Branch and had not been more usefully trained for combat, but lack of training did not stop

these men stationed at Pearl Harbor from entering the fray. Many heroic deeds were performed by Black naval personnel. Dorie Miller, a messman assigned to the *U. S. S. West Virginia* at Pearl Harbor, helped move his mortally wounded commander to shelter and, then, manned a 50 caliber machine gun. With no previous combat or training on this particular weapon, Miller shot down four Japanese planes. On May 27, 1942, Admiral Chester Nimitz awarded Miller the Navy Cross for his extraordinary heroism. Miller later drowned along with 600 crewmen when his ship, the aircraft carrier, *U. S. S. Liscome Bayon*, was torpedoed in the Pacific by a Japanese submarine in November 1943.⁴⁰

By "VJ Day" in August, 1945, thousands of Black sailors were on duty in the Navy aboard ships and ashore in Hawai'i and in other parts of the Pacific, working as radiomen, electricians, machinists, quartermasters, and gunners mates, in addition to serving in the Stewards Branch. Public pressure backed by the necessity of war had forced the United States to open all military services to African Americans. The closing years of World War II saw the beginning of integration of the Navy, but it was not until the postwar years did we see full integration of the armed forces when President Harry S. Truman issued a Presidential Order in 1948, and offered his moral leadership to integration of the armed forces.⁴¹ The Bureau of Naval Personnel reported in 1945 that Naval forces included 60 Black commissioned officers, 59,000 Blacks serving as able-bodied and ordinary seamen as well 68,000 more serving in the Steward's Branch.⁴²

Integration, however, did not end discrimination. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, visited Hawai'i in December 1944 as part of his investigative tour of various installations around the country and heard complaints of Blacks, both of naval personnel and of civilians, at Pearl Harbor.⁴³ White vowed to use the influence of the NAACP to eliminate discrimination. In March 1945, Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League was appointed by Secretary of the Navy, James A. Forrestal, to investigate the treatment of African Americans at Naval bases throughout the United States, including the Pacific. In order to accurately assess conditions at naval installations in Hawai'i, Granger met with Black naval personnel in Hawai'i without the presence of officers and thus was able to discover that the most serious complaints centered on the still existent reality of segregation both at navy installations and in the surrounding communities.⁴⁴ Full integration was still a dream.

Between 1942 and 1945, the Navy recruited thousands of Whites and African American civilians to work at Hawai'i installations. Workers were

needed at Pearl Harbor and other shipyards to serve as machinists, boiler makers, electricians and welders; typists and file clerks were in short supply in offices. Although between 1942 and 1945 shipyards were integrated with Blacks, Whites, and locals working together peacefully and cooperatively, full integration was still not realized. General Delos G. Emmons, the Military Governor of Hawai'i, had issued orders in 1942 that stated, "racial prejudice, jealousies and discord will not be permitted," yet problems of discrimination still festered at Pearl Harbor.⁴⁵ Many of the new workers were assigned to the segregated Civilian Housing Area 2 (CHA2), which had set aside 9th and 10th Streets for Blacks with Whites occupying all remaining housing. A social club organized by Black men offered opportunity for single men and women to socialize, but although the mess halls, commissary, theaters and other types of public facilities outside of CHA2 were officially integrated, barbershops remained segregated.⁴⁶

After the tumultuous years of World War II, the Navy worked diligently to end discrimination against African Americans, ensuring that all Black sailors might enjoy equal opportunities to serve their country and to advance their naval careers. By 2001, Black officers included eight male and one female admirals, 115 male and 22 female captains in the Navy. Vice Admiral Samuel L. Gravely, for example, entered the Navy as an ensign in 1944 after completing midshipman school and then, early in his career, was stationed in Hawai'i as a young officer. By 1976, he had been promoted to Vice Admiral and given command of the Third Fleet, headquartered in Hawai'i and responsible for the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean. Popular with the local community, Admiral Gravely ended his career as a distinguished veteran of World War II, Korean and Vietnam Wars.⁴⁷

The United States Marines

Although during both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, a small number of Blacks were recruited by the Continental Marines to work as contract laborers, it was not until World War II that the Marine Corps recruited Blacks into its ranks as regulars.⁴⁸ Designated either as "munitions companies" or "depot companies," most Black units were given basic training, but were not further trained for combat.⁴⁹ Edgar R. Huff, a former first sergeant, declares that

there was no training these negroes, such as infantry training. And of course they did a hell of a lot of drilling. They were some of the drillingest people that you'd ever seen in your life.⁵⁰

Huff went on to note that all men in munitions and depot companies were recruited for their strong backs, required to load and unload ships and to carry ammunition to troops fighting at the front lines. Some companies headed for the South and Southwest Pacific theaters were nonetheless pressed into combat duty, and some of those experienced heavy fighting in the Marianas Islands, Guam, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. Of the companies assigned to the Hawaiian Islands, the 6th, 7th and 8th Marine Depot Companies served on O'ahu, Maui, Kaua'i, and the Island of Hawai'i where Marine units trained for combat duty in the central Pacific.⁵¹ For example, the 51st and 52nd Battalions, organized at Montfort Point, North Carolina in 1942 and 1943 respectively, served in the Pacific theater.

On January 1, 1943, the Secretary of the Navy had authorized the establishment of a Stewards Branch for the Marine Corps which would include Black marines serving as officers' stewards, cooks, and messmen.⁵² As the Marine Corps was under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy, the treatment and assignments of marines serving in the Stewards Branch were similar to those of stewards in the Navy, and some Black marines resented such an assignment because "there was a stigma to be an officers' steward."⁵³ Such an observation was indeed accurate; all Marine Corps stewards were African Americans.

Of the 19,168 Blacks in the Marine Corps in 1944, approximately 13,000 served in the Pacific, and most served in non-combat units, and despite Truman's 1948 Presidential Order, announcing plans to integrate fully the armed forces, in December of 1948 an all-Black Marine unit was assigned to the Marine Barracks at the Naval Ammunition Depot, at Lualualei on O'ahu. Such segregation in the Marines was soon to disappear. Ironically, the Marine Corps, the one branch of the military that had consistently refused Blacks as members until World War II, by the close of the Korean War, had become perhaps the most integrated branch of the military. In 1999, Brigadier General Arnold Fields, a Black Marine, was assigned as Deputy Commanding General of Marine Corps Base Hawai'i, and his assignment is representative of the Marine Corps' progress in recognizing leadership regardless of the race of the individual.⁵⁴

Black Military and the Community

Since World War II, Black military personnel have offered mixed reports concerning their service in Hawai'i. Among those Blacks assigned to Hawai'i

between 1941 and 1945, some never forgot the prejudice and discrimination they had experienced on and off base, but there are many who found Hawai'i welcoming. Sadly, discrimination is not yet just a memory; it continues as reality. Unfortunately, although many local people do not readily adopt the racist attitudes owned by too many Whites, either military or civilian, some still do. During the 1980s and 1990s many Black males in the military in Hawai'i complained because they were stopped unnecessarily by local and military police while driving. In most of these complaints the police were searching for drugs. This form of harassment of Blacks by the police was also a phenomenon in many places in the civilian community on the Mainland.⁵⁵ In 1998, Vergia Kemp-Blackmon completed a study of perceived discrimination among African American military personnel stationed on O'ahu and discovered that a few African American military personnel had stated that they had also experienced discrimination when seeking housing off-base. As recently as the 1980s and 1990s, cases of discrimination were reported by Blacks as well as Whites when seeking off-base housing.⁵⁶

Some segregation of military personnel of all races stems from the peculiar economic reality of Hawai'i. A major complaint persistent with most Black military personnel, especially with those who have families, concerns the high cost of living in Hawai'i, exasperated by its location in the middle of the Pacific. It is expensive to live in Hawai'i and difficult to visit family members on the Mainland or have them visit Hawai'i. Also, families complain that they often cannot participate in local recreation and social events because of cost. For a family of four, an evening out for dinner and a movie off-base might require spending too large a percentage of a week's income. A soldier with the rank of E-1 and two years of service earned a little more than \$15,000 a year in 2003, which does not go very far in Hawai'i.⁵⁷ It is difficult for a community to achieve full integration if some members of the community cannot afford to participate in community activities. At one time low-ranked personnel who headed families were permitted to utilize government issue food stamps to supplement their low military pay.

Overall, morale in Hawai'i among Black military personnel over the past decade was reported to be as well as might be expected considering the variables of isolation, cost of living, and those infrequent negative experiences in the community. Ironically, some of the isolation experienced by all military personnel in Hawai'i is self-imposed. Military installations provide housing and recreational facilities, including movies, bowling alleys, tennis courts,

swimming and many other opportunities for individual, group and family activities. Post Exchanges offer food, clothing and furniture at discount prices for all military personnel and their families. Part of the feeling of isolation among military personnel in the O'ahu community no doubt stems from the fact that there is no real need for many personnel to seek recreational or social outlets in the greater community. With the essentials required for living easily accessible on base, opportunities of adult military personnel to become members of the outside community are restricted, if not eliminated, and with no perceived Black civilian community in Hawai'i, such as is found nearby many Mainland military installations, Black personnel find fewer reasons to leave base. Many people who move to Hawai'i discover that its unique multicultural and multiethnic customs cannot be found in any other state in the country, but for many service personnel, Hawai'i presents them with an assignment all too similar to one in South Korea, Puerto Rico or the plains of Kansas. The military may have achieved racial integration within its various branches of service, but full cultural integration between the military and the host civilian cultures is yet to be achieved. ❖

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Transitioning to Paradise —A Challenging Journey: African American Military Experiences in Hawai'i Public Schools

KIMETTA R. HAIRSTON

“HAWAI'I!”

I shouted with excitement on that Wintery day in 2001 when my husband phoned me to announce that he had received orders to transfer to Hawai'i for three years of shore duty. After twelve years in Virginia, I couldn't imagine anything more enticing than the prospect of three years on a beautiful island with my husband home. We would leave on April 3, 2001, so we still had six months to sell the house, pack our belongings, ship the cars, and find a new home and a new school for our children. As my husband's command gave him a contact number for a Navy sponsor in Hawai'i and for getting information about the relocation, I was convinced the move would be seamless and smooth. I was, unfortunately, quite wrong.

A military relocation, like any long distance move, involves work, stress, and often painful separations from family and friends. We had to pack out a month before the scheduled leave, and, as we would stay with my parents for those remaining thirty days, I would have to quit my job and withdraw our kids from school. To make matters yet more difficult yet, we needed to ship our car forty-five days before leaving if we wanted it to be in Hawai'i when we arrived. The military would only pay for one vehicle, so we decided to sell our second car, adding yet another item to the list of "things to do." As if this weren't enough confusion, we discovered that we were 87 on a military housing waiting list in Hawai'i that only offered eligibility for a house on base much

smaller than that which we had been living in. Moving from a four-bedroom house meant we would have to leave some household items behind in storage, adding to the burden of decisions to be made.

Arriving in Honolulu on April 3, I felt as if I had moved to a foreign country, especially after settling into Waikīkī where everything seemed to cater to the Japanese tourists. Where was the Hawaiian culture? Moreover, where was the African American culture and Black people? The transition was not easy. We lived in a hotel for 45 days before being told by the housing office in Hawai'i that we had to find somewhere to live off-base until housing became available, which turned out to be a year later. Housing was the least of our worries.

As a teacher, I was aware that Hawai'i's educational system had a poor reputation, but nonetheless I was determined to learn more about the school system. I had to find out all I could; after all, I had children to educate. Searching the Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) website and other educational sites for data on teacher positions, school systems statistics and programs, I struggled to find a new school for our two children, especially for my daughter, soon to start kindergarten. Fortunately, I had interviewed for a teaching job with the DOE before arriving in Hawai'i via telephone and had established a relationship with a personnel recruiter. In June, I was officially hired as a sixth grade teacher at a public school on one of the military bases. After contacting the school in the area where we found a house to rent, I had discovered that there were no military transitioning programs in place; as the student population was predominately local, the school was not familiar with military culture. My daughter could not attend the school where I would be teaching because we did not live on base, and my son was number 58 on the Child Development Center (CDC) waiting list. At that point, my husband and I began to consider a private school. After three interviews with private schools, we found a school that could both accommodate our three-year-old in their early learning center and our five-year-old in kindergarten. I breathed a sigh of relief.

Once I began working at the public school on base, I was thankful that I had not put my daughter in this particular school. As a teacher in Hawai'i, and the only African-American teacher at this particular school, I became aware of a number of issues and concerns related not only to the school environment, but also to the particular educational and social difficulties of

military dependants in Hawai'i's schools. I became particularly interested in the African American military students and families. I wondered:

- Where are the other African American teachers?
- Are issues of multiculturalism and diversity addressed in the curriculum?
- Do these non-military teachers understand military culture and the problems associated with transitions of the students at the heavily impacted military schools?
- How do teachers and other students perceive African American children in Hawai'i?
- What perceptions do African American students have about themselves, the school system, and others in Hawai'i?
- Has anyone asked African American students how they feel about Hawai'i, their own culture, and what they want to learn?

I became so interested in these issues that I decided not to return to the school in the Fall as a teacher. Instead, I applied and was accepted into the doctoral program in the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. After teaching for five years in Virginia and one year in Hawai'i, it was time for a change in my career path, and I needed to get answers to my questions regarding African Americans in Hawai'i. This change led to my dissertation topic, "Looking Through the Lens of Critical Race Theory: African American Military Children's Experiences in Hawai'i Public Schools."

The Study

As a means of identifying key issues for the research, a pilot study to collect preliminary data was conducted from February 19, 2003 to April 26, 2003. I held 19 focus groups, with 115 students in eight schools that had large military student populations on O'ahu, including three elementary schools, two middle schools, and three high schools. In addition, I interviewed three African American principals and three African American teachers. The issues that continued to surface in all interviews were those of race, self-identity, relationships, and transience.

In this paper, I will discuss how Critical Race Theory (CRT) can serve as a lens to illuminate and to understand the experiences and perceptions of

African American children in Hawai'i public schools. After presenting a brief introduction to this theoretical framework, I will then discuss: (1) African Americans as a part of the military and educational culture, and how these two cultures affect student transition into schools and local society; (2) African Americans in the public school system in Hawai'i; and (3) literature concerning military transition programs and multicultural education that offers positive resolutions for reducing racism and transience issues in schools. Finally, I will end with a brief discussion of the intersection of educational needs of African American children with those social needs that result from their experiences as transients.

Defining Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory emerged in the early 1970s both with the works of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman and with the work of leftist legal scholars of color in Critical Legal Studies (CLS) who were seeking to transform society by reforming practices, ideas and institutions that attempt to maintain White racist harmony while ignoring race relations and ethnicity as a primary concern.¹ Kimberle Crenshaw, a professor of law at University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and co-author of *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, is noted for placing CRT in the center of American legal culture. Crenshaw argues that critical race theory embraces a movement of progressive scholars who are also persons of color.² She goes on to state that Whites as the dominant race in America have racial power to construct and represent American legal culture and American society. Crenshaw identifies two issues as foundational:

The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professional ideals such as "the rule of law" and "equal protection." The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to change it.³

As perhaps too many critical legal scholars had previously neglected to maintain a necessary focus on race relations and racism, others rose to formulate critical race theory as a useful tool for both examining and changing existing social structures. As one of the most noted scholars of critical race theory and a founding member of the Conference on Critical Race Theory, Richard Delgado has written over 100 articles and several books, including *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, a book that discusses civil rights,

legal narratives, and hate speech. According to Delgado, critical race theory originated in the mid-1970s with the works of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman who were both deeply distressed over the slow pace of racial reform in the United States. Bell's book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, strongly suggests that racism as an existing force in America has become a permanent fixture in society, stating that:

In this last decade of the twentieth century, color determines the social and economic status of all African Americans, both those who have been highly successful and their poverty-bound brethren whose lives are grounded in misery and despair.⁴

Recognizing that many of the gains of the 1960s civil rights movement were being quietly rolled back, others quickly joined the discussion initiated by Bell and Freeman, and, then, as Bell fought his way to becoming the first African American tenured professor at Harvard Law School, his dedication to equality and promotion of civil rights for both himself and his students paved the way for a further discussion of CRT by other CRT scholars. According to CRT, racism is alive and well in America and has become normalized by the dominant Western culture to such a degree that nearly everyone accepts racism as naturally and inevitably occurring in society, but it is important to note that normalization is not a simple result of shared beliefs; normalization implies a deliberate construction.

Although there are some theoretical differences within this field of study, the majority of CRT scholars hold several beliefs in common. First, CRT both recognizes the centrality of race and intransigence of racism in American society and rejects East-West European/Modernist claims of neutrality, objectivity, rationality, and universality. Second, CRT historicizes its analysis by relying heavily on the experiential knowledge of people of color.⁵ As African Americans are the primary subjects examined in CRT writing, the theory provides a useful lens for investigating the perceptions and experiences of African American children in public schools and for further understanding the implications of those investigations.

African American Students in Hawai'i's Public Schools

An old nursery rhyme proclaims, "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me," but racial slurs are harmful. African American children continue to be victimized and psychologically injured in public school classrooms because of their ethnicity. As Richard Delgado has stated:

The racial insult remains one of the most pervasive channels through which discriminatory attitudes are imparted. Not only does the listener learn and internalize the messages contained in racial insults, these messages color our society's institutions and are transmitted to succeeding generations.⁶

At this point in time, to end this seemingly non-ending cycle of discrimination should be one of society's primary goals. We must ask ourselves: Why has racism continued as painfully prevalent in the school lives of African-American military children in Hawai'i, the state with the most diverse population in the United States of America?

During a focus group interview, seven female 4th through 6th grade students spoke about their perceptions of being Black and going to school in Hawai'i. The following is an excerpt from their audio-taped conversations:

- Student 1: I feel lonely. When I look around I don't see that many Black people. It's like I'm isolated in the classroom because I am the only African American in the class. I wish I had my friends in there with me.
- Student 2: In my class there are three Black kids. We sit together. The teacher always looks at us and blames us for everything. I don't know why she doesn't separate us. It's weird and I feel weird here; it's not like the Mainland.
- Student 3: I feel weird. I cry a lot because I'm dark-skinned and I feel like some of these kids don't like me because I am dark. They call me names too, and I hate it!
- Student 4: Freaky, yeah freaky that's how I feel, like everyone is looking at me. I feel that because I'm military, they think I want their land. I can't win being Black and military.
- Student 5: Freaky and proud. I like being African American. It's just that they are not use to seeing us here. Once they get to know me, most of my class likes me. If they don't like me, then, oh well, I'm still here.
- Student 6: It's like I stand out because I'm Black, and people often stare at me or ask questions about my hair, skin color, and race. The first day of school my teacher asked if my dad was in the military and when I said yes, she made a funny face. Why?
- Student 7: I hate that. I love wearing braids, but so many questions, and it gets on my nerves. Me and my mom were at the store and this Japanese lady was looking and asking us about our hair; I guess they have never seen a Black girl or braids.

This particular recorded conversation is painfully similar to those in all nineteen focus group interviews. The students all acknowledge that they feel different because they are Black and military and often compare their experiences in Hawai'i to their experiences in other places. They express a sense of "not belonging" not only because of transitions experienced because of military relocations, but also because of their ethnicity. Both factors contribute to their feeling "different," "lonely," and "isolated." Doubly impacted by being both African American and military, these students encounter both racism and transience problems while in the public school system, and the difficulties attached to these encounters affects their educational experience and, ultimately, alters, most often negatively, the society within which they live and work.

African Americans have been a part of the American military since 1775. University of Hawai'i Professor emeritus Miles M. Jackson has stated that most of the African American students enrolled in the public schools in Hawai'i are members of military families.⁷ Currently, the military African American population in Hawai'i totals 14,906.⁸ There are 16 military housing facilities on the Island of O'ahu, the most populated Island in the State of Hawai'i, and 39 Hawai'i military-impacted schools with diverse student and teacher populations. As military dependents, these African American students are already familiar with diverse social populations, but on entering Hawai'i's schools, they still encounter new cultures—and new cultural conflicts.

Cultural Conflicts

Cultural conflicts most often occur when minority groups are denied full representation and equal participation within an existing dominant society. In an educational environment, these conflicts can be exasperated, if not caused, by the omission of the study of minority cultures from the curriculum. If we are to create a multicultural society that respects all cultures, it is important to recognize the traditions, customs, and values of a minority culture and to understand how those aspects differ from those of the dominant culture. Cultural traits from other ethnic groups, such as African Americans, are often adopted by the dominant social, but too frequently the dominant group does not acknowledge that those traits are adopted. This lack of acknowledgement can, and often does, lead African Americans to feelings of inferiority and oppression. As Omni and Winant explained in a 1991 essay published in *Socialist Review*, once racism is institutionalized, the dominant group gains the power to include racial ideologies.⁹

Studying the conflict, however, may not be as useful as studying how those who experience such conflict find peaceful resolution of those conflicts. In a paper titled, "The Hawaiian Multicultural Ethos," Michael Haas who for many years taught Political Science at the University of Hawai'i, explains that:

The assumption is that an understanding of the origins of conflict between ethnic groups will help to solve problems. But can reversing historical processes or establishing new structural political arrangements work? Studies of causes of civil strife and international violence, which similarly focus on abnormal phenomena, have yet to lead to useful nostrums, so it appears that the study of ethnic conflict is also unlikely to serve the goal of promoting peaceful ethnic coexistence. A more positive approach is to study the way in which communities of diverse peoples can develop peaceful relations.¹⁰

If, as CRT postulates, racism cannot be easily eliminated because it has been effectively established as a part of the structure of society, the acknowledgement both of the effects of racism on African American children in Hawai'i schools and of how some successfully combat racism is essential to facilitate the formulation of better solutions that might first promote peaceful interactions. A deeper understanding of both military and African American cultures can help to provide the foundation necessary for creating such peaceful resolution.

Racism in Hawai'i Public Schools

Prevalent in schools nationwide, racism is no stranger to Hawai'i's classrooms, but there are those in Hawai'i who do recognize this problem, and such recognition is the first step in formulating solution. In 1999, several articles appeared in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* addressing the issue of racism in Hawai'i public schools. In one article, Susan Kreifels wrote that:

Most parents, teachers, and students interviewed believed racial harassment is not a major problem in school corridors. But enough anecdotal experiences show students of various races and ethnic groups have felt it.¹¹

Indeed, many African Americans in Hawai'i have experienced the sting of racism. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reports more racial incidents directed towards African Americans than towards any other ethnic group, yet Kreifels describes these occurrences as "a scattering of racial incidents against African Americans."¹² The use of the word "scattering" unfortunately minimalizes the seriousness of these incidents, which have been reported as occurring on the

Islands of Maui and O'ahu. The following ten incidents were reported in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* by Gary Kubota, Susan Kreifels, and Lori Tighe:¹³

1. 'Īao Intermediate School: Wailuku, Maui—A 14-year-old African American eighth-grader was punched and shoved on separate occasions and called names, including "nigger" and others of a racist nature. The child's mother complained several times to the school administration, but her son continued to be harassed. Two students were suspended, and the principal stated that racial slurs would not be tolerated at his school.
2. Baldwin High School: Wailuku, Maui—It was reported that students' uttered racial slurs daily toward African American students, including the word nigger. A teacher and parent stated that the students received less than appropriate punishment.
3. An elementary school (name not given): Honolulu, O'ahu—an outbreak of racial slurs (including "nigger") and fights among third graders were occurring. The principal called in an outsider, Michel D'Andrea, director of the National Institute of Multicultural Competence, to speak with the students.
4. Castle High School: Kailua, O'ahu—On Halloween a student came to school wearing a Klu Klux Klan outfit, and, later, a picture of the costumed student appeared in the school yearbook. There was no mention of any actions taken against the student.
5. Kalāheo High School: Kailua, O'ahu—a caption under a picture of an African American student read, "I like pig's feet. I like hog mollz. Where da collard greens?" Two students filed a \$14 million federal lawsuit against the state and Kalāheo; a settlement required that \$80,000 be paid in reparation.
6. An Intermediate School (name not given): O'ahu—a student attending school was called "nigger." The parent discussed the incident with the principal. The principal said, "It's just a name. Didn't he hear it in the O. J. Simpson trial?"
7. Mānoa Elementary School: Mānoa, O'ahu—After transferring to this school, a student was called a "burnt French-fry." The school responded swiftly, apologized, suspended the name-caller for a day,

and had the student body attend a school assembly where a policy of zero tolerance for racism was presented and discussed.

8. Mānoa Elementary School: Mānoa, O'ahu—A student cried after being called derogatory racial names. No report of any actions taken.
9. Radford High School: Pearl Harbor, O'ahu—a 15-year-old girl was called a "nigger." She said, "I don't like the 'n' word. It's telling me I'm beneath you and that you are superior. I think of slavery and lynching and segregation." There was no report of actions being taken.
10. Leilehua High School: Wahiawā, O'ahu—a substitute teacher reported countless issues of name-calling and tension. African American students often admitted being afraid to come to school and feeling unsafe. Students who did the name-calling and made the threats were not reprimanded for their actions.

In addition to these ten incidents, an African American teacher, who has taught for ten years in Hawai'i, reported that the military students, especially those who are Black, "stand out"; he further stated that he has witnessed and punished several incidents of racism directed against African American students.¹⁴ Although the number of reported incidents may not seem high, they are wide-spread, and therefore may be indicative of a larger and deeper problem in Hawai'i's society. It is likely that many similar incidents go unreported.

The major concerns regarding the incidents reported in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the incidents discussed during the interviews include both how the incidents were handled and how the local communities responded when asked about their concerns about racism in Hawai'i. One of most frequent comments concerning racism in Hawai'i by the local residents—"What's the big deal?"—seems to suggest a disturbing inability of too many either to recognize or to acknowledge that the use of words like "nigger" negatively impacts African American children's social, educational, and psychological lives. Residents in the Wailuku, Maui made the following comments:¹⁵

- "Racial incidents are sensationalized by the news media...racial slurs occur all the time in schools and the workplace...students don't really mean what they say."

- A retired teacher said, "It's no big deal."
- "Racism really doesn't exist in Wailuku because everyone is a minority."

Other actions and reactions of the teachers and administrators also indicate that the incidents were not taken seriously. Seven of the 10 incidents reported resulted in no action taken by the administration or teachers at the school. A local citizen responded to the article via the Internet by stating:

Locals accept people who are like them (i.e., humble, concerned about each other's welfare, and can tease another person about his or her race). When they meet somebody new, they tend to test him or her—to see if he or she is local too. If he or she takes offense to the "racial epithet"; that's a big clue that he or she is not local. Then, the locals tend to pick on that person as being clueless.¹⁶

In contrast, African Americans offered a different perspective on the reported incidents of racism in Hawai'i's schools, as noted in the following:¹⁷

- A substitute teacher stated, "A racial slur is more than a word. It grows into institutionalized racism."
- An attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union stated that racism is alive in Hawai'i schools and would not be accepted by the Union.
- A parent, expressed concern over the comment made from the principal regarding the word nigger in relation to the O.J. trial, "I was appalled!"
- A parent stated, "I didn't think there was racial tension here. I thought it was *ohana* and *aloha*." He withdrew his children from public school feeling that the system failed to stop racial harassment.

Clearly, a marked contrast exists between the reported reactions of locals and African Americans. Teachers, parents, and members of the community at large all need to be educated about cultural clashes. Although locals offer a useful perspective that some controversy may be triggered by the fact that non-locals are not familiar with "local ways"—indeed, military families new to Hawai'i are not provided with adequate information that might help orient them to cultural differences Hawai'i—at the same time, locals seem to be unaware of the negative effects both of racial slurs, such as "nigger," and of the use of other symbols linked to racist behavior, including masquerading as Klu Klux Klan.¹⁸

During the pilot study that I conducted, 115 African American military students spoke freely of other unreported incidents that had occurred daily in school. The following statements are a representative sampling of those responses. Most interesting is my finding that 107 of 115 participants had been called a "nigger" at school in Hawai'i.

An African American 11th grade male student who had just arrived in Hawai'i and started school at a local high school shared the following:

One day I was at football practice—I had been at the school for about a week—a group of local kids surrounded me and started calling me a nigger. They pushed and shoved me. I started cussing and swinging. Coach broke us up; I was hurt pretty bad, and no one was suspended. In fact, my parents came to the school, and the principal would not meet with them. They finally spoke with him by phone, and he made a lot of excuses. I'm sick and tired of it, and I'm not going to stand for it.¹⁹

An African American 8th grade girl reported that:

An Asian girl called me a nigger one day when I bumped into her by mistake. I told her to look up the word and understand what she was saying before saying it. I walked away. I didn't tell my teachers, they won't do anything anyway. When I got home I told my parents. They were mad that I had been called a nigger, but proud that I had walked away with my head up.²⁰

Whether African American students encounter racism more frequently or less frequently is an issue worth exploration but one that this essay does not address, but that they encounter racism as frequently as these reports suggest is disturbing and certainly worthy of further examination and explanation. Such confrontations, whether handled forcefully or endured quietly, disrupt studies, interfere with a student's peace of mind, and exasperate the more commonly expected difficulties associated with transience.

Transience

Transitioning into a new school is often a challenging task for both the student and his or her family. There are over 54,000 active duty military members in Hawai'i,²¹ and the majority of these men and women have families with children attending public schools. Although military families generally stay in a particular assignment for three to four years, in nine of 12 year round schools that serve military families in Hawai'i, less than 80 percent of the military students remain enrolled for the entire year.²² A high degree of transience has a tendency to negatively impact the educational process for

students and teachers, a fact that is recognized by some administrators in Hawai'i. For example, Hale Kula Elementary, with the largest military population on the Island of O'ahu, reports on their school website that they "have a very high transiency rate, therefore, a consistent, nationally researched and proven literacy program is essential for our students as well as demanded by our parents."²³ The Military Impacted School Association (MISA) explains that transience issues range from student files arriving at schools in a less than timely manner to children having difficulties making friends and fitting into a new school environment. MISA goes on to report that military children across the nation encounter emotional and curriculum issues linked to transience and transition.²⁴ An 11th grade male explains:

When I got to Hawai'i, I was so homesick. My head hurt, my stomach hurt, and I couldn't sleep. I missed my friends and family I left behind in North Carolina. It got so bad, that at one point my parents thought about sending me back to stay with relatives. I prayed and prayed, and finally realized that if I did not call home as much and kept my distance it was easier to get over missing everyone. I miss home. Leaving family and friends is always hard.²⁵

From the data gathered in my pilot study, I found that 97 of the 115 students participating in the focus group interviews expected to move from Hawai'i within three months to three years and that all had experienced the transitioning process of military transfer. I asked the students to list every place he or she had lived during their military dependent lives. Most elementary and intermediate students had lived in at least three to seven other states or countries, and high schools students had lived in five to 10 other states or countries. Even those students who are dependents of retiring military parents who plan to stay in Hawai'i had lived in at least two to five other states or countries prior to coming to Hawai'i. The number of relocations suggests that military children are commonly exposed to different cultures and school settings as relocating is a "routine" part of their lives. This wide exposure to different cultures may give these students some of the tools needed to adjust to cultural conflict, and moving about may be routine, but, nonetheless, transitions are never easy. With each move, come a new school, an unfamiliar community, and any number of practical and philosophical issues that each student must confront.

In discussing transition issues in the student focus group interviews, the issues that surfaced as critical to all students, regardless of grade level, included

credit transfer, graduation requirements, grading policies, and curriculum at the new schools. Most students were upset that African American culture was absent from their schools' curriculae. As many students had come from Mainland schools, they had experienced curriculae that had discussed both African Americans and African American culture. Although some teachers at most of their current Hawai'i schools had discussed Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rosa Parks, many other historical and important African Americans were not acknowledged in the classroom. As stated by one 5th grade African American focus group participant:

All we talk about in school is pretty much the same stuff: math, science, and we learn about Hawai'i because a Hawaiian teacher comes in once a week. Our books are pretty old. My math book is falling apart, but I like math the best. My teacher is boring, and she expects us to sit still all day. It's hard; I like to talk, and I get in trouble a lot....I am so mad that we did not celebrate Black History Month. I asked my teacher why? But, she said nothing. Then I asked the principal and she said, "Our school just doesn't do that." WHY! It's a month, and we celebrate other holidays and talk about a lot of White people. I wish we could talk about other people too.... Sometimes, kids ask me about slavery. I don't know; I tell them that slaves struggled, and that Black people have always had to fight, just like Martin Luther King. Maybe if we talked about Black people, the other students would understand. I feel like my teacher does not like me or understand me. I wish she would take the chance to learn about my culture, instead of sending me to the office for talking.²⁶

Forty-six high school students also expressed concerns about credits transferring, graduation requirements, and grading. They were upset about having to take ninth grade Hawaiian Studies as a graduation requirement, especially when they entered the school as juniors or seniors. An 11th grade African American reported the following:

When I started talking to my advisor and she told me that I had to take a ninth grade Hawaiian Studies class, I laughed. I thought she was kidding, and I wanted to test out. "The rules are the rules," she said, "If you want to graduate, you have to take this class." Fine, I didn't want to, not because it was Hawaiian, but because I had so many other classes in history from the Mainland and hoped that they would transfer....In the class, all we learn about are the names of Hawaiians and what Captain Cook did. Then, the teacher expects us to learn how to spell the words; it's like taking a foreign language. I thought we were going to learn about Hawai'i, it sucks! As far as my grades are concerned, I am in shock. I came from making the A/B Honor Roll, to making B's and C's. Sometimes my teacher loses my home-

work. When I get my report card and I have a C, she'll say that I did not complete all of my work. I know I did the work, and so do my parents. My mom has had to come to the school three times, and every time my grade is changed. I'm not use to this and sometimes I feel like I'm graded on how much the teacher likes me. I say, how can she like me when she doesn't even know me!²⁷

An African American 7th grade science teacher during an individual interview corroborated some of the more generalized feelings of this student, but did not comment on the student's inability to recognize that learning both the culture and language of a host culture is valuable or the teacher's apparent inability to explain this issue to the student. She stated:

I have a very good relationship with the African American students that I teach. They are all military; so, I see them and their parents on base. They seem to enjoy my class, and they work hard because I expect all my students to work hard. I do have to say that African American students have to work twice as hard for their other teachers, because some of the local teachers assume that they are not smart or that they are troublemakers based on negative stereotypes. African American males have it harder than females, and they often have to earn respect from peers, teachers and administrators. I notice that most of the African American students tend to stick together....It is often harder for the African American military children, if not all military children, because teachers assume that they will be leaving in a few years, and often have the "why bother" attitude when it comes to teaching them.²⁸

The absence of African American teachers in Hawai'i public schools was also a recurring concern voiced during the focus group interviews. Without African American teachers, students felt they had neither role models nor teachers who understood them. Out of the 115 participants, only seven students had an African American teacher in their Hawaiian classroom. However, at the two different sites where these two teachers taught, sixteen of the other students sought these teachers out for advice or for assistance with homework.

Two of the seven participating sites had an African American principal. When discussing these principals, 28 students felt that these African American principals expected more from them and that as African American students, they certainly did not get special treatment. Some of the students were angry because they had thought it would be easier having an African American principal, but they had learned that there was little difference between the African American principal and the principals at other schools they had attended. An 11th grade male student commented that "a principal is a principal;

regardless of their race, they have to run the school." An African American principal explained his view of how African American students were generally perceived in Hawai'i's public schools:

As individuals, the African American students are perceived as achievers, but as a group, they are often considered a threat based on negative stereotypes. The military African American children and parents tend to stick and work together, but this is true for all military parents regardless of race. This is an advantage for the parents because they have a communication link, and a disadvantage because some teachers feel intimidated. The military African American students are often faced with conflict because some of the locals do not like them because they are Black and military. It is very hard for some of the African American students to adjust and adapt.²⁹

Seventy-two percent of the students interviewed were concerned about their teachers liking them or negatively stereotyping them when they met them for the first time. A total of 115 students stated that if they could bring the friends they left behind with them it would be easier for them to transition into a new school. Several students began to cry when they discussed leaving their friends behind and expressed how hard it is coming to a new school. They shared feelings of anxiety and fear and explained how desperately they want to fit in. A 4th grade female expressed the anxiety she experienced in her Hawai'i classroom:

Sometimes I look at my dark skin and braids, and, then, I look around at the other girls and I think they don't like me because I look different. One time, the teacher was talking about Black people, and everyone looked at me. I was ashamed. I think my teacher is afraid of me or doesn't like me because sometime she will ignore me when I raise my hand. She always seems to pay attention to me when I am talking, but not when I have the answers. I just want to fit it. It really is hard.³⁰

In the elementary and intermediate settings, African American students tend to have a more ethnically mixed group of friends; however, by high school, the picture changes. In high school, the majority of the participants' friends consisted of other African American students. Thirty-seven of the students felt that it was safer to have friends of their own ethnicity because local students often started fights and arguments with them. They all stated "safety in numbers" as one reason for their friendships with other African Americans. Such racial grouping, although perhaps too common in Hawai'i's schools, is not universal. Students who were involved in sports and other school activities had more local and Asian friends. For instance, one 7th grader stated that:

When I left Maryland, I left my best friends and it was hard. That's always the hardest part about moving. When I got here (Hawai'i), I thought I was going to be left out, but I don't feel left out. I have a lot of friends, and my best friend is local. He talked to me my first day here, and we got along great! He is nice and we have a lot in common. When we move in three years, I'll miss him, he is my best friend.³¹

During the focus group interviews and individual interviews I asked the participants what it meant to be African American and living in Hawai'i. A cross section of their responses follows:

- I'm invisible, but yet I'm in a fish bowl isolated, but my presence invades people's sense of personal comfort and how they feel.
- You're one of many groups, numerically you're in the smaller group, but you stand out because you are Black.
- It means I need to be in a state of gratitude to my ancestors, continue to promote education to others about African Americans; it is my job, and I am determined to remain strong and proud of my culture.
- Being African American in Hawai'i means that you are immediately up for a challenge. You have to respect your own culture, wear a tough collar and be proud of who you are.
- Being African American in Hawai'i means HELL! Total isolation, no respect from other ethnicities and constant stares from people.
- Being an African American teacher in Hawai'i means being a role model for the African American students. I feel that we fit in here because our skin color is closer to the locals, and they seem to have more dislikes toward Whites. You have to be proud of who you are, and that will make the difference.

It is disturbing that so many students feel isolated, but encouraging that nearly as many proudly recognize both the uniqueness of Black culture and their responsibility to support that culture within a multicultural environment. Nonetheless, we cannot help but notice the emotional pain endured by these students. We must not forget that although there are many recommendations that can be implemented to assist with the physical and educational transitional phases of a military relocation, it is the emotional transition that is often the most difficult to resolve for any military child.

Solutions and Resolutions

This study suggests that military children can benefit from public school programs capable of assisting teachers, students and families with the process of transitioning and also that the DOE should support and encourage the operations of such programs with the public schools. MISA addresses several transitional resolutions that schools might consider, including the improvement of the timely transfer of records, the development of systems to ease student transition, and the promotion of practices which foster access to extracurricular programs. MISA also suggests that schools establish procedures to lessen the adverse impact of moves by providing child-centered partnerships between military installations and the supporting schools. If these suggestions could be converted into practical procedures, military parents might feel more confident when their children enter a new school and students might have an easier time transitioning to their new educational community.

Currently in Hawai'i, there do exist some partnerships between military installations and local schools which might serve as examples for other future programs. One such partnership is the Joint Venture Education Forum (JVEF).³² The JVEF mission statement notes that JVEF exists as

a cooperative venture between the Pacific Command military community and the Hawai'i Department of Education, facilitating active military participation in Hawai'i Public education serving the military community's responsibility in the pursuit of quality education for Hawai'i's children.

One of the program's initiatives is a military culture course offered to public school teachers so that they can familiarize themselves with issues and concerns regarding military transience and other issues involving military families. However, the course is not mandatory. Also, although the program financially supports educational needs and upgrades for heavily impacted military schools, their mission and initiative statements do not suggest that they currently sponsor programs that specifically address the emotional or social needs of students transferring to Hawai'i.

In addition to this community/school partnership and program, the Military Child Education Coalition (MCEC) also offers suggestions and extends assistance to school districts interested in making military children's transitions easier. The mission statement from the MCEC website states:

The MCEC is working to solve the challenge of helping schools and military installations to deliver accurate, timely information to meet transitioning

parent and student needs and in the development and education of children from military families. Our purpose is to share information in order to develop systems and processes to resolve transition issues for military students.³³

This program requires that the superintendent of schools, the school system governing boards, and the installation commanders become actively involved in the transitional needs of military students.

Culturally responsive teaching also has the potential to mitigate the current racially charged environment in Hawai'i's public schools. As explained by Geneva Gay in her book, *Culturally Responsive Teaching*, "using the cultural knowledge, prior experience, frames of reference, and performance of styles of ethnically diverse students [makes] learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them."³⁴ The following recommendations suggest how teachers in Hawai'i can include African Americans as a part of the Hawai'i school curriculum to educate all students about the history of African Americans. First, educators can explain both that African American response to racism is linked to a historical past and that the use of the word "nigger" and other symbols connected to racial stereotyping is devastating and hurtful. Perhaps as local teachers and students gain a stronger understanding of the connections between history and language, such understanding can help reduce racial tensions. Miles M. Jackson has suggested that including historical facts regarding African American history in Hawai'i may serve as an effective tool for Hawai'i's multicultural classrooms.³⁵ As local communities are not always aware of the history of African Americans in Hawai'i, Jackson suggests that teachers might consider the following when designing curriculum:

- African American history is a valuable asset for all children, and the history of Blacks living in Hawai'i is most important for Hawai'i students who wish to understand fully the history that formed contemporary Hawai'i. When Blacks came to the Islands as both former slaves and freemen, they included in their ranks talented tailors, blacksmiths, musicians, and masons, and the contributions that these talented individuals made to Hawai'i's society helped form our community as it exists today.
- Booker T. Washington, founder and president of Tuskegee Institute, was one of few who spoke out against the unfair take-over of Hawai'i's land and government.

- Blacks have found a home in Hawai'i despite the negative stereotypes held by some nineteenth century Mainland settlers in Hawai'i and the continuance of those stereotypes into the twentieth century. History has recorded the considerable accomplishments of over 30 noted African Americans as being nationally and internationally noteworthy.
- Multicultural education should be part of any curriculum, but, all too often, it is not. That omission, in itself, is a worthwhile topic for discussion in any classroom.

Summary

These reflections expressed by the students, teachers, and principals demonstrate that, unfortunately, insensitivity is practiced in Hawai'i public schools through the use of racial slurs and through the subtle, or not so subtle, isolation of African American students. Racial insensitivity injures any community as it discourages the intellectual and creative growth in a community. Most of those who participated in this study enjoy Hawai'i as a place to visit, but, living here, they feel isolated and are ready to leave when their "time is up." Issues of tolerance and transience are serious concerns of students, teachers, and principals and should be addressed both to bridge the gap between cultures, to provide an easier transition for the African American military children entering Hawai'i public schools, and to encourage the growth of an enthusiastic and productive multicultural community in Hawai'i.

The literature and research on multicultural curriculum as presented by JVEF, MISA, and MCEC strongly suggests that schools can greatly benefit from quality multicultural instruction that can alleviate the difficulties of cultural and social transition. By creating smoother transitions for African American students and parents coming to Hawai'i, such instruction can eliminate stereotypical responses and thus help to alleviate racial conflict. With multicultural education, the cultural and political experiences of different ethnic groups can offer all students and educators an awareness of the essential tools of both tolerance and intellectual curiosity that are so necessary for a functional democratic society. In his book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, Derrick Bell writes:

Black people are the magical faces at the bottom of society's well. Even the poorest Whites, those who must live their lives only a few levels above, (as well as other minorities), gain self-esteem by gazing down on us. Surely, they

must know that their deliverance depends on letting down their ropes. Only by working together is escape possible. Over time, many reach out, but most simply watch, mesmerized into maintaining their unspoken commitment to keeping us where we are, at whatever cost to them or to us.³⁶

In Hawai'i, African American military children still stare up from the bottom of the well. They, like all children everywhere, should instead be drawing water up from the well and carrying that water to moisten the roots of plants that will feed us all. ♦

Notes

1. Kimberly Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Thomas Kendall, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New York: New York Press, 1995).
2. Ibid., 103.
3. Ibid., xiii.
4. Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Perseus Book Group, 1992).
5. Gloria Ladson-Billings synthesizes several definitions and viewpoints of critical race theory, multiculturalism, and diversity in the article, "Preparing Teachers for Diverse Student Populations: A Critical Race Theory Perspective," *Review of Research in Education* 24 (1999): 211–247.
6. Richard Delgado, ed., "Words that Wound: A Tort Action for Racial Insults, Epithets, and Name-calling," *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982, 1995), 159–168.
7. Miles M. Jackson, *And They Came: A Brief History and Annotated Bibliography of Blacks in Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Four-G Publishers, 2001), 43.
8. Federal Survey Card 2001–2002 gives data regarding the demographics of all fifty states.
9. Michael Omni and Howard Winant, "New Wave Dread: Immigration and Intra-third World Conflict," *Socialist Review* 60 (1991): 77–87.
10. Michael Haas, "The Hawaiian Multicultural Ethos: Aloha, What is it and How did it Develop?" (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Department of Political Science, Working Paper Series 1.1, 1992).
11. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 April 1999.
12. Ibid.
13. Gary Kubota, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 15 January 1999; Susan Kreifels *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 April 1999; Lori Tighe *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 April 1999.

14. The high school teacher requested to be anonymous in any published version of his remarks.
15. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 15 January 1999.
16. "Letters to the Editor," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 6 May 1999.
17. Ibid.
18. In his 1994 text, Banks explains that in a modern society if ethnic minority groups keep their cultural characteristics, or if after a group has established cultural assimilation, either group is then denied full participation by the dominant culture group, cultural conflicts will arise.
19. Kimetta R. Hairston, "Somewhere Under the Rainbow," *Race and Gender: African American Military Students in Hawai'i Public Schools* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2004).
20. Ibid.
21. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Hawai'i State and County Quick Facts* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2002).
22. Jackson, 43.
23. Hawai'i Department of Education, Hale Kula Elementary school description, <http://www.doe.k12.hi.us/reports/schoolwebpages> (accessed 10 March 2003).
24. Military Impacted School Association (MISA) works with schools that have large military student populations. Although the schools do not have to be Department of Defense schools, they are often on or near military installations.
25. Hairston.
26. Ibid., 180.
27. Ibid., 183.
28. Ibid., 184.
29. Ibid., 173.
30. Ibid., 169.
31. Ibid., 180.
32. Allen Awaya, "Hawai'i Military Impacted Schools and Programs to Assist with Student Transitions," paper presented at the 2003 Hawai'i Educators Research Association (HERA) conference, <http://www.ahawaya0@hq.pacom.mil> (accessed 10 March 2003).
33. The services of the Military Child Education Coalition (MCEC) are available to all military branches of service. This organization is responsible for the dissemination of information and for the operation of programs that can assist military families with children in public schools.

34. Geneva Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, & Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000).
35. Jackson, 44.
36. Derrick Bell, along with Alan Freeman, was one of the first legal theorists to branch out and form Critical Race Theory (CRT), and thus is often considered to be the father of CRT.

Striving Towards Community

MILES M. JACKSON

Establishing community among African Americans in Hawai'i has not proved to be an easy task. Historically, the small population of Blacks has been one that is widely dispersed and without cultural focus. Without an existing Black residential community in Hawai'i, such as Los Angeles, many Blacks feel a strong need to identify as an ethnic community, especially as many live in interracial families and have become integrated into multiracial communities. Consequently, Blacks have come together to form various social and service organizations honoring Black community in Hawai'i.¹

Established in the mid-1940s, one of the first Black community organizations was the Wai Wai Nui Club, an all Black women's service group. Although no longer in existence, the club was previously active in a variety of community activities that included service to local hospitals and the mentoring of teenage girls. In 1979, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, first established at Howard University in 1908 became the first all-Black graduate chapter of a "Greek-letter" sorority to be established in Honolulu. The first African American fraternity had been established at Cornell University in 1906. Other all-Black "Greek-letter" societies with chapters incorporated in Hawai'i include: Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Delta Sigma Theta sorority, Zeta Phi Beta sorority, Phi Beta Sigma fraternity, and Omega Psi Phi fraternity. These fraternities and sororities provide important social and professional networks for their members. As Blacks were not initially allowed to join White "Greek-letter" societies, which existed as an integral part of American higher education,² the establishment of Black fraternities and sororities allowed Black students to create and to enjoy the social and professional networks necessary for the successful integration of graduates into those jobs for which they had been trained.

Many members of these fraternal societies are typically leaders in their communities and those who belong to graduate chapters are dedicated to a lifelong commitment to community service. In Honolulu, graduate members perform a variety of community services designed to strengthen community.

Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA), for example, grants college scholarships to Hawai'i high school graduates. In 2003, the sorority awarded \$20,000 in scholarships with money raised through various fund-raising projects in the community, including a dinner dance. Other activities undertaken locally by alumni chapters include mentoring young men and women of high school age, organizing an annual diabetes alert, sponsoring economic empowerment clinics for women, and feeding the homeless at the Institute for Human Services.³

Since 1947, Whites have joined Black "Greek letter" organizations in academic communities at the undergraduate level.⁴ These White students, seeking membership in Black fraternities and sororities, come from urban neighborhoods, middle-America and even from the once segregated South. Some grew up surrounded by Black culture and African Americans while others had very little opportunity to become acquainted with Blacks before college. Although Whites make up only a small percentage of the membership of campus and graduate chapters, their numbers are increasing slowly. The local Hawai'i chapter of AKA is integrated and has had both White and Pacific Island members at various times. Lorna Peck, a past president of AKA, has stated that there is also a noticeable increase of Hispanic members in undergraduate chapters at California colleges. Several young local women from Hawai'i who attended college in California were noted as amongst those who had joined Black sororities.⁵ According to Peck, many of these young women continue their affiliation by joining alumni chapters once they have both graduated and embarked on their careers. One White member of a West Coast graduate chapter stated that she joined the Delta Sigma Theta alumni chapter because: "They were involved in women's rights and being associated with women who are doing things is really important to me."⁶

Founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1946, The Links, Inc.⁷ is a highly visible national African American women's organization with more than 10,000 members in 40 states and several foreign countries. The Hawai'i chapter was founded in the 1980s and today sponsors African American educational and cultural programs on O'ahu. In cooperation with the Honolulu Academy of Arts, The Links, Inc. sponsors an annual "African Safari" for young people where art, music, storytelling and dance are presented by local Black talent. This presentation and sponsorship of African culture has increased the understanding of the Hawai'i-African American community.⁸

The Fraternal Order of Prince Hall Masons has had a lodge sponsored by the California Grand Lodge in Hawai'i for a number of years, but on



Prince Hall Masons, Puuloa Lodge March in 1944, CHA-3. Photo courtesy of University of Hawai'i Archives.



Members of the Lamda Chi Omega Graduate Chapter, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., Honolulu. The Hawai'i Chapter was chartered on March 24, 1978. Photo courtesy of Gwendolyn Johnson.

June 2, 2001, the Hawai'i lodge was dedicated as a separate Grand Lodge.⁹ The Hawai'i Grand Lodge supports all principles of Prince Hall Masonry, including those necessary to build character, to render service to others, and to improve Hawai'i's social, cultural, and economic conditions. The Prince Hall Masons have a long history in the national Black community. In 1775, 15 Blacks were initiated in Boston as members of a British Army Lodge of Freemasons, and in 1784, Prince Hall, one of the group initiated, petitioned the Grand Lodge in England to establish a Black chapter of Masons in Boston.¹⁰ His petition was accepted, and he became the Grand Master of Black Masonry in the United States. Since that time, 4,500 lodges of the Prince Hall Masons have been established worldwide.

The Hawai'i branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a civil rights organization, was established in 1945 as a result of a visit by Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAACP.¹¹ After fielding complaints by Blacks of discrimination at Hawai'i's various military installations, White conducted investigations that included discussions with members of the military and civilian communities. During these discussions, he persuaded leaders to organize a local chapter of the NAACP. Since 1945, although not able to litigate, the local NAACP has had to intervene in cases involving discrimination complaints. This small chapter of the NAACP stands as a reminder in the twenty-first century that although Blacks in Hawai'i may experience fewer problems than African Americans face on the Mainland, discrimination still exists. It is still necessary for the NAACP to keep a watchful eye on these tropical isles. In March 2003, officers of the local chapter announced that due to a recent decline in membership, Hawai'i's chapter had fewer than 50 members and that the chapter was in danger of folding. The local chapter sponsored a membership drive and was successful in increasing the membership to those levels needed to retain its national affiliation. A 2004 banquet had over 300 attendees.

Print and television media activities have also contributed to a better understanding both of Black culture and of difficulties faced by Blacks living in Hawai'i. For the past 20 years, a series of Black newspapers have been published on a monthly basis. *Hawai'i Afro Hawaiian News*, published by the Afro American Association of Hawai'i, was later replaced by *Mahogany*, a privately owned enterprise. This monthly has been consistently published for over a decade and features articles about Blacks in Hawai'i, providing information about individual African Americans, Black organizations, his-

tory of African Americans in Hawai'i, and church news. "Africa Summit," a monthly community access cable television program that is locally produced by members of the African American community, has provided over the last five years intelligent and lively discussions of interest to the general community. It should be noted that there are similar programs broadcast from the Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, Vietnamese and Filipino communities. Such discussion contributes both to the health and to the growth of the Black community here in *Hawai'i nei*. ♦

Notes

1. Lorna Peck, "Ethnic Records Survey Project of African American Organizations in Hawai'i" (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1990).
2. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 781.
3. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 7 April 2003, 37.
4. *Ebony*, December 2000, 75.
5. Lorna Peck, Interview by author, 6 August 2003.
6. *Ebony*, December 2000, 75.
7. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 20 March 2001, F4.
8. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 28 February 2000, 8.
9. *The Masonic Voice* (New York: C.S. Wesley Masonic Research Society, 2003).
10. Allen R. Roberts, *Who Are These Prince Hall Masons?* (Indianapolis: Grand Lodge of Indiana, 1989).
11. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 21 May 1960, 3-4.

Labels: *A Kanaka Maoli* Perspective on the Black Presence in Hawai'i A Conversation

MARSHA ROSE JOYNER
PŌKA LĀENUI

Over the many, miles, years, lifetimes, radio and television shows, activists projects, Pōka and I have talked of many things—"of shoes & ships & sealing wax & cabbage and kings," but never, until this morning in this place—Zippy's—did we discuss Blacks in Hawai'i. In Zippy's, Hawai'i's own local chain restaurant with its cacophony of languages and cultures echoing through the rafters of some contemporary architect's idea of colonial Hawai'i, we exchange ideas. Hopefully, this dialogue between Pōka and myself will pull back the shades covering colonized eyes and discover ways of looking at things through Black and White darkly.

Marsha: What is the impact of colonization on the mixing or the integration of Black people and the Black experience with the Hawaiian experience?

Pōka: It's not only because of colonization that the mix has come about. Time would have still passed, and there would have continued to be interaction even without colonization, but colonization influenced the methods by which people mixed. First of all, colonization by the Americans limited the mix to those dictated by American policy as those who could and who could not come to Hawai'i, at least after 1900. So you see a narrower funnel in terms of who could immigrate to Hawai'i—and that funnel was defined by those present in the United States. So, the Black experience from 1900 up to the present

time has been one filtered through the American colonial funnel. Today, when we talk about the Black experience we automatically refer back to the African American experience rather than the African experience.

Yes, the interaction between the people of Black ancestry coming to Hawai'i interacting with a Hawai'i society was based around rules established by the Americans, but getting back to your original question: what was the impact of colonization on the presence of Blacks in Hawai'i?

It was very large, somewhat defining the mixture. You had the local community. You had a Black community who over a period of time became part of the local community, and so you now have that mixture of different races, your Hawaiian stew. But the chief cook always remained a Yankee stirring the pot—always deciding what the main ingredients were.

The choices to come and to remain were made under the influence of colonization because Americans controlled the economic system, the military assignments, and the rest, but that is not to say that there were no other impacts. The receptivity of the local people to new comers is another factor, and the mixture of White cultures, Asian cultures, and Black cultures, also played a role in reinterpreting the American Colonial experience—in a particular Hawaiian way. So, while you have colonization as a major impact, you also had the Hawaiian local culture as another contributing factor.

I guess, if we go back to the kitchen, we see that the chief cook is a Yankee, but he has to deal with certain ingredients that he had to mix in. So, while we may have had a lot of sugar coming from California, we also had maybe vinegar and shoyu put into the brew that continues to leave a very distinctive taste. Some find it very offensive, and they leave; they don't want to partake of the *lū'au*. Others enjoy it very much. So, it's really a mix of colonial as well as historical and indigenous flavors here in Hawai'i.

Marsha: Well, let's go back to prior times—say, before 1900—when we have a migration of the people from Cape Verde, who were not European at all. The Portuguese colonized Cape Verde and called the people Portuguese. The sugar growers needed labor, and, then, someone

came up with this great idea to send these people to Hawai'i because they are acclimated to island life. The climate, the conditions are pretty much the same; they would make pretty good workers. Now, the difference between them and, say, Blacks from the Caribbean is that the Portuguese had mixed with them, so they don't look that African. The Portuguese mixed wherever they went.

Pōka: True and they mixed with everyone.

Marsha: That's one group coming into Hawai'i. Then, you have all the Polynesian and Micronesian and Melanesian migrations—all of which are non-White (and they are dark skinned people)—so that they have a label that doesn't tell a story at all. You look at a person and you say, "Oh, that person is Black," but that doesn't tell the story of who that person is. What I would like to discuss is the experience of those people that came on their own and how that experience might differ from those who were carried here?

Pōka: I think that a major defining difference between the American Blacks and their experience and, that, let's say, of the Portuguese Blacks was the history of segregation. The American experience had heavy segregation, undeniable—the slavery experience and, after that (for a long time after that) continuing segregation and other forms of discrimination.

Marsha: Jim Crow comes to mind.

Pōka: Okay—Jim Crow. The Portuguese Cape Verde experience is not one of segregation or slavery and so that is very clearly a difference. To what extent did the Portuguese, both Blacks and Whites, mix within the Hawaiian society and become Hawaiian—in terms of being very localized? Is there a marked difference between that population and the American Blacks in regards to either their integration, their continued segregation, or identification only as a Black community? I haven't done a comparison between the mixtures, and how well they have mixed. Pre-overthrow, I understand that there had been a lot of very deep mixing by the other Blacks.

I know—let's make a comparison—in terms of timelines—between Hawai'i and the United States. Take the year 1839, a very significant year. A Spanish trading ship, the *Amistad*, is found drifting in the Atlantic Ocean and is brought into an American harbor

in Connecticut. The Blacks, who spoke only their native tongue were on the ship, the *Amistad*. Were they free, or were they slave? Were they human beings or property? The decision had to go all the way up to the Supreme Court, and that decision was based on the accident of their birth. If they were born in a particular territory that allowed slavery, they were still property. If they were born in a free territory, they were considered to be free. The decision was made that they were actually from a free territory in Africa, they were free. At least, that's how I recall the television show.¹

Same year, 1839, in Hawai'i, Kamehameha III adopts the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which states, "God hath made of one blood all nations of man, to dwell on the face of the earth, in unity and blessedness. God hath also bestowed certain rights alike² on all men and all people of all lands." So, what he said is that there is not such thing as slave or free—every person in Hawai'i is free, is equal, King and commoner. I think that snapshot of time in two separate places reflects the underlying attitude of the place, here in Hawai'i as opposed to Connecticut or the United States.

So to get back to your question, could a person come here and become part of the society irrespective of their color or past history and be treated with equality, be measured as a human being rather than as a color or a religion? Very clearly Hawai'i was a more welcoming place and more accepting of people from different lands.

Marsha: There was this rumor (proven to be untrue) about Kalākaua's father being Black, but the rumor persists.

Pōka: In Hawai'i, skin color, as far as I know, had very little importance to Hawaiians. That rumor of Kalākaua as having a Black father was spread by the Missionary boys, the Missionary Party. What they tried to do was to transplant a White attitude of superiority, racial superiority, as an attack on two things. First, they mounted an attack on people with different skin colors, using and trying to transplant their prejudices that came from America onto the Hawai'i society. At the same time, they attempted to destroy the genealogical line of Kalākaua.³

In Hawaiian cultural and political routine, genealogy was a very important factor. Therefore, Kalākaua's needed to establish his

high genealogy as an elected king. He went back to the Kumulipo, a highly reported genealogical tracing of the Hawaiian people, to establish his long line of genealogy here in Hawai'i. The Missionary Party's attempt to attack Kalākaua played on downgrading his genealogy and, on top of that, labeling it with their own racial prejudice. They cooked up this story of a Black who fathered Kalākaua.

Marsha: But that rumor was unfounded.

Pōka: Well, one source says that this person who was supposed to have fathered Kalākaua left Hawai'i about two to three years before he was even born.⁴

Marsha: Kalākaua was faced with racism even when he traveled abroad.

Pōka: When Kalākaua circled the globe (the first head of state to circle the globe) and went to Portugal, the newspapers there represented him as an African man rather than as a Polynesian because they had no other image of him, but what they didn't have to do was to have him stirring this huge kettle of Portuguese inside as if he was ready to eat them! That was a little more than what was necessary. Once he arrived in Portugal, he came off the ship wearing the finest European clothing while in the cartoon he was half naked. He spoke the "King's English" and Portuguese! I don't know how fluent he was, but he reportedly spoke nine different languages. His fine showing shook the Portuguese society and brought about an opportunity to change the image.

What does this tell us? It tells us that the experience of Blacks in Hawai'i is really a human experience far beyond the racial labeling that we often times place it within. We really have to see it at a larger human level, looking at how human beings with different experiences interrelate.

Marsha: We are really getting into labels here. You and I understand the difference in "Hawaiian" and the society of Hawai'i. My relationship with the Hawaiians as an indigenous group of people is totally different than my experience in the broader community of Hawai'i. Is that totally off track?

Pōka: No, I don't think so. I think, again, it calls for distinctions. We have what I call the Hawaiian society; we have what you have called

the Hawai'i society; and we also have the American society here in Hawai'i. When I say the Hawaiian society, I think that it is still to a large extent a Hawaiian society with a heavy imprint of American colonization over that society. Americans would rather call it the Hawai'i society so that they can move it farther away from the nationalistic idea of Hawaiian society by declaring Hawai'i society as part of the United States.

Okay—so what is the Hawai'i society, as distinct from the Hawaiian society? I think, that the Hawai'i society is a greater mixture that feels the uncertainty of “Yes, we were annexed, we are a state and we are supposed to be part of the United States” with a tugging back to a “but”: But it was illegal; it was inappropriate; we are in an island situation, not part of the continent. So, in the Hawai'i society, there is continuing tension.

What is American society here in Hawai'i? When you go to the military bases and you might go to certain American clubs that begin with the pledge of allegiance, the American flag, those people you find there are the colonist settlers in Hawai'i who carry colonization in their mentality. There are other pockets that are American here in Hawai'i where there is no difference, except geography, that distinguishes “here” from the continental United States. Hawai'i Public Radio is a good example of one of those pockets. Most of their programming, as you know, comes from America. The radio station is just physically located in Hawai'i. That's American Society here in Hawai'i.

Marsha: Is that any different from the Samoan Community that is very strong in their insular community? The way that they worship, the way that they dress, speaks to their own customs and hierarchy.

Pōka: I think there is a difference in degree, but in quality, it is within the same panorama of experiences. In the Black experience in Hawai'i, there are those who have integrated into the Hawaiian society and into the Hawai'i Society as well as those who remain in Black America while living here in Hawai'i. Now, Samoan society is very similar. There are Samoans who have come here who continue to live here as if it were Samoa in Hawai'i and Samoans who live in Hawaiian society while recognizing they are Samoans. So, that is

the similarity. The difference is that the Samoan culture still has a deeper history more closely related to Hawai'i because of geography, timeframe, and the similarity of the Hawaiian culture as opposed to those African Americans coming here. They have been far removed from the African experience, and often times their experiences have been translated through a “Yankee-ized” expression of those experiences.

Marsha: Yes, because with slavery, too many languages, dreams, heroes were all erased from the oppressed mind. The re-creation of that reality—the re-discovery of all that—during these last 50 or 60 years of re-discovery is still filtered through a colonized mind. Now, we are back to my original question: “Are we looking at this through colonized eyes?”

Pōka: I don't think we look all the time with necessarily “colonized” eyes, yet we cannot avoid the education and the experience that we come from. Yes, we are heavily impacted by colonization, but that does not mean we are forever blinded by it. When you talk about the 50 or 60 years of recent experience of the Blacks of America trying to recover or recoup African traditions, culture, or frame of mind, that discussion calls to mind something that has been going on in Hawai'i for the last 20 years. A process of decolonization, as I call it. When I use that term, I am talking not only about the political decolonization of Hawai'i, but also about the economic, social and cultural decolonization of this place. We can apply the same principals to the Black experience—the American Black experience—in terms of decolonization, a process not necessarily as heavily political as in Hawai'i, but one that is certainly similar to the cultural and the economic decolonization that is going on here. The first stage of decolonization occurred in Hawai'i (and is still occurring) during the last 20 or more years as a period of recovery and rediscovery. Blacks experienced that first stage 50 or 60 years ago—coming face to face with the colonial period, the slave period, going through the trials of that confrontation, and trying to get back to roots. Following that first stage in both the Hawaiian and Black experience, we have had—and we have heard—the great mourning, the second phase, the weeping, the anger, the striking out that has also been expressed in the different Black movements, especially the more

strident movements. In Hawai'i, there are also very strident movements, but, now, we are seeing more exploratory even-paced reviews, attempts to understand history not from the position of victimized, but from a broader understanding of how societies work and how human beings operate. In Hawai'i, I call that phase "the dreaming phase." I don't know what one might call that in the Black experience.⁵

Marsha: I think it is more like discovering that we have heroes.

Pōka: I think that that is part of it.

Marsha: We need to discover that there really were people of our color that we can look up to, people who were pioneers—that we weren't always victims.

Pōka: I think that that is part of recovery and rediscovery but still a small part. The heroes that you might discover—and maybe I don't understand enough of the Black experience—are heroes within a slave history or a slave past. The real recovery and rediscovery comes about not only in the glorification of the heroes of that slave history but with the celebration of the heroes of Africa who developed science and philosophy and religion. That's the kind of Black experience that needs to be revived because the memory of that reality has been so completely lost to the American Blacks.

Marsha: I was just thinking in terms of *They Followed the Trade Winds* and looking at the known Blacks in Hawai'i. Discovering them imbues us with a sense of pride. To know that here were some people—in spite of whatever handicap this color presents—who were able to become a part of the fabric of Hawai'i and contribute to the community. That is part of the underlying message of the book.

Pōka: It seems to me that for those Blacks in Hawai'i who have been here for a long time, those whose families are generational in Hawai'i, do not have such need to find glorification for identity. Blacks who have recently come from America, those who have grown up under the oppression of pride, may need to find some basis of pride. They will look at the American Revolution and count the Black soldiers who also fought for freedom in order to experience this pride, and, then when they come to Hawai'i, they try to transfer that kind of

pride experience to the Hawaiian experience. But, it seems to me, that there is a difference in long-time families of Hawai'i Blacks, as opposed to the American newcomers and the need that they have.

Marsha: There is—for families like the Crocketts, for example. Since 1901, the Crocketts have been an integral part of the community.⁶

Pōka: And there is no question about that—it is known. There is no denying them, these long timers.

Marsha: The same is true on the Wai'anae Coast with the Lovings; everybody knew about Floyd Loving and his family. There are many of those families—you are right—their needs are different. Fifty or sixty years maybe, the Lovings knew...⁷ My grandchildren don't have the same need.

Pōka: Probably your children also. They have been raised in Hawai'i without the colonist experience, the slave experience. Historically, they have been told that there was slavery, and they may be descendants of slaves, but because of the change in geography, that knowledge is not necessarily carried as a burden.

Marsha: That is not exactly true. They do have a need! One of the nicest things...when Shaina was in Pre-school—the new school on the Wai'anae Coast....

Pōka: Ka'maile.

Marsha: Ka'maile. In the first grade, the teacher asked every student to find their place of origin on the map. Shaina found Africa. She came home so proud that she was from the largest Continent in the world. I had never looked at it like that. That was what she got in that little mixed school. "Origin" had meaning because you could touch it. So, I think that you are almost right. There isn't the same need for something else, yet need still exists.

Pōka: I think that also members of the Hawai'i society, although colonized and "Americanized," were very much cheering for the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s—even probably to a degree that the racial persuasion was more anti-White and pro-Black.

Marsha: It is.

Pōka: I can't remember an anti-Black sense, but there were strong anti-White strains in the Hawai'i society. I remember in Wai'anae High School we had a White boy who came from Georgia in the early 1960s, and I remember the discussions, or the verbal attacks calling him out... How could anyone possibly defend the policies of George Wallace and others?

Marsha: And "Kill Haole Day" at school.

Pōka: Yeah, but I am speaking more in terms of that specific issue of segregation and that experience. The local kids were very much in-line with the desegregation efforts.

Marsha: When we first came here in the 1940s, there were only two places where Blacks could go—both on Hotel Street. The place was totally segregated under military rule. Could you use the military beach in Mā'ili?

Pōka: For a time it was off limits; it's changed over time.

Marsha: I mean, as a child could you?

Pōka: We had to sneak onto the beach. Under Hawaiian law, the beach is free, but we couldn't come up on the stonewall and into their area. So, yes, it was clearly segregated, but after a while, they began to liberalize it. But I don't know if it was a race issue, or if it was a military/civilian issue.

Marsha: I don't know either; that's why I am asking.

Pōka: Often times I would see it as a military issue substituting for race objectives.

As we examine these issues, such as the Black presence in Hawai'i (or any people's integration into an existing society), we might ask ourselves what categories, or areas, we need to focus on, so that our discussion can become more than a simple examination, so that it might serve as a model for reviewing the Black presence in another society or for reviewing any other presence within another society. We are talking about people of different cultures or different backgrounds, or different colonial experiences (or non-colonial experiences) and how they mix as settlers with cultures of other people. How do immigrants come into societies and how are they

accepted? Is this a comparison only of the immigrant or settler population, or is it also a comparison of inter-mixtures of within existing populations. What are the codes within societies that allow people to be more accepting of newcomers? What are the codes that lead to the rejection of newcomers? What codes exist within a society of an immigrant population that allow that society to become more integrated or more segregated? Those are the things that we need to begin to identify.

Marsha: You said something very interesting just now that we have not touched on. From your side of the table, we are part of the immigration. From my side of the table, we are not immigrants. I hadn't thought about that until you said that.

Pōka: Colonial immigrants into indigenous or new territories never see themselves as immigrants—or as invaders. However, they arrive, as slaves, free people, military, all who come in are, nonetheless, immigrants in the eyes of the indigenous community. Whether the immigrant is colonial or invited immigrant, it's still immigrant. When they stay, they become settlers. How can we separate the differences between one immigrant population as opposed to another? There are those who continue to carry the colonial attitudes—Americans in Hawai'i, for example—and those who become integrated and become members of the Hawai'i society or even the Hawaiian society.

Marsha: But when you are a part of the conquering group, like the American military, you don't see yourself as such.

Pōka: Yes, even Black soldiers have that mentality of conquest. They become encapsulated American colonials. Unless they understand, and see deeper into what is happening, they themselves simply play the American game whether they are Black or White. Even Hawaiians go through this process in the military and absorb this same mentality.

Marsha: I know that my husband and others have ribbons for serving in Occupied Japan. They have special military ribbons for being a member of the occupying force.

Pōka: We need to find those factors, or emblems of history and culture, that allow us either to integrate or to remain separate. If we examine any

immigrant population, we might ask: Are they coming from a colonial history, a segregationist history. Looking at the Black population in Hawai'i, we might wonder: Are they in contact with their African roots, or are they merely transplanted Americans who claim to be African Americans with some distinction but in essence colored by their American experience? Are these immigrants integrating into or merely coming upon the lands of an indigenous community?

Marsha: The African Americans could be considered a "new people."

Pōka: Yes, to see "the new people" both as an immigrant people to a new land, and to look at the people that have never moved, but have become a new people by the wiping away of their memories and bringing in a different economy, different races.

We begin with things that are familiar and, then, proceed through the unfamiliar to deeper places. As we categorize people into different situations, different experiences, different timeframes, and different races or cultures and as we try to make comparisons, I think the most useful categorization is of the humanity that is inside this particular inquiry. We may be looking at two groups, but beyond that, this exploration should give us at least a key to the human experience of inter-mixing and to the many different possibilities or varieties of human beings that result from that inter-mixing, but, also, we run the danger of becoming too much the observer, not the observed. If we deal too much with numbers and we do not look at values, then we lose the opportunity to really study the way people do and perhaps should interact. We are, then, more descriptive of what happened, and we let go of the dreaming opportunities that can lead us to new principles by which we might interrelate with other human beings, opening a discussion first of the principles required of human beings integrating with other human beings, whether as an invader, as colonizer, or as occupier and then, of rules of ethics necessary as you move into these new policies, or as your government moves into these new policies.

I think that the intellectual community has failed to provide guidance for governmental activities; they have become more the researcher, providing the information that allows governments to continue on, without giving guidance or governing principles. Per-

haps, this discussion can provide a foundation for formulating these new governing principles.

Marsha: So do you see this as the beginning of a new dialogue?

Pōka: I don't see this as the beginning—it's a beginning. I do see that. ❖

Notes

1. In fact, the Africans had taken possession of the vessel and were asserting that they had been kidnapped, that they had never been slaves. Ruiz and Montez, Spanish subjects aboard the ship, claimed that these Africans were their slaves, but, in reality, the Africans had been placed aboard the *Amistad* by Spanish slave traders, in direct contravention of the treaties between Spain and Great Britain, and in violation of the laws of Spain. The court was examining the case, I do believe, with the Treaty of 1821 in mind, looking at issues of property and salvage. The two Spaniards had produced documents declaring these people as their property, but those documents were ruled to be fraudulent and, therefore, inadmissible as evidence. Without official documentation of the people as property and because the Africans were in control of the ship and asserting their freedom, the court ruled that these people were never the property of Montez and Ruiz and that they were indeed kidnapped Africans. Therefore, as the slave trade had been abolished by Spain and, as these men and women were African-born, they were entitled to their freedom by the laws of Spain (editor).
2. The Hawaiian text reads *waiwai*, meaning "value or worth"; *ho'waiwai*—to enrich; to bring prosperity. See Lilikalā Kame'eleihewa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).
3. John Blossom, coachman for Queen Emma, is rumored to have fathered Kalākaua. In her book *Kalākaua: Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1995), 151–152, Helena G. Allen discusses the genealogical "trial" of Kalākaua—the case of these rumors was "tried" only in the press and on the streets—that could have contributed to his political demise. See also Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968), 284; Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 132, 147. Dougherty offers yet another rumor that names John Poppin, a coachman, as the so-called "secret" lover of Kalākaua's mother.
4. During the genealogical "trial" of Kalākaua, "it was revealed that John Blossom arrived in Hawai'i with his family in 1850 when Kalākaua was in his teens." Allen, 152.
5. The stages of colonization and decolonization Pōka Lānui addresses here are expanded on in his essay "Processes of Decolonization," *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie Battiste (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000).

6. William Crockett arrived on Maui in January 1901 from Montgomery, Alabama. See Miles M. Jackson's discussion of Crockett in *And They Came: A Brief History and Annotated Bibliography of Blacks in Hawai'i* (Durham: Four-G Publishers, 2001), chap. 3. See also, Daphne Barbee-Wooten and Miles M. Jackson, "The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i," in this volume.
7. Floyd Loving arrived in Honolulu in the early 1940s. He married a local Hawaiian, and together they operated a successful "country store" on the Wai'anae Coast for over 30 years.

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The literature of the Black diaspora and Hawai'i is slowly evolving. This listing, as eclectic as it is, supplements the sources that are cited by each contributing author.

If the reader needs to explore more in-depth bibliography, I recommend my manuscript, *African Americans in Hawai'i: A Bibliography* (Honolulu: 1999), which lists books, thesis, journal and magazine articles, newspaper articles, unpublished archival sources, films and videos. Also, there is an extensive bibliography in my *And They Came: A Brief History and Annotated Bibliography of Blacks in Hawai'i* (Durham: Four-G Publishers, 2001).

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