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NO MORE A CHRISTIAN NATION: THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN TERRITORIAL HAWAI'I, 1898-1919

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NO MORE A CHRISTIAN NATION: THE PROTESTANT CHURCH
IN TERRITORIAL HAWAI’I, 1898-1919

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY
DECEMBER 1983

By
Mark Edward Gallagher

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Hawaiian phrase mahalo nui loa, thank you very much, is appropriate I believe in a study such as this one to sum up my appreciation for all those who contributed to bringing this study to completion. The final product, with any shortcomings, is of course my own.
ABSTRACT

The title "No More a Christian Nation" was chosen to indicate that by 1898 not only was Hawai'i no longer a nation, it was no longer the missionary success story it had been in the mid-nineteenth century. A key focus of this study is the Protestant Church's response in the years 1898 to 1919 to its changed status and to changed conditions.

Protestant leaders declared the need for a new missionary era and launched a concerted effort in the early 1900s to reverse decades of steady decline. Political sentiments, mainland support, intra-Protestant relationships, theology, organizational changes and a demographic shift from Hawaiians to Asian immigrant groups all had a bearing on what proved to be a turning point for the Protestant Church in Hawai'i. This study examines the role each of these factors had in shaping the history of the Protestant Church in the period 1898 to 1919.

This study also analyzes the Protestant Church's perspective on what it viewed as important religious, social, economic and political currents in Hawai'i's society. It is suggested that just as the Protestant Church reversed its numerical fortunes in the period 1898 to 1919, it also became more self-assured about helping to influence the development of Hawai'i's society.
Historical, demographic, religious and sociological works providing a framework for a study on the Protestant Church in Hawai'i were consulted. Materials dealing with religion in Hawai'i were examined. Extensive use was made of denominational journals and publications, church reports, church minutes and church membership statistics. Interviews were conducted to obtain needed interpretations of certain events and to supplement the written material.
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ABCFM American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

HEA Hawaiian Evangelical Association

HMCS Hawaiian Mission Children's Society

NOTES ON HAWAIIAN WORDS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the history of the Protestant Church in Territorial Hawai'i from 1898 to 1919. There are two basic foci to this study. In the first focus, on the Protestant Church itself, a comparative examination will be made of the major Protestant groups in Hawai'i. These groups comprised a significant, identifiable percentage of Hawai'i's population in the Territorial period. This first focus will include research on the theological beliefs of the various churches, on their membership and leadership, on their goals and activities, and on their relationship with each other. An important part of this focus will be a statistical and reflective analysis of the composition and accomplishments of the Protestant Church in the Islands.

The second focus will seek to place the Protestant Church in Hawai'i within its broader historical context. It will not only build upon the first focus but will in turn help give direction to the examination of the Protestant Church itself. An underlying theme of this study is implied by its title. In 1863 the governing body of the major Protestant denominations in the Islands declared Hawai'i to be a Christian nation. In 1898 the
United States annexed Hawai'i. During the intervening thirty-five years Hawai'i underwent a number of significant changes that adversely affected the Protestant Church in Hawai'i. The question to be pursued is how did the Protestant Church respond in the early 1900s to its changed status and to changed conditions. The broader context in which this question will be examined includes the Protestant Church's attitude toward other religious groups in Hawai'i and its response to the dramatic demographic changes occurring in Hawai'i. The broader context also involves the Protestant Church's response to other social, economic and political currents present in Territorial Hawai'i. Its stance and activities with regard to Hawai'i's power structure, moral issues, ethnic-related issues, plantation laborers, and local government are among the currents worthy of analysis.

Sociologist Bernard Hormann has indicated the difficulty Hawai'i's complex religious situation presents to anyone wishing to research the subject. After reviewing the religious situation, he concluded in his article "Towards a Sociology of Religion in Hawaii" that: "I think I have indicated enough of the religious complexity to suggest that almost every kind of problem in the sociology of religion might be investigated in Hawaii."¹ This study's foci can be seen as an effort to
pursue one of the problems Hormann deemed worthy of investigation in Hawai'i's multi-religious society:

One recognizes in Hawaii that the religious organizations themselves have the problem of maintaining their own integrity. The strategies Christian and Buddhist churches and sects work out in defending and advancing themselves in this cosmopolitan society bear careful and constant scrutiny. 

The absence of any comprehensive work on the history of the Protestant Church in Territorial Hawai'i can be inferred from the University of Hawai'i's former Hawaiian Collection curator, David Kittleson in his "Bibliographic Essay on the Territory of Hawaii, 1900-1959." Kittleson wrote that

In spite of the formative role of religion in Island history and in spite of the great diversity of religious beliefs extant in modern Hawaii there have been few surveys of religious activities down through the years. Mulholland's work is primarily a review of Island religious groups and Zeigler offers only a glimpse of late Territorial religious life. However there are detailed studies of a number of sects. 

While there have been studies of other major religious groups in Territorial Hawai'i, Protestantism is the missing link for the foundation necessary for an all-encompassing work on Hawai'i's religious history during this period. 

This study's focus on Protestant Christianity follows in the wake of many similar emphases by historians of the American religious scene. Particular note can be taken
of Sydney Ahlstrom, who even in his inclusive Religious History of the American People, spoke of the attention he gave to Protestant Christianity:

My emphasis on the continuing influence of Puritanism, or on the long and oppressive dominance of the Protestant Establishment, or on the wearing and tearing of doctrinal controversy and denominational competition does not identify this work with the so-called 'Protestant synthesis,' which often made church history an adjunct of theology and apologetics, or even evangelism. My concern, rather, is simply to delineate the rise, heyday, and decline of certain major elements of the American experience.5

Protestantism is at the same time both a cohesive body and a collection of divergent entities. In an effort to avoid missing the bigger picture because of being lost in the maze of the different Protestant groups, many who have written about the American religious scene have taken the path followed by Dean Hoge and David Roozen who concentrated in their Understanding Church Growth and Decline, 1950-1978 "primarily on Protestant trends, and within the Protestant tradition, primarily on the mainline denominations."6

This study covers the Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran, and, briefly, Baptist denominations. These groups represented the vast majority of the Protestant presence in the Islands during the period studied and as such they accurately reflected Protestant Church activity between 1898 and 1919. While
each of these denominations was part of the Protestant tradition, each maintained a distinct identity in Territorial Hawai'i. They shared much in common but they also at times differed in their strategies and perspectives. The Lutheran Church in particular provides a sharp contrast to the main current of Protestantism in the Islands during the Territorial era.

The chronological heart of this study is the critical period 1898 to 1919. The reasons for the starting date are fairly obvious. Although strictly speaking Hawai'i became a United States possession in 1898 and an organized territory in 1900, the former date is the significant one in terms of public perception of Hawai'i's status. Annexation in 1898 meant that Hawai'i changed in status from an independent nation to a part of the United States. This shift had religious as well as political repercussions. For instance, there was a period of reaction to the shift among the Hawaiians that affected the Protestant Church, there was a significant transfer of jurisdiction from the Anglican to the Episcopal Church, and there was evidence of a heightened sense of responsibility by denominations on the mainland concerning their respective works in the Islands.

The reasons for picking 1919 as the end of a historical era are not so obvious. No politically significant event occurred in that year, but 1919 was
symbolically significant to the Protestant Church because it marked the end of a century of Protestant activity in the Islands. The years 1919-1920 were a time both of looking back in assessment and looking forward in anticipation. Secondarily, it is also a convenient breaking point, making the next period to consider the two decades leading up to World War II.

The years between 1898 and 1919 were momentous for the Protestant Church in Hawai'i, but the story has remained untold except for isolated bits and pieces. It was a time of change, of challenge, and of action as the Protestant Church came to grips with the reality of its rapidly declining sphere of influence in the Islands and launched a major effort to reverse that trend. The factors contributing to that decline and the Protestant Church's response in the opening decades of the twentieth century are at the heart of the story which follows. In order to give context to the story, it is necessary to spend some time covering the major religious developments leading up to the year 1898. Likewise, for the sake of perspective, an overview of the activity of the Protestant Church through the remaining years of the Territorial period is provided.

Some mention needs to be made about one of the important underpinnings of the study—the statistical data gathered on the various denominations. Much effort was
invested in obtaining and correlating data on churches and church members in an attempt both to fill an information void and to provide a measure of consistency across denominations. Andrew Lind recognized in 1952 that there was a lack of concrete data which could be used to plot trends and test assumptions. Lind wrote that while "it is not improbable that a substantially smaller proportion of the population of Hawaii in 1952 than in 1900 would report themselves as affiliated with any religious sect or denomination," he could only assume this since "no adequate religious census of Hawaii has been conducted for the past fifty years."7

In his article "Religious Statistics of Hawaii, 1825-1972," Hawai'i State Statistician Robert Schmitt spoke of both the dearth of statistical data and the lack of a standard definition of terms for membership comparison purposes. He noted that not until 1972 was a comprehensive survey of religious organization undertaken and that even then it was dependent on figures estimated by church central offices on O'ahu. Schmitt observed that it was extremely difficult to compare the 1972 data with available figures for earlier years because

 incomplete coverage, differing definitions, and gross statistical inaccuracy in some of the historical data has seriously affected their comparability and made it virtually impossible to trace trends with any precision.8
Incomplete coverage, differing definitions and gross statistical inaccuracy were all encountered in the data gathering process for this study. Careful and thorough research, cross-checking and double-checking, along with an acquired familiarity with each denomination's procedures and idiosyncrasies were required to rectify the problems of incomplete and inaccurate data. As for differing definitions, a standard unit of measurement had to be found. The term "membership" is a common term but connotes many things. In one denomination membership can mean only active baptized adults while in another it refers to the community of the church and can include inquirers, non-residents, and children of members. Central Union's 1907 yearbook provides a classic illustration of what a "membership" list can mean:

A most unusual number of letters have been given this year, mostly to members who are residing permanently away from Honolulu. Also a very large number have been placed on the Retired List, mostly of persons whom we have not heard from for over two years, some of whom may be dead.

Fortunately, there is a category of membership, called communicants, which has been widely used by compilers of religious statistics as a uniform measure of a church's size. Communicant membership is the unit of measurement that will be utilized in this study. Sociologist Tatsunao Yamamori has noted that 'Communicants' is a technical term meaning 'baptized members in good standing.' This category does not
include catechumena, inquirers, sympathizers, church attenders who are not baptized believers, or infants who have been baptized. The 'communicants' of the "paedo-baptist" denominations and the 'members' of the baptist denominations are roughly comparable.  

Communicants is one of the categories used by the Episcopal Church in Hawai'i. Bishop Henry Restarick's 1908 comment is well taken when he stated in this category his denomination counted only 

men and women who have been to the Holy Communion within a reasonable time. The numbers we report show a real and not a paper strength. If this method were followed by the various Christian bodies of the Islands, we should have a more nearly correct idea of religious conditions in Hawaii than we have now.  

Sociologists Nicholas Demerath and Phillip Hammond have noted that church membership in mainline denominations "is frequently a matter of form rather than substance. Ours is increasingly a society of joiners, and for many, church membership may mean little more than another membership in their roster of affiliations."  

Gerhard Lenski has also found that membership does not necessarily equate with a high level of doctrinal orthodoxy, devotionalism or socialization within the church community.  

This being acknowledged, it is still true that membership is an important indicator of some level of one aspect of religious commitment—that of associational involvement. It also has the obvious advantage of being empirically measurable.
By concentrating on communicants, this study attempts to provide a consistent indication of active associational involvement in the Protestant Church in Hawai'i. The communicant category would not be the figures chosen in an effort to impress the reader with the numerical strength of the Protestant Church in Hawai'i. Comparisons done in researching this study indicate that it is not unusual for the Protestant "community" or "constituency" to be two to three times as large as its communicant membership. The point will not be belabored in the chapters which follow, but it should be kept in mind that the usual membership figures cited for the Roman Catholics and Buddhists are most comparable to Protestant constituency figures, while those for the Mormons more closely approximate communicant membership. The problem of consistently comparing the four religious groups awaits a future study.

Many different sources were examined in researching this dissertation. Historical, demographic, religious and sociological works providing a framework for a study on Protestantism in Hawai'i were consulted. Books, dissertations and theses and articles on religion in Hawai'i were examined. Extensive use was made of denominational journals, church reports, minutes, letters, assorted publications and periodicals. Material located in the University of Hawai'i's Hawaiian collection was
the most accessible, but there was a certain satisfaction in coming across valuable information in dusty reports stuck away in hot church storage closets. For needed clarification, analysis and missing information, interviews were conducted with knowledgeable individuals in the various denominations studied.

The Congregational publication *The Friend* was particularly valuable for gaining insights into Protestant Christianity's perception of ideas and events transpiring in Hawai'i that have been touched on in the "broader context" focus of this study. Congregational Church minister Samuel Damon founded the periodical in 1843, thus earning it the appellation "the oldest publication west of the Rocky Mountains." Sereno Bishop, Congregational Church minister and Lahainaluna High School principal, began a fifteen year editorship of the paper in 1887. Bishop's biographer, Lorrin A. Thurston, has noted that by the time Bishop assumed the editorship, "The Friend had become, practically, the unofficial mouthpiece and recorder of the Protestant religious life and progress of the Islands."

Bishop resigned as editor of *The Friend* in 1902 because of advancing age (he was seventy-five). His resignation marked the end of one era and the beginning of another for the paper. Although there had been a close identification of interests between *The Friend* and the
HEA up to this time, the periodical was nevertheless an independent enterprise. When in 1902 Bishop offered to turn the paper over to the HEA, "it was felt at once that the opportunity to secure a paper of the right character and prestige had come; the offer was accepted and a board of editors appointed to carry it on." 16

The approximately twenty-five individuals who served on the paper's editorial board were all men, were all, except for Kawaiha'o pastor Akiko Akana, Caucasians, and were employed in leadership positions with the HEA or with educational or civic institutions. 17 The periodical's editors were themselves all from the leadership ranks of the HEA. 18 It is unlikely then that views expressed in the paper would have varied significantly from those of the church's leadership.

The paper did not have widespread appeal among the general population in the early 1900s. In 1902 HEA treasurer Theodore Richards ascertained that the paper published about four hundred copies, of which 160 were for paid subscriptions. 19 Records in 1915 indicate that the subscription list had risen to about 270. 20 It should be kept in mind that the religious, political and economic forces in Hawai'i in this era were in the hands of a very small group of men. There are unfortunately no subscription lists available for The Friend, but four hundred copies could have more than covered the readership list
of those directing the religious, political and economic processes in Hawai'i. Furthermore, Thurston's observation that The Friend served as the unofficial mouthpiece of Protestant religious life in the Islands remained basically true at least up through 1919. The reasons this was so and also the instances in which it did not apply will become clear in the course of this study.
CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

The Demise of the Hawaiian Religion

At the time of Western contact by Captain James Cook in 1778, Hawaiian religion was an integral element of the indigenous social system. The concept of separation of church and state was absent in Hawai'i. Rather, the economic, political and religious aspects of Hawaiian society were intertwined, with religion a pervasive element. The Hawaiian religious belief system was quite complex and encompassed many gods who were to be feared, worshipped, and when possible, even manipulated. It was a belief system that early Western observers had trouble analyzing, a deficit that was not significantly altered by the writings of nineteenth century Hawaiian historians, who were themselves graduates of a Christian educational system.

As manifestations of religious beliefs, religious practices were easier for the nonadherent to identify and describe. The most pervasive manifestation of the Hawaiians' religious beliefs was the kapu (tabu) system. Indeed, the overthrow of the kapu in 1819 signified the collapse, though not extinction, of the Hawaiian religion. In the main, the kapu were a series of restrictions designed to insure that the gods were not angered by
inappropriate actions and to prevent a loss of mana (power) by those closest to the gods. Since the ali'i (royalty) were the social class who could trace their ancestry to the gods, the kapu in practice functioned to make life easier for them, especially the males. In contrast, the kapu placed many restrictions on the maka'ainana (commoners), especially the females.

The stimulus for cultural innovation can come from within a culture or from the outside, but in considering the abolition of the kapu it is relevant to note anthropologist Melville Herskovits' observation that in most cultures "there can be little doubt that the elements that have been borrowed predominate over those which have originated within." Although the kapu system was overthrown in one decisive event in 1819, that event was really the final act of a play which had been unfolding since at least 1778. Cook's men noted that Hawaiian women were not averse to breaking kapu by eating forbidden foods aboard ship when they thought they were not being watched and by eating in the company of British seamen. Vancouver noted that he got Kamehameha I to violate a kapu in 1794 under the threat of taking his trade and friendship to one of Kamehameha's rivals on another island. With increasing frequency, over a period of forty years, Hawaiians observed sailors, traders, and white residents not only transgress kapu without suffering
adverse consequences from the gods, but also heard them verbally undermine the whole religious system. Word was even received of King Pomare of the Society Islands overthrowing the kapu system there. 6

A radical break with the past did not come, however, until after the death of Kamehameha I, who in the main had been a staunch supporter of the religious system. 7 Upon his death his highest ranking wife, Keopuolani, proclaimed that "he who guarded the gods is dead." 8 A few days later, at the installation of 'Iolani Liholiho as Kamehameha II, Kamehameha I's favorite wife, the strong willed Ka'ahumanu, proclaimed herself kuhina nui (premier) and declared that "for me and my people, we are resolved to be free [from the kapus]." 9 After six months as ruler (and two days at sea drinking), Liholiho overthrew the kapu system by publicly eating with Keopuolani at a feast to which all leading ali'i had been invited. 10 This 'ai noa (free eating) symbolized that the Hawaiian religious system no longer functioned as a key aspect of Hawaiian society. The ruling ali'i ordered the kapu abolished, the heiau (temples) torn down or abandoned, sacrifices and other forms of public worship stopped, and the kahuna (priesthood), as an organized body, disbanded.

In a very real way Liholiho's action severed both a fundamental tie with the past and a thread providing
cohesiveness for Hawaiian society. In response to both internal and external forces, Hawaiian society was then clearly in flux, in need of new principles around which to organize and function. Also accurate, however, was Jarvis' conclusion that religious observances are more easily abandoned than ideas. Another astute observer of Hawai'i's religious situation in the early 1820s noted that the Hawaiians approved the destruction of idols but many were far from renouncing idolatry. It becomes evident that there were two levels of reality in operation in regard to Hawai'i's religious situation in 1819. The practices had been abolished, but the beliefs were not so easily routed. Both of these realities would influence the direction of Hawai'i's history for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The First Missionary Era, 1820-1863

Almost simultaneously with the abolition of the kapu, the first group of Christian missionaries embarked from the east coast of America. The first twenty years of Christianity in Hawai'i are essentially the history of New England Congregationalists and the fruits which their work produced. The first missionary contingent of seventeen adults arrived in Hawai'i on April 4, 1820, committed to spreading Christianity. They found several dynamics operating which were to their advantage.
Something of a religious void had been created by the abolition of the kapu. The ali'i had come to value western goods, technology and power, and they had grown increasingly dependent on foreign advisors. These factors heightened the prospect of being able to fulfill the missionaries' sending agency's injunction to "'Aim at nothing short of . . . raising the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization.'" At the same time these factors made more difficult the injunction to avoid entirely "'All interference and intermingling with the political affairs and party concerns of the nation.'"16

A number of recent studies have pointed out that the missionaries were more prone to observe the spirit than the letter of the law in avoiding any intermingling of church and state in Hawai'i.17 The missionaries, along with their contemporaries, were aware of this issue, with perspectives varying even among those disposed toward the missionaries. Hiram Bingham, the acknowledged spokesman for the early missionaries, contended that they had kept from crossing over the line separating church and state: "Against the union of church and state the missionaries have, from the beginning, carefully and successfully guarded."18 At the same time, however, Bingham also alluded to the reality that the line dividing moral issues and public policy was not always clearcut:
At the Sandwich Islands, church and state have been peculiarly distinct, as the missionaries believed they ought to be, even when they have cooperated for the same end. The state, deriving all its powers from God, both rulers and subjects being bound to do God's will, and its chief magistrate being emphatically God's minister, ought to be, and in an important sense is, a religious institution.\(^{19}\)

Sheldon Dibble, a member of the mission and its historian, agreed with Bingham that the missionaries had sought to prevent a union of church and state. He concluded that, in light of the connection that had existed between the Hawaiian government and Hawaiian religion, the introduction of Christianity resulted in a situation resembling somewhat, what is usually termed, a union between church and state. Such a union did exist to a very considerable extent, notwithstanding the constant endeavors of Missionaries to prevent it, during the reign of Ka'ahumanu, and has not entirely ceased at the present day [1843].\(^{20}\)

Likewise, the 1834 report of the ABCFM stated that under Ka'ahumanu's administration [1819-1832] Christianity became in a certain sense, the established religion of the islands. From the peculiar structure of the government, and the fact that the heads of it were members of the church and zealous for the newly adopted religion, it came to pass that the church and state actually, for a time, united.\(^{21}\)

The close association of church and state opened the door for contemporary criticism by those not connected with the mission. The mission had its share of detractors who for political, commercial or personal reasons opposed
the presence in the Islands of the American Protestant mission. These detractors were quick to charge that the missionaries had overstepped the bounds of religious affairs in their purported desire to control the Hawaiian government. Representative of these critics was the Russian naval officer Otto von Kotzebue, who wrote following his visit to the Islands in the mid-1820s that

He [Bingham] meddles in all the affairs of government, and makes Kahumana and even sometimes Karemaku, the instrument of his will; pays particular attention to commercial concerns, in which he appears to take great interest; and seems to have quite forgotten his original situation and the object of his residence in the islands, finding the avocation of a ruler more to his taste than those of a preacher.22

The issue bears more than passing similarity to the controversy over whether or not Puritan Massachusetts was a theocracy.23 Rufus Anderson, ABCFM Secretary, went so far as to view the situation in Hawai'i during the missionary era as being similar to "what existed in the palmy days of the Israelitish nation, and in the Puritan age of New England."24 There was actually no formal union of church and state in either Puritan New England or in Hawai'i during the missionary era. Both the Puritans in Massachusetts and the Congregationalists in Hawai'i advocated a regenerate church and thus both opposed the concept of a state church. Both, however, certainly believed that the church should make its presence felt upon the state and throughout society.
In Hawai'i, in the period 1820 to 1837, this cooperation took the form of increasing "unofficial" influence by the missionaries in the affairs of the Hawaiian nation. Kamehameha I had earlier demonstrated the value of utilizing Western advisors, technology, and goods. Now, under Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III, the missionaries were able to benefit from their prestige as Westerners advocating a religious system that would in effect replace the discredited Hawaiian religion.

Cultural anthropologist H. G. Barnett has listed missionaries among those who "usually make contact with priests, kings, and aristocrats, hoping to secure the cooperation of these powerful men in gaining popular acceptance of their goals. . . . The theory is good and sometimes it works." The theory Barnett referred to did seem to work in Hawai'i, where the missionaries concentrated their initial efforts on the power structure, the ali'i, in the period 1820 to 1837. This focus evidently came not so much from mission strategy as from the fact that for the first few years the ali'i practically monopolized the missionaries' time.

The missionaries gained powerful advocates for their cause when they converted individuals such as Keopuolani, the sacred wife of Kamehameha I, and Ka'ahumanu, the kuhina-nui of the kingdom from 1819 until her death in
1832. These individuals served as powerful advocates of Protestant Christianity by reason of their personal influence and example. The sympathy of the ali'i for the missionary cause manifested itself in the laws of the land the ali'i promulgated during this period. They implemented, for instance, new laws closely patterned after the Ten Commandments. The expulsion in 1831 by the ali'i of two French Catholic priests who had arrived in 1827 was another clear victory for the Protestant cause. The ali'i demonstrated their value as Christian advocates through the support they gave to the preaching of the gospel. The ali'i also gave crucial support to the development of an extensive educational system which helped lay the groundwork for the diffusion of Christianity into Hawaiian society. The impress of Protestant Christianity on Hawai'i during this period via these avenues was concisely summed up in the ABCFM's 1834 report that

[Ka'ahumanu] threw the whole weight of her influence and authority into the scale of Christian morals and piety. . . . The churches, schools, teachers, and the whole system of religious order and influence leaned, in no small degree, upon the government, the authority of which was freely employed to sustain them.

A period of what can be termed "official influence" by the missionaries in the affairs of state of Hawai'i began in 1838. A request in that year by Kamehamena III for the mission to furnish him an advisor brought to the
surface the tension between "raising the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization" and avoiding "all interference and intermingling with the political affairs and party concerns of the nation."

On the one hand, a general letter from the mission responded to the king's request by stating that "we are not politicians; and if we were, the work to be done does not come into the appropriate sphere of a missionary laboring under the laws and regulations of such a Board as ours."

On the other hand, William Richards resigned from the ABCFM in 1838 to take an important position as advisor to Kamehameha III. By doing so, he became the first of several Protestant missionaries to join the Hawaiian government after officially but nominally separating from the ABCFM mission.

An 1842 letter from the Secretary of the ABCFM to Richards pointed to the reality that the missionaries did not reject their background upon entering the service of the Hawaiian government. In the letter Rufus Anderson noted that Richards was "virtually connected with the mission and with us, though nominally separate."

Soon after his appointment as Kamehameha III's advisor, Richards helped frame Hawai'i's first written constitution in 1840. Richards' influence and missionary background are evident in the first clause of that document when it declares that no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of his word. All laws of the
Further indication of the mission's involvement in the Hawaiian state of affairs is revealed in an 1846 letter from Gerrit P. Judd, former ABCFM member then serving as advisor to Kamehameha III. In his letter to the Secretary of the ABCFM Judd stated that he was reluctant to discuss things which ought not to be known, e.g. the measure of influence possessed by Mr. Richards and myself in the Councils of the nation and over all the other foreign officers, and the plans we have for the future, first to preserve the preponderance of the Hawaiian race; 2d, that of those who owe allegiance to the present Dynasty; and 3d, to keep off all aliens or crush them by wholesome laws impartially administered.

Back in 1826, Bingham had written a letter to the east coast asking for prayers for Hawai'i, "struggling, as it were, into existence as a Christian nation." By 1844 the missionaries' efforts had paid off to the extent that more than one-fifth of the entire population of Hawai'i was in regular church standing. The Secretary of the ABCFM later expressed the opinion that "the islands were converted to Christianity as early as the year 1848. The leading object of the mission was then accomplished." In keeping with this opinion, the ABCFM sent its last company of workers to Hawai'i in 1847, and in 1853 the ABCFM redefined its relationship to the churches in Hawai'i:
That people has now become a Christian nation.
... the Hawaiian nation is a Christian nation.
... The time has come for ... the Board itself and the Committee to recognize the Sandwich Islands as having been virtually Christianized.
... The people of the Sandwich Islands are a CHRISTIAN NATION, and may rightfully claim a place among the Protestant Christian nations of the earth! ... The mission is dissolved; the pastors and all the new institutions of the Islands are placed on the footing of a Christian land; the Board ... renders aid to the churches only as they request it.41

The resultant change from a foreign mission to a home mission signified that Hawai‘i's status was that of a country which was Christianized but was not yet sufficiently advanced economically to be able to pay the whole expense of its religious institutions.42

A "Christian Nation," 1863-1898

By 1863, a total of 128 Protestant missionaries had come to Hawai‘i to advance the cause of Christianity. They had won converts among the key ali‘i and had obtained a large following among the commoners. They had reduced the Hawaiian language to writing and set up an extensive educational system. They had acted in both unofficial and official capacities as advisors to the Hawaiian government. Their beliefs had manifested themselves in both the laws of the land and in the governmental structure itself. It seemed in many ways fitting that in 1863 the ABCFM (prodded by financial retrenchments made necessary by the Civil War) optimistically declared that,
as a "Protestant Christian nation," Hawai'i was no longer to be considered a mission field.43

The ABCFM withdrew from the field in 1863, leaving the work of the churches to the oversight of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.44 ABCFM Secretary Anderson stated with pride a few years later that: "It will be forever true, that the Sandwich Islands were Christianized by evangelical missionaries from the United States; and that, as a consequence of this, the people were recognized, by the leading powers of Christendom, as entitled to the rank and privileges of a Christianized and civilized nation."45

These pronouncements that Hawai'i was a Christian nation and the withdrawal of the ABCFM did not, however, signal the dawn of a bright new era for Protestant Christianity in Hawai'i. Rather, the withdrawal marked the finish of a "period in which one Protestant Church could exert powerful influence in society, politics, and religion with little challenge."46 A contributor to The Centennial Book, published in 1920, used the expression "a turning of the tide" to describe the situation that confronted the newly independent HEA.47 Ironically, internal and external forces were already at work by 1863 that would negate for the remainder of the nineteenth century much of the ABCFM's influence in shaping the course of Hawaiian society.
As indicated by Table 1, the Protestant Church reached its numerical peak in pre-Territorial Hawai'i in 1856, both in terms of numbers and as a percentage of the population. Several internal factors can be cited as contributing to the decline experienced throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The lack of leadership was one key factor. In 1863 the HEA declared there to be no need of sending more workers to Hawai'i, on the grounds that "the missionaries believe that a sufficient number of their children will be prepared, through grace, to fill the places of their fathers." The belief that missionary sons would adequately continue the work started by their fathers soon proved unfounded, as many of the sons chose to enter callings of a more profitable nature. The apparent reliance on missionary children also revealed that, some forty-three years after the arrival of the missionaries, little emphasis was being given to developing native pastoral leadership. This was so in spite of ABCFM Secretary Anderson's blunt statement at the time that "the native ministry is an indispensable element of success; and if it does not succeed, the doom of the native churches, and of the nation co-distinctively Hawaiian, is sealed."

The lack of native leadership in this era stemmed in part from the missionaries' paternalistic attitude and low evaluation of the Hawaiian's cultural background. In
Table 1
Protestant Church in Hawai'i 1832-1896

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Protestant Communicants</th>
<th>Protestant Community Hawaiian</th>
<th>Non-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Population Hawaiian</th>
<th>Non-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Church Communicants as Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>577</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>124,049</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>22,236</td>
<td>56,840</td>
<td></td>
<td>71,019</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>23,652</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>14,850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53,599</td>
<td>5,561</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>9,077(^a)</td>
<td>16,084</td>
<td>7,189</td>
<td>39,504</td>
<td>69,516</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^a\)Estimated from figures cited by Schmitt, Demographic, pp. 42, 43. Computed at 39 percent of the 1896 Protestant community figure, based on 1853 comparison of Protestant community and communicant figures.

\(^b\)Estimated from percentage breakdown for 1872 census figures.
their 1848 report to the ABCFM, the missionaries wrote that

We have already regularly licensed nine native preachers, and have others in training. But we have not yet found the native of wisdom, piety and discretion adequate to the independent performance of the duties of the pastoral office. One has to assume that the absence of even one qualified native pastor after twenty-eight years of Christian work in the Islands said something not only about the Hawaiians' abilities but also about the missionaries' attitudes. After touring the mission stations soon after 1848, Henry Cheever cited Moloka‘i missionary Harvey Hitchcock's explanation as to why the missionaries found it necessary to excommunicate so many Hawaiians: "It must be remembered that the converts here were taken from the lowest depths of ignorance and moral debasement, and many, yea all of them, have lived in habits of Falsehood and many overt sins, until such habits have become a second nature to them." Titus Coan, influential missionary on the Big Island, echoed similar sentiments when he stated in 1882 that "our converts were as children, and up to this day many of them need milk rather than meat. They are weak, fickle, and easily turned from the way." The Hawaiians' culture was of course quite different from Western culture and it was not only the missionaries who judged the latter superior. As has been noted, the
Hawaiians had sought after Western goods and technology before the missionaries arrived, and they eagerly desired the education offered them after the missionaries arrived. There are numerous reports from the second half of the nineteenth century that the Hawaiian church members were themselves unwilling to accept or respect native preachers as leadership replacements for the missionaries. They were also unwilling to support Hawaiian pastors financially, obliging many of them to devote time to other work to provide for their families.

Another factor that has been cited as hindering the growth of the Protestant Church was the overly harsh rules and requirements imposed on the church members. Although this was to some extent true, it occurred in part as a reaction to the observed reinterpretation of the Christian message. In some instances indigenous Hawaiian religious values and practices were being incorporated into new elements. Although modification marks all aspects of cross-cultural diffusion, religious syncretisms denote a fundamental change in the belief system being diffused through the culture. Syncretism can occur either when an insufficient frame of references is transmitted to the acceptor or through deliberate amalgamations or hybridizations. Cheever alluded to the problem of an insufficient frame of reference when he noted that "many of the commonest ideas, too, which we have from very
childhood, natives are utterly destitute of." The prevalent occurrence in the 1890s of native churches taking up the "hurtful practices" associated with kahunas seems indicative of syncretism stemming from deliberate hybridization.\(^58\)

A final internal factor that has been cited as hurting the churches in the late 1800s was the supposed appearance in Hawai'i of Darwinism, liberalism and German rationalism. In particular, it has been stated that Charles Hyde was influential in disseminating these views from his position as head of the North Pacific Missionary Institute.\(^59\) The HEA established this institute in 1873 to train native pastors and as its principal from 1877 until his death in 1899 Hyde's theological views were no doubt influential.\(^60\)

Actually, no evidence has been uncovered that liberalism or other "isms" took root in the Hawaiian churches in the late 1800s.\(^61\) As for Hyde, the Rev. J. D. Kingsbury, who knew him on the mainland from 1870 to 1875, wrote later that: "In theology he was conservative but sufficiently progressive to keep him abreast of present day thinking."\(^62\) According to a native pastor who was an 1881 graduate of the Missionary Institute, Hyde "stood firm as a rock for pure religion and for a clean church. He wanted the church to stand for the truth as it is revealed in the word of God."\(^63\) If at a later period
Hyde began actively to advocate Darwinism, liberalism, or German rationalism, there is no evidence of it in the Hawaiian churches pastored by men he trained.

In spite of the establishment of the Institute with a usual student body of ten to twenty, the outlook concerning Hawaiian pastors did not improve in the final two decades of the century. In fact, it seemed to deteriorate. Anderson had lamented in 1863 that earnest efforts should have commenced to rectify the lack of native leadership "before the great body of the missionaries were past the meridian of life; before adverse sects had gained so much influence on the Islands; and while the government was better disposed than now to look with favor on the evangelical interests of the Islands." Although late in starting, the HEA did begin to place Hawaiian pastors over Hawaiian churches and earnest efforts resulted in thirty-nine native pastors among its fifty-eight churches by 1870.

In the face of increased internal and external adversities, the number of Hawaiians pastoring churches declined by 1880 to thirty-four men who, supplemented by five Caucasian pastors, served among what was by then fifty-five Hawaiian churches. Hawaiian pastors further decreased to thirty-three men by 1900. At this same time, Caucasian pastors of Hawaiian churches increased from five to six, while the number of Hawaiian congregations
declined to fifty-two. It is not known what percentage of Missionary Institute students became pastors of Hawaiian churches, but it is known that the numbers were insufficient to meet existing needs.

Among the external factors that hindered the Protestant Church's influence in the second half of the 1800s was the Hawaiian government's decreased support of the efforts of the HEA. The dismissal of former ABCFM missionary Dr. Gerritt Judd from the cabinet in 1853 in response to anti-missionary agitation by some of the foreign residents in Hawai'i symbolized this shift. According to Gavin Daws, "a drift away from Puritanism was clearly evident by the time the young chief Alexander Liholiho became king in 1854, and indeed he embodied anti-Protestant sentiment." 

While Liholiho's sentiment may have been directed more at the Puritan and the American-democratic influences that the Congregational Church represented than at Protestant Christianity itself, his attitude was nevertheless negative toward "the" Protestant force in the Islands. The situation did not improve under Kamehameha V, who, according to missionary Elias Bond, surrounded himself with "unprincipled men." Kalākaua, who ruled from 1874 to 1891, was seen as openly antagonistic to Christianity. The situation did not improve much
during Lili'uokalani's two year reign, judging from The Friend's reference after her overthrow to the "removal of the terrible incubus of Palace influence with its debauching and heathenizing effect."72

While for several decades after 1820 "probably the most powerful source of American influence upon the people of Hawai'i rested with the missionary group," Judd's 1853 ouster demonstrated the rising power of the business community in Hawai'i's political and economic affairs.73 This force which moved in to replace the missionary-oriented sphere of influence in Hawaiian society can be broadly characterized as the "American" business community, although in fact Europeans outnumbered Americans right up to the end of the 1800s.74 Author Caspar Whitney's comment in 1898, "Christianity as the cause, commerce and civilization as consequents and handmaidens,"75 expressed a prevalent viewpoint as to the lever which had transformed life in the Islands.

One intent of this study is to suggest that commercial forces in the Islands acted as handmaidens to the Protestant Church only when doing so also served their own interests. Although many of the business leaders in Hawai'i were descendants of ABCFM missionaries, and "though many of them retained nominal relationships with the churches, their religious interests were rather clearly secondary."76 At the time of the 1920 Mission Centennial,
John Erdman, HEA Field Secretary, expressed his opinion that three factors had retarded the growth of Protestantism in the period 1870 to 1900. All three related to the American business community: rapid commercial growth, the influx of contract laborers, and heated political disturbances.  

In addition to Judd's ouster, another early indication of the American business community's increased influence was the modification of public education to be closer to the pattern of American school systems. Part of this modification was the switch from Hawaiian to English in the schools. Rufus Anderson foresaw in 1864 that

The endeavor to supplant the native language in the schools by means of the English, whether so designed or not, tends to break down the influence that has been exerted by the American Mission. So far as it succeeds, the Hawaiian Bible and Hawaiian books go out of use, without really substituting any other intelligent and effective reading; and evangelical ideas pass away.

An awareness of the demographic factor is essential to understanding the declining influence of the Protestant Church in late nineteenth century Hawai'i. For economic reasons, the business community brought in large numbers of laborers from the 1870s onward to work the expanding sugar plantations. This was necessitated not so much by the unwillingness of Hawaiians to work on the plantations as by the drastic decline of the Hawaiian people. The decrease of the Hawaiian population and the influx of
immigrant labor reflected in the population statistics shown in Table 1 had direct implications for the Protestant Church.

Whereas the native Hawaiian population included a significant percentage of Protestants, the approximately 70,000 non-Hawaiians residing in Hawaii by the time of the 1896 census included about 22,000 Chinese, practicing for the most part various traditional religious observances; 15,000 Portuguese, solidly Catholic in orientation; 24,000 Japanese, almost all Buddhist or Shintoist; and 7,000 Americans and Europeans other than Portuguese. In contrast, there had only been about 2,000 non-Hawaiians living in Hawai'i in 1853. Only among the arriving Americans and Europeans could the Protestant Church look for an affinity of religious background, and some from even this group were Catholics. Coming as it did at a critical period in the life of Protestant Christianity in Hawai'i, this rapid influx of individuals with non-Protestant religious beliefs overwhelmed the churches. No longer did the religious convictions of Hawai'i's people justify classifying Hawai'i as a Christian nation.

Another factor, then, that Protestants had to contend with in the second half of the 1800s was the introduction of competing religious groups, primarily Roman Catholic, Mormon, and Buddhist. Table 2 provides a clear overview
of the competition faced by the Protestant Church as of 1896.

The first group to challenge the dominance of the Protestants was the Catholic Church. It attempted to establish itself as early as 1827 but was opposed by the missionaries and the ruling ali'i who sought their advice. With the same anti-papal orientation of most Protestants in America in the 1800s, Hiram Bingham spoke for the other missionaries when he called the Catholics polytheists and image worshippers. It was only under the threat of bombardment by a French naval vessel that the Hawaiian government finally granted Catholics freedom of worship in 1839.

By 1840 Bingham had admitted grudging admiration for the zealous work of Catholics. Reginald Yzendoom wrote in his study of the Catholic Church in Hawai'i that a former Protestant official in the Hawaiian government described Catholic missionaries as being highly respected and as sticking strictly to ecclesiastical matters, avoiding business and political matters. A negative opinion of the Catholics persisted, however, as United States Commissioner to Hawai'i David Gregg noted in 1854. He wrote that Richard Bowlin, an Irishman residing in the Islands, had told him that the missionaries "had been in the habit of selecting the strongest 'anti-Popery' articles from foreign sources, and causing translations
Table 2
Religious Affiliation by Ethnic Groups, 1896

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Protestants</th>
<th>Catholics</th>
<th>Mormons</th>
<th>Buddhists</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Not Known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number a</td>
<td>% of Ethnic Group a</td>
<td>% of Church</td>
<td>Number a</td>
<td>% of Ethnic Group a</td>
<td>% of Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawai‘i Born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiians</td>
<td>16,084</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11,060</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners b</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6,622</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Portuguese</td>
<td>3,340</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>7,812</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientals</td>
<td>1,548</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23,273</td>
<td>100.6</td>
<td>26,363</td>
<td>100.2</td>
<td>4,886</td>
<td>100.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*It should be kept in mind that these figures represent religious "community," a number generally two to three times the size of "communicants."

bThis category is assumed to include all the ethnic groups listed under the Foreign Born subheading.

cThis figure does not include any Orientals, who were all assumed to be Buddhists, unless they specified otherwise.
to be published in the native paper [Ka Elele Hawaii] here."\textsuperscript{86} Another evidence of opposition was the Catholics' publication from 1861 to 1871 of a paper which had as one of its express purposes the refuting of attacks by a Protestant publication.\textsuperscript{87}

The Catholic Church grew during the late 1800s despite continued opposition. Table 2 indicates that by 1896 the Catholic community numbered about 26,000 compared to 23,000 for the Protestant community. The census breakdown reveals the inroad the Catholic Church had made into the Hawaiian population--35 percent of all Hawaiians identified themselves as Catholics. The table also confirms that the arrival of thousands of Portuguese in the 1880s significantly aided the Catholic cause.\textsuperscript{88} In addition to the Portuguese born outside of Hawai'i who comprised 30 percent of the Catholic Church, it can be assumed that almost all the non-Hawaiians born in Hawai'i, who made up 25 percent of the Catholic Church, were also Portuguese.

The next group to come to Hawai'i were the Mormons, who arrived in 1850. The Protestants soon made clear their opinion of the Mormons. The Congregationalists at their 1851 General Meeting, announced: "Mormonism. This false religion has at length found its way into this part of the world, and obtained a few followers. Though probably no permanent ones."\textsuperscript{89} The assessment of their permanency seemed accurate enough at first, as the
Mormons experienced a number of set-backs. They reorganized in 1865, with Lā'ie serving as the focal point for expanding religious and agricultural activity. As Table 2 shows, the Mormon population in 1895 totaled about 4,900, 98 percent of whom were Hawaiian. Along with the Catholics, the Mormons had established by then that they did indeed plan to make permanent converts and that they would be competing with the Protestants among the Hawaiians.

The 1896 census assumed that all Orientals (Chinese and Japanese) who did not indicate another religious affiliation were Buddhists or adherents of other Eastern creeds. The Chinese population had already begun to stabilize by 1896 and there were a few encouraging signs in the Protestant work among them, due in large part to the presence of Protestants among those arriving from China. Still, only about 4 percent of the Chinese in 1896 claimed any Protestant affiliation. The task of converting the Chinese loomed large before the Protestant Church and a sense of relief is apparent in the HEA's 1899 statement that the application of the Chinese Exclusion Act to Hawai'i in 1898 would benefit the work among them by allowing for "the more complete training and development of those already here."

The Japanese population had not stabilized by 1896 and Japanese Buddhists represented a formidable challenge
to Protestantism. The Protestant churches viewed them as a challenge of "inestimable value," because most of the Japanese planned to return to Japan and it was easy to envision converted Japanese returning to "bear far and wide throughout Japan the light of the blessed gospel." 94

Frances Conroy, in a study of the Japanese in Hawai'i, 1868-1898, felt that the initial efforts among the Japanese were auspicious enough as the Consul General himself, Ando Taro, was, in 1888, among the first group of Japanese baptized in Hawai'i. 95 That the Protestant Church achieved some further successes in the following decade, when Buddhist priests were few and unorganized, is indicated in a petition a group of Japanese in Honolulu sent in 1897 to Honpa Hongwanji headquarters in Japan in an effort to secure Buddhist priests for Hawai'i. As part of their plea, they reported that

"The religion here is dominated by Christianity. Towns bristle with Christian churches and sermons, and the prayers of the missionaries shake through the cities with the church bells. To strong Buddhists like ourselves, these pressures mean nothing. However, we sometimes get reports of frivolous Japanese who surrender themselves to accept the heresy—as a hungry man does not have much choice but to eat what he is offered." 96

The Hongwanji responded with fervor to the expressed threat of Christian activity. Conroy concluded that in retrospect
The Christian potentiality idea was an especially important one, for Christianity might have produced a bridge between Japanese and the community at large. But Christianity at this time was to build no bridge between the East and the West. Its converts, few and uncertain, could not stand the test when the big, powerful and Japanese Hongwanji Buddhist mission began proselytizing in 1897. The Christian work of a decade was half undone.97

As the end of the century approached the Protestant Church faced a mostly Buddhist Japanese population that now had religious oversight from Buddhist priests, a population that continued to be highly transient and one that was mushrooming in size. The impact of this last factor alone on the churches' efforts to evangelize the Japanese is obvious when one considers what it meant to them that in 1896 there were some 24,900 Japanese in Hawai'i, four short years later there were over 61,100.98

In 1887 the by then politically as well as economically powerful American business community flexed its muscle to impose the "Bayonet Constitution" on Kalākaua, thereby curtailing the monarchy's power.99 The opening years of the 1890s were critical ones for the monarchy, with political instability in the Legislature, Kalākaua's death, and the economic distress caused by the McKinley Tariff, which nullified the favored position Hawai'i's sugar had held in the American market since 1875. There was rising agitation during this period for
the abolition of the monarchy and annexation to the United States.

In 1894, after the monarchy was overthrown, President Cleveland sent James Blount to Hawai'i to examine the situation. As part of his report, he associated the Protestant Church with those who had sided against the monarchy. Blount concluded in the last census [1890] the religious element was left out altogether, for the reason that the missionary party who presided over the operations of the census could not allow their decline to be made public together with the ascendancy of their rivals. . . . The reason of this is solely the anti-patriotic, anti-Hawaiian, anti-loyal attitude assumed by the missionary churches and their schools.100

Actually, in spite of the lack of support for the missionary churches by the various monarchs since Kamehameha IV, the HEA remained a supporter of the monarchy and opponent of annexation right up to the eve of the revolution. In April of 1982, The Friend ran an editorial stating that

We wish to put ourselves on record as earnestly desiring the present continuance of the monarchy. It is probable that the Government will ultimately become republican. The nation is not yet ripe for that. It would, under present social conditions, be probably disastrous.101

As late as December 1892, The Friend affirmed its support for Queen Lili'uokalani.102

The reality, however, was that in contrast to an earlier era, the Protestant Church in Hawai'i in the
1890s was fundamentally a responder to, not initiator of, major events. Moving quickly in January, a group known as the Annexation Club took advantage of the opportunity presented by Lili'uokalani's poorly-backed attempt to issue a new constitution. They overthrew the Queen on January 17, 1893 in a bloodless coup.

The Friend's February issue faced an accomplished fact—the monarchy the paper had supported up to the end had been overthrown. The periodical quickly reversed itself, coming out in favor of the overthrow and in favor of annexation to the United States. These positions led to hard feelings on the part of many of the Protestant Church's Hawaiian members, sentiments which Blount probably projected back to the pre-overthrow period.

An editorial pronouncement in October 1893 asserted that "the whole body of Evangelical Protestant Christians in these Islands are practically a unit against the native monarchy and for annexation." More truthful, however, was the paper's admission in June of that year that the majority of Hawaiians opposed annexation and that some of the Hawaiian churches were trying to vote out their pastors for expressing their support of annexation. . . . Hence while thus the great majority of our best and ablest pastors are annexationists because they have most clearly seen and felt the destructive influence of the corrupt court, a majority of
their church members are apt to be found in sympathy with that [Lili'uokalani's] court and its corruptions. 105

When it became known that Lili'uokalani had announced she would deport or behead all persons instrumental in her overthrow if she were restored to power, the periodical added fuel to the turmoil within the Hawaiian Protestant community by declaring

Every instinct of honor, of liberty, of decency forbids peace between these noble men and the arbitrary and depraved queen. There is irreconcilable war between Christian civilization and heathen despotism. After the latter has become pronounced and determined as it did on January 14th, 1893, there can be no compromise, and no submission, but only war to the last extremity. 106

The hard feelings that these views engendered among many Hawaiians continued to weigh against the Protestant Church, especially the HEA, into the opening years of Hawai'i's Territorial era.

The Republic of Hawai'i was formed on July 4, 1894 after it became apparent annexation was not imminent. In contrast to the Hawaiian monarchy's lack of support for the Protestant Church in the period leading up to 1893, there existed under the Republic, 1894-1898, conditions more favorable to Protestant Christianity with "the missionary son, Sanford B. Dole, as its president and two other missionary sons in its cabinet of four members." 107

At about this same time there were on the mainland indications of a revived spirit of Manifest Destiny. In
fact, it was in 1893, the same year in which the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown, that Josiah Strong, the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, published a book in which he proclaimed America's mission to "Anglo-Saxonize" the entire world. 108 Strong's work, which promoted the concept that America had a mission to fulfill in the world, "did much to develop the idea of the part America should play in fulfilling Anglo-Saxon destiny as a civilizing and Christianizing power." 109 The call to Anglo-Saxonize the world, which involved a "combination of a civilizing mission, in terms of democratic institutions, and a Christianizing one, usually in terms of American Protestant views, provided a powerful rationalization for expansion as a duty." 110

The Protestant leadership knew of this rising sentiment in America and used it in pushing for annexation. In 1897, for instance, The Friend published supposed Japanese colonization designs in the stated hope that Washington would intervene "to decide the present critical issue in favor of an American and not an Asiatic destiny for Hawaii." 111 The paper's response to reports in 1897 that McKinley was going to send an annexation treaty to the Senate was: "We have long expected and advocated this event... The time has come... for the fulfillment of this natural destiny." 112
The sinking of the Maine in Cuba in April 1898 solidified and channeled in America rising manifest destiny sentiments. After a short war with Spain, America found itself in possession of the Philippines. The President himself soon interpreted this state of affairs to be a missionary obligation: "There was nothing left for us to do but to . . . educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them."113

It is not coincidence that the Spanish-American War and the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States both occurred in 1898. The acquisition of the Philippines facilitated the move to bring Hawai'i into the United States' sphere of interest. Arguments such as Hawai'i's distance from the mainland seemed less valid once the American flag was flying over the Philippines.

Another development related to America's, or at least Americans', increasing interest in Hawai'i was the introduction of several new Protestant groups into the Islands starting about 1890. Preceding them, however, were an English church and a German church. The arrival of the Anglican Church in 1862 under Kamehameha IV's sponsorship can actually be considered a move to counter the congregational form of government and American connections of the HEA. Ralph Kuykendall believed that the establishment of the Anglican Church upon Bishop
Thomas Staley's arrival from England was "one of the important developments—perhaps the most important—in the reign of Kamehameha IV, . . . an event that had political as well as religious significance." Early indication that some in the Hawaiian government attached political importance to the Anglican Church can be found in a letter written by the Scotsman R. C. Wyllie in 1846, soon after he had assumed the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs under Kamehameha III. In this letter, written to Admiral Richard Thomas, commander of the British fleet in the Pacific, he asked

What would you think of a few Missionaries of the English Episcopal Church coming out here? The genius of Episcopacy is Monarchical. The tendency, here, to Republicanism is too strong. I think, if the King had a Chaplain of the English Episcopal Church, it would be of great use both in a religious and political point of view. But remember these are suggestions of my own, not to be repeated, though I know they concur with the King's wishes.

No action resulted from this or other attempts to obtain a resident priest until 1859, when Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma had Wyllie write to England to request that an Anglican church be established in Honolulu. The Anglican Archbishop agreed to set up an episcopate in Hawai'i, resulting in the arrival of Staley in 1862. Henry Restarick, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Hawai'i from 1902-1920, also believed that the preservation of
the monarchy had much to do with the establishment of the Anglican Church in Hawai'i. 116

Although in retrospect it can be seen that the Anglican Church did not fulfill the hopes held by Wyllie, Kamehameha IV and his wife, and others, many Americans in Hawai'i, as well as in the United States, greeted its establishment with less than enthusiasm. One such American in Hawai'i was James McBride who wrote to Secretary of State William H. Seward with the opinion that the Anglican Church was introduced "as a means to crush out American influence in this Kingdom." 117

The initially bright outlook for the Anglican Church dimmed considerably after the death of Kamehameha IV in 1863, in part because none of his successors was as ardent as he had been in supporting the church. When initial enthusiasm in England for the project waned, financial aid to the church also diminished. Also, church workers did not remain long in Hawai'i. A major source of the church's problem seemed to stem from dissension surrounding Staley's successor, Alfred Willis (1872-1902). 118 Some of Willis' own priests and influential lay members charged that Willis, who supplied his own salary, was autocratic, opinionated, and, if The Friend is to be believed, they even expressed the opinion that he was "of unsound mind." 119
Some of his influential lay members were Americans and they, along with the wider American community, took exception to Willis' continued ardent Royalist position after the monarchy's overthrow. Willis openly espoused his views in articles such as one in September, 1893 entitled "Why the Diocesan Magazine is Royalist." In spite of this pro-monarchy stance, the church's internal problems kept it from capitalizing on the large number of Hawaiians leaving the Congregational Church in the late 1800s. Restarick later noted that it was the aggressively active Catholics and Mormons who made gains among the Hawaiians in this era. An Anglican priest summed up the status of the Anglican Church shortly after annexation in his 1898 report to the Episcopal Convention in Washington: "The church is weaker today in clergy and laity than she was fifteen years ago, although the population has doubled; nor is any aggressive work being done now among the Hawaiians, Japanese, or Portuguese, although these nationalities represent three-fourths of the whole population of the Hawaiian Islands."

The arrival of the Lutheran Church in Hawai'i created much less of a stir, even though it too was a non-American church. Known as the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, it was established in Līhu'e in 1883 in the wake of about nine hundred German plantation workers
immigrating to Kaua'i. Along with a school for German children, it became the focal point for the German community there. It led a quiet existence there through the remaining years of the 1800s and in fact the HEA included it in its roster of churches until 1901, along with the pastor, Hans Isenberg.

Between 1888 and 1898 more denominations organized churches in Hawai'i. Black's conclusion in 1893 that "the prospects for building up a strong, Christian Church in the city [Honolulu] are of the brightest description. . . . The probability is that any mission undertaken there would very speedily become self-supporting," evidently mirrored the hopes of several Protestant groups. The Seventh-Day Adventists and Methodists opened churches in 1888, followed by the Salvation Army and the Disciples of Christ in 1894.

The Methodists had actually organized an English-language church in Hawai'i in 1854 but disbanded because of financial difficulties in 1862 and sold their property to the newly arrived Anglican Church. However, a few immigrant Japanese Methodists began to meet in private homes and, with the help of Japanese Methodists in San Francisco, established a congregation in 1888 that would eventually became Harris Memorial Methodist Church. In 1894, First Methodist Church was organized as an English-language congregation.
A Baptist minister visiting Honolulu in 1895 reported the following impetus for the Disciples organizing their own church the previous year:

For the past ten years there have been a few Disciples of Christ on these islands. They were not satisfied with the teaching and practice of other denominations on the questions of baptism and infant church membership. Some of these Disciples attended the Central Union Church and were members of that body; but they had children growing up who would soon desire to enter into church relation, and the question of baptism had to be settled.128

The HEA naturally enough found it hard to sympathize with such motives as can be detected in Bishop's "congratulations" to them for securing larger premises in 1895:

Our esteemed brother the Rev. T. D. Garvin, and his flock, of the 'Christian' (Campbellite Baptist) Church, occupied on November 17th for the first time their new church edifice just above the corner of King and Alakea Streets. They are to be congratulated on their much improved though still narrow quarters. It is to be hoped that in due time they will outgrow these, as well as what seems to us the extremely narrow sectarianism of these otherwise excellent Christians.129

By the early 1900s other Protestant denominations in Hawai'i had accepted the small but active Disciples' work as one of the established Protestant groups in the Islands.

Figure 1 provides a convenient reference point in summarizing the status of Protestant Christianity in nineteenth century Hawai'i. ABCFM missionaries, most of whom were Congregationalists, arrived in 1820 to find, in what appeared to them to be more than a
Figure 1. The Protestant Church compared with Hawai'i's population, 1832-1896.
SOURCE: Table 1.
fortuitous circumstance, that the native Hawaiian religious system had just been discredited by the ruling ali'i. The missionaries soon established themselves and began to exert increasing influence on all levels of Hawaiian society. From about 1832 into the 1850s, the Protestant Church experienced what can be termed remarkable growth in the face of a rapidly diminishing population base. The ABCFM, among others, declared Hawai'i a Protestant Christian nation in the 1850s and cut off all ties with the newly independent HEA by 1863.

Unfortunately for Protestants, Hawai'i's declared status as a Christian nation did not harbinger further success for their work. In the wake of a number of unfavorable internal and external developments that have been discussed in this chapter, the number of Protestant Christians began decreasing in the 1850s and they were barely able to maintain their percentage of Hawai'i's still declining population until the 1870s. These various negative factors became more intense in the final three decades of the century and the Protestant Church not only continued to decline but rapidly lost ground to an exploding non-Hawaiian, non-Protestant population.

While it may not have yet fully grasped its situation, the Protestant Church ended the nineteenth century in retreat.\textsuperscript{130} There were, however, some encouraging signs by the end of the 1890s in terms of
additional Protestant groups, heightened missions awareness in the United States, and a seemingly more favorable political regime in Hawai'i. Whether these or other factors were significant enough to reverse the trend of the second half of the 1800s remained a real question mark as Hawai'i's status as an independent nation came to a close.
CHAPTER III

NO MORE A CHRISTIAN NATION: TURN OF THE CENTURY

The decades immediately preceding and following the close of the nineteenth century witnessed the climactic phase of the foreign missions movement in American Protestantism. Under the influence of men such as evangelist Dwight L. Moody and Student Volunteer Movement leader John R. Mott, interest in missions surged in the United States as the twentieth century approached. Literally thousands of individuals responded to the Student Volunteer Movement's slogan "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation" by taking pledges to become foreign missionaries. The conviction was widespread among Protestants that the twentieth century would be the "Christian" century. Sidney Gulick, ABCFM missionary to Japan and son of HEA missionary Luther Gulick, exemplified this spirit when he declared in 1897 that "Christianity is the religion of the dominant nations of the earth. Nor is it rash to prophesy that in due time it will be the only religion in the world."2

One might expect Hawai'i Protestants at the end of the nineteenth century to have mirrored the enthusiasm of American Protestantism on the mainland. In part this was true. By January 1898, The Friend had imbued the issue of Hawai'i's annexation with obvious moral tones.
Sensing, after five years of waiting, that annexation might finally be imminent under the McKinley administration, Bishop asserted: "On then to combat, and let the falsehoods of our enemies be brought to shame."  

With the advent of the Spanish-American War, The Friend also joined with churches across America in quickly interpreting the war as a crusade for humanity and justice. The April 1898 issue proclaimed: "This war is only another chapter in the history of the struggle of the centuries between the ancient tyrannies and the spirit of civil and religious Liberty and Righteousness."  

Shortly thereafter Bishop noted with pleasure that the crusade for liberty in the Philippines had repercussions for the righteous cause of Hawai'i's annexation. He reported in July that stalled Senate action on annexation was revived by the urgent necessity for it created by the occupation of Manila, requiring constant use of Honolulu as a base of supply. The logic of events has proved too strong for the doubters. A vivid object-lesson has been given how indispensable a strategic point in the Pacific Hawaii is to America.  

America's victory over Spain and annexation of Hawai'i both came in August. Again echoing the consensus among Protestants in the United States that America's new acquisitions entailed a missionary obligation, The Friend in late 1899 urged Christians in Hawai'i to fulfill their responsibility to help Hawai'i be an "American Lighthouse
of Christianity in the Pacific" as the Philippines' nearest point of contact with American Civilization.  

In spite of expressed enthusiasm in Hawai'i for annexation and for mission opportunities in the Philippines, there was, up through about 1902, little indication of any quickened religious activity in the Islands. The Protestant Church in Hawai'i did not further the mission effort in the Philippines. Mainland Protestants for their part demonstrated little concrete interest in furthering the work in the newly annexed Hawai'i. The Disciples exemplified the discrepancy between intentions in the States and immediate activity in the Islands. Archibald McLean, head of their foreign missionary society, later recalled that: "When the Hawaiian Islands became a Territory of the United States, there were those who felt that the Society should be represented among the religious forces at work there." The society's actual response was, however, minimal. It sent one missionary, Abram Cory, to Honolulu in 1899; after only eighteen months he asked to be sent to China. 

Gulick's bold declaration that Christianity in due time would be the world's only religion did not reflect Protestantism's continuing downward spiral in Hawai'i. The communicant figure dropped from about 9,000 in 1896 to about 6,900 in 1900. This drop meant that Protestantism's share of Hawai'i's growing population
during that period declined from about 8.3 percent to 4.5 percent. The Protestant Church in the Islands had by 1900 clearly fallen from its position as the unrivaled American missionary success story of the 1800s. Incorporation of Hawai'i as a territory in 1900 did not bring any immediate relief to the problem. In fact, the initial repercussions of incorporation produced some stressful moments for Protestant Christianity in Hawai'i.

The fortunes of the Protestant Church in the first years of Hawai'i's Territorial era were still closely connected to the status of its native Hawaiian membership, which constituted about 57 percent of the communicant total in 1900. A strong correlation still existed between being a native Hawaiian Protestant and being an HEA member, for about 98 percent of the Hawaiian Protestants were Congregationalists. From 1900 to 1904, the Hawaiian churches continued to lose communicants each year. For the first time in forty years, the decline of the native population could not be pointed to as the one obvious reason for this decline, for the number of Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians actually began to increase between 1900 and 1910. Other factors from the 1800s continued, however, to contribute to a decrease in Hawaiian Protestant strength. These included political uncertainties, lack of native leadership, and the presence of Roman Catholicism and Mormonism.
The negative sentiments many native Hawaiians felt toward those they associated with the overthrow of the monarchy surfaced when the Organic Act, which gave Hawai'i the status of an incorporated territory in 1900, opened the right to vote in territorial elections to all former citizens of the Republic of Hawai'i. This meant that many Hawaiians who had been barred from voting since the implementation of the 1887 'Bayonet' Constitution could now vote, while the vast majority of the Asian population, ineligible for citizenship under the Republic, continued to be barred from voting. The net effect was that Hawaiians comprised an absolute majority of the electorate through the first two decades of the century.

Bishop approved of the 'Bayonet' Constitution provision limiting the electorate for House of Nobles candidates to mainly the American business community and a Hawaiian elite. He contended in 1890 that "it has never been thought that the common people were intelligent enough to be trusted to choose more than half the Legislature." Ten years later Hawaiians again held an electoral majority in Hawai'i. In light of Bishop's earlier derogatory remark concerning the Hawaiian people, one might question his motivation for writing in 1900 that "the new Government will run smoothly from the start. Having already been thoroughly Americanized for many years, Hawaii falls naturally and easily into the American system."
Bishop realized by late 1900 that the Independent Home Rule Party, composed of Hawaiian Royalists under the leadership of Robert Wilcox, a part-Hawaiian whose slogan was "Nānā i ka 'ili," (Look to the skin) would soon be in a position to act adversely to the interests of whites. The Home Rulers would accomplish this by carrying in the November election "the bulk of the vote of the natives, who are ignorant and who deeply resent the dethronement of the native sovereign." The Hawaiian electorate confirmed Bishop's fears as it elected Wilcox as Hawai'i's delegate to Congress and sent Home Rule majorities to the Territorial Legislature.

After the election Bishop castigated Wilcox for seeking to revitalize Kalākaua's activities, including the Heathen Party. . . . which clings to the degraded past in opposition to our grandly developed Christian civilization. . . . During the campaign he [Wilcox] continually denounced the "missionaries," a term which has come to designate all social elements attached to morality and decency. Inflated by victory at the polls, he now seeks to head his people in a downward orgy of vice and debauchery.

Later editorials portrayed the 1901 legislative session as garrulous, quarrelsome, trifling, and a general failure.

The Home Rule Party certainly opposed those associated with the Protestant missionary enterprise in the Islands. The Party's paper, the Home Rule Republican, Solomon Meheula, editor, aided Wilcox's aforementioned efforts to castigate the "missionaries": 
Another element in the Republican party is the remnant of the old missionary party, whose power is on the wane in Hawaii, but comes from that old stock who still believes that the country is theirs and looks upon the later arrivals as interlopers unless they are under their patronage, and have been divested of all vestige of Americanism or principle.21

Undoubtedly some Protestants, particularly among the Congregationalists, took personally Home Rule Republican references such as "old missionary party" and "immaculate family compact." The paper charged

This class of men who in some instances [sic] when they first came to these Islands were penniless and but mere adventurers, passing under the guise of Holy Writ and religion, have proven themselves the traducers and robbers of the very people who helped and nurtured them in their days of want. Through misrepresentations they betrayed the all-confiding Hawaiian; and . . . these same men, after having miserably failed at the polls and being reluctant to relinquish the autocratic power they had assumed to themselves, sought through their hirelings and the few ardent supporters they had managed to get into the last Legislature, and in connivance with the Executive, to antagonize and frustrate any policy or measures of the Hawaiian members for the good of the country, so as to prove them incompetent and justify their damnable scheme of asking for their disfranchisement.22

The Protestant Church's leadership probably also felt that they could get along just fine with a contemplated history of their work without any editorial assistance such as the following from the Home Rulers:

Now that the Ministerial Union is going to write up a true (?) history of the early fathers and the growth of the mission work, we would like to remind them perhaps it would be well to include the persecutions the early Catholics received at the instigations and advice of these bigots and
how they were compelled to carry the sewer wastes and offal to the sea for fidelity to their faith.28

There was obviously no love lost between the leadership of the Home Rule Party and the leadership of the Protestant Church. It is easy to imagine the tensions the latter was experiencing within its Hawaiian churches' membership, many of whom had no doubt helped elect the Home Rule legislative majority.

Not only the Home Rulers tried to distance themselves from the "missionaries." Democratic Party leader John H. Wise, himself a loyal supporter of the Queen, identified the Democratic Party as the party of Cleveland, and stated that the whites in the party were those who were opposed to the missionary group who had been the "enemies" of the native Hawaiians for the past seven years. He clearly indicated that the missionary element was to be found in the Republican Party.24

The sad fate of the Kaumakapili Church, then located in the Chinatown district of Honolulu, perhaps symbolized the emotional upheaval the Hawaiian Christians were experiencing at the turn of the century. A chronicler of the church's history has noted that it "was long thought of as the church of the common people, as distinguished from Kawaiahao, known as the chiefs' church."25 It was also a congregation noted for its aloha for the monarchy. The church, for instance, had Lili'uokalani lay the
cornerstone for its second building on her birthday in 1881 while the Royal Hawaiian Band played the national anthem.26

When the Board of Health began controlled burning to combat the bubonic plague that had appeared in the Chinatown district in late 1899, many of the area's residents and businesses were told by the Board to put all their belongings in Kaumakapili's basement since it was made of bricks. When burning in the area got out of control in January, 1900, sparks landed on the wooden steeples of the church causing a fire. Fire companies could not force water to the high steeples and the fire soon spread throughout the building, leaving only a brick skeleton.27 A recent historian of the church captured the feeling experienced by members at the time of its burning. She wrote: "The native people wept as it burned. Perhaps to the Hawaiians it was felt the most after all the hardships they as a people and a Kingdom just went through after the Monarchy was overthrown."28

The turmoil of the period also touched the Episcopal Church's Hawaiian membership. In 1879 Bishop Willis had reported 108 Hawaiian communicants on O'ahu; by 1902 this number had declined to fifty, all of whom were worshipping at St. Andrew's Cathedral.29 When Restarick assumed his responsibilities as Bishop he found he needed to work hard to keep even these few Hawaiians who had been worshipping
with their own priest at St. Andrew's. In regard to this arrangement, Restarick later wrote

I am sure that this was the only way open to keep the Hawaiian Church people from slipping away from attendance at worship. . . . It must be remembered that this was but a short time after the Annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and that those who attended the Hawaiian service still felt keenly, as was natural, the political changes which had been brought about.

. . . Justly or unjustly the Hawaiian Congregation was then judged to be a center of anti-haole and anti-American feeling, and also that the priest in charge encouraged these sentiments to such an extent that it was felt that a change was desirable. 30

Under Willis, Frank Fitz, the English priest of the Hawaiian congregation, had encouraged anti-American sentiments. Soon after Restarick arrived he learned that Fitz had made unauthorized use of the Hawaiian congregation's treasury to aid in establishing his own school in Kaimuki. Restarick asked him to resign his position, thus alleviating a sensitive situation at St. Andrew's. 31

The social turbulence the Hawaiians experienced in this period exacerbated the longstanding lack of sufficient numbers of Hawaiian ministers. In 1901, the need for men to replace retiring Hawaiian pastors was so great that several large churches were without ministers. The HEA annual report that year stated that, in addition to retirees
Others have temporarily left the ministry for politics. This turning aside from the legitimate work of the calling should generally be discouraged, this year it has brought neither credit to the ministry nor help to the law-making power. On the contrary, much injury has been done, immoral men and immoral measures have been supported by professed preachers of righteousness. . . . We have the humiliating spectacle of a Hawaiian minister supporting a bill which would legalize gambling.

A comparison of Congregational ministerial lists with a roster of 1901 Territorial legislators indicates that only one minister, Isaiah K. Ka'auwai of Kaua'i, served in the Legislature that year. He was a member of the Independent Home Rule Party. The Reverend Solomon 'ō'ili of Waialua was elected to the 1903 Legislature. He was also a Home Rule Party member. The HEA voiced its displeasure with the resultant lack of leadership at 'ō'ili's church, reporting that "during his services as a legislator--an office we regret his having taken--the doors of his church have occasionally remained closed on Sundays." Any loss of Hawaiian ministers was a matter of real concern, for in 1900 there were fifty-three Hawaiian churches but only thirty-three Hawaiian ministers. As a result, some churches shared ministers, Caucasians pastored six Hawaiian churches, and a number of churches were left without ministers. After the HEA reported in 1899 that fourteen parishes were in need of pastors and that it had suspended one influential minister and
dismissed three others for incompetence, it concluded that "the great difficulty we labor under in the conduct of this work is the lack of a properly trained and capable body of ministers."  

The HEA's 1903 annual report echoed the need for more native Hawaiian pastors when it took note of "the unprecedented lack of re-enforcements from the theological school." The following year's annual report stated that "the Pacific Theological Institute exists, if such a term as existence can be applied to it at all, in a state of suspended animation." In spite of the great need for trained Hawaiian ministers, the Institute never reopened. The political sentiments of the era, as well as the "wretched stipends which frighten ardent young Christians from all thought of the ministry," can be pointed to as major contributors to its demise.

The insufficient number of Hawaiians moving into the ministry was in marked contrast to the contemporaneous situation in the South. Southern blacks were systematically being denied access to the polls, making even more important the traditional role black ministers played as key spokesmen in the black community. In Hawai'i there were alternatives available to civic or leadership minded Hawaiians, such as the Legislature or local government patronage jobs. Such men were not
always attracted by the prospect of a wretched stipend and a position in a small country church seemingly out of the mainstream of Hawai'i's society.

It can also be surmised that Charles Hyde's death in 1899 was untimely for the Institute. His leadership had provided a sense of stability for twenty-two years. John Leadingham, Hyde's successor, was not able to maintain the Institute's viability and he left the Islands after the HEA Board dismissed him in 1903 as part of a program of financial retrenchment undertaken that year. 41

There was by 1903 one encouraging sign for the future with regard to the Hawaiian churches. The Home Rule Party quickly discredited itself during the 1901 Legislature, and in 1902 the predominantly Hawaiian electorate sent a Republican majority to the House and Senate. 42 It seems that some of the hard feelings engendered among many Hawaiian Protestants by the political upheavals of the late 1800s had been vented and then laid aside. Ever the optimist, O. P. Emerson, Superintendent of the HEA's Hawaiian work, who had sanguinely claimed in 1899 that "political issues are dead and have been buried," 43 asserted in 1903 that "during the days of the Provisional Government there were churches where it was difficult for a white man to get a hearing. Men who would then leave the church on my
coming into the pulpit, now listen to me gladly." Also in 1903, Emerson stated, "it is encouraging to note that since our political status has been decided, there has been a return of confidence and kindlier feelings, a quickening of religious interests and a gradual and steady recovery of church life." These comments, while indicating some shift in attitude, need to be counter-balanced by those of individuals such as Arthur Dean, University of Hawai'i President and HEA Board member in the 1920s. At the Mission Centennial in 1920, Dean portrayed the Hawaiians as being, for the most part, landless and caught between Caucasian and Oriental competition. He went on to observe that "many Hawaiians resent the presence, both of whites and Asians." It was not only among its Hawaiian membership that the Protestant Church experienced troubled times immediately following annexation. Political incorporation into the United States posed real problems for the Anglican Church, compounding the continuing difficulties it experienced under Willis. The Friend seemed willing enough to give coverage to the Anglicans' problems. It published, in 1901, the following statement by George Wallace, a former rector of St. Andrew's. The paper reported that Wallace expressed the views of the vast majority of Anglicans in Hawai'i when he wrote that
One of the most embarrassing questions that will come before the triennial convention of the Episcopal Church [in San Francisco] in October next will be the settlement of future relations [of the church in Hawai'i] to the church in the United States. . . .

There would be no difficulty whatever if Bishop Willis of Hawaii would resign and transfer the valuable property of the Hawaiian diocese to the American church, and allow that organization to determine its future. . . .

During the entire administration of the present Bishop of Hawaii there has been a conflict between the Bishop on one hand and the priests and laity on the other. The Bishop is an autocrat in ecclesiastical matters, stubborn to the last degree and exceedingly opinionated. The Bishop is independent of the laity as far as salary is concerned and has managed to acquire title to all the property of the diocese. The people have nothing whatever to say and only a small element ever attend church.47

In addition to his autocratic manner, Willis' ardent Royalist sympathies caused real hardships in the period 1898 to 1902 for a church that had been identified with England and with the Hawaiian monarchy. As late as 1901 The Friend reported that "Bishop Willis has incurred the hostility of the wealthy American element by persistent opposition to annexation."48 Some of these Americans organized St. Clement's in Makiki in 1898 and would not deed the land to Willis. While others remained at St. Andrew's, tensions were not resolved until his resignation in 1902.49

Upon Willis' departure in 1902, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser diplomatically commented on his thirty year tenure by stating that "taking into consideration
the strong will and courage of his convictions, which has been classed by some of those with whom he has come into contact as doggedness, it is easily understood that he has had innumerable collisions with people and priests. Upon Henry Bond Restarick's arrival as the new bishop in 1902, he found that although the Anglican Church had entered Hawai'i under favorable terms, with the support of the royalty, it had become weak numerically, lacked resources, and had a limited sphere of influence compared with other Christian bodies at work in the Islands.

The Congregationalists and Anglicans were not alone in experiencing difficulties. Mission worker C. J. Harrison conveyed the outlook of the Disciples in a 1901 letter to Disciples on the mainland. She reported that the influx of immigrants to the plantations, along with fortune seekers and unsettled political conditions, combined to create a climate "eminently unfavorable to spiritual cultivation. . . . The various missionary bodies make strenuous effort, but only the Roman Catholics and Mormons have marked success. The results of the others seems discouragingly small." In 1902 First Christian's minister, E. S. Muckley, reported that a lack of funds posed a serious handicap for any efforts to extend the Disciples' presence in the Islands.
The Disciples did begin a mission in 1901 in what was described as the "needy" Kewalo district of downtown Honolulu. The establishment there of a sewing school and night school resulted in the report that "a crowd of hoodlums has been converted into an attentive audience." Because, however, of the debt incurred in the Kewalo work and the general lack of finances, the Disciples were unable to accept requests to oversee a Japanese Chapel and a Chinese boarding school in Honolulu, or to build a chapel on the site of a small mission in Kalihi.

The Methodist Church in Hawai'i continued into the first few years of the 1900s as an unorganized district of the Methodist Church in the United States. The Methodist presence in 1900 consisted of the independent First Methodist church with about eighty-five communicants, and the Japanese Harris Memorial Church with about one hundred communicants. Concerned Japanese Methodists in California continued to help support Harris Memorial, but for the most part it maintained its existence as an organization because of the interest of local residents.

It appears that the Lutheran Church, with its strong German orientation, felt rather distanced from the political events surrounding Hawai'i's organization as a U.S. territory. Of more immediate concern to the church was the movement of Germans from the plantations, primarily on Kaua'i, to Honolulu around
the turn of the century. As a consequence of this movement, combined with the desire of established German businessmen in Honolulu, a German Evangelical Lutheran Church (Lutheran Church of Honolulu) was established in 1900 with the aid of a $50,000 gift from Paul Isenberg and J. F. Hackfeld. This new church faced the difficult task of trying to serve both the well-educated, urban Germans associated with firms such as Hackfield and Co., and the less educated, rural oriented Germans who had come to Hawai'i mainly to work on the plantations. Although the group of Hackfeld associates was in the minority at the church, Bernhard Hormann has observed that they maintained final authority for all decisions until WWI caused drastic changes within the church.

Except for the Lutheran work underwritten by Hackfeld, the Protestant Church found the opening years of the century to be financially lean. The previously mentioned fiscal problems experienced by the Disciples and Episcopalians were echoed in 1903 when the Congregational Church's American Board of Missions withdrew the financial support it had been supplying the HEA. The American Board's action meant an added burden of several thousand dollars a year for the HEA.

In light of the deteriorating financial picture, the HEA reduced its expenditures by about $20,000, to
$34,000 in 1904. Still, it incurred a debt of almost $9,000. It was also at this time that the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society decided to discontinue its longstanding financial support of several of the schools sponsored by the HEA on the various islands. In response, the HEA lowered already low salaries, released Emerson and Leadingham, saw some pastors resign and return to the mainland, and cut off money to its Japanese educational work.

Symbolic of the Protestant Church's situation was the HEA's decision in 1903 to terminate its involvement in the mission work it had begun in Micronesia in 1852. The local church felt it could no longer afford to send out missionaries to other areas as it had done for some fifty years. This decision to curtail missionary efforts in the Pacific clearly symbolized the shift that had taken place from Hawai'i the "Christian nation" of the 1850s to Hawai'i the new American territory with a small and diminishing Protestant presence.
CHAPTER IV
A NEW MISSIONARY ERA: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CHURCH'S ACTIVITIES AND THEOLOGY, 1902-1919

In spite of the rather grim picture that has just been painted of the Protestant Church as it entered the twentieth century, positive changes began to emerge in the wake of Hawai'i's incorporation into the United States. The years 1902 to about 1905 marked a turning point as the church's major factions came to grips with the various problems besetting it.

As there was a time lag between Hawai'i's annexation and its organization as a territory, similarly the positive repercussions for the Protestant Church following annexation did not appear immediately, nor all at once. Even so, the change in political status was a major impetus for the coming of a new era in the life of Protestantism in the Islands.

The cross had come to the Hawaiians before the American flag and in many respects had prepared the way for it. The flag in the early 1900s became the vanguard for the cross. Methodist Superintendent John Wadman enunciated this symbolic reversal in his 1910 report concerning the many plantation workers in Hawai'i:

Most of these immigrants gathered here at our very doors are aliens from non-Christian lands. . . . Here dwelling securely and happily
beneath the protecting flag of Christian America . . . are these thousands of hungry souls to whom in a way at least it is so much easier for us to give the Bread of Life than if we had to cross the seas and seek them in lands far away. Nowhere, then, are opportunities for Mission work so great and gates of privileges so open wide as in Hawaii.¹

The first major indication that the Protestant Church was at a turning point was the transfer of the Anglican Church from English to American jurisdiction in April, 1902. In accordance with its new parent body, the church changed its name to the "Protestant Episcopal Church." This change in appellation and jurisdiction came as a direct result of annexation even though it took four years to implement. The delay probably reflected the slowness of church bureaucracies, Hawai'i's status as an overseas territory, and the smallness of the mission. However, once the transfer had been made, Bishop Restarick lost no time in undertaking the task at hand, to work "for a harmonious spirit within the Diocese and for erasing antagonisms toward the church which had arisen within the community, chiefly from the political views of his predecessor."² Although born in England, Restarick thoroughly represented an American viewpoint. After he had completed theological training at Episcopal-sponsored Griswold College in Iowa, he had led a successful San Diego parish for twenty years before being assigned to Hawai'i.³
The combination of Hawai'i's new status as part of the United States and the presence of large numbers of non-Christian immigrants led the American Methodist Church to organize its Hawai'i work in 1904 as the Hawai'i Mission of the California Conference of the Methodist Church. Before 1904 the Methodist Church relegated its work in Hawai'i to the role of an adjunct to its Pacific Coast Japanese Mission. In reality the work "had been primarily a volunteer organization initiated by local residents and by concerned Californians [working with Japanese] in the San Francisco area."^5

The change in status signified that Hawai'i was now recognized as an independent district deserving of its own Methodist Superintendent. The denomination sent John Wadman to oversee the work. His 1908 annual report revealed that among the factors contributing to the decision to elevate the Methodist work in Hawai'i to an organized district were

The large number of Japanese immigrants arriving during the past few years . . . and the fact that with very few exceptions none of them had been brought, before coming, under any Christian influence and the additional fact that their children born in this Territory are eligible to American citizenship, justifies any evangelical church in establishing a mission, in cooperation with others already organized, for the purpose of leading these many thousands of aliens to a knowledge of the highest and best in our Christian
civilization for which American citizenship must always stand.6

The biggest challenge facing the Protestant Church as it sought to enlarge its influence in the Islands was the continuing numerical decline of its largest component, the HEA. For Congregationalists the task was not a matter of getting established and organized to expand a new or a small work. They were already established and organized, but their organization had not been effective in checking their downward momentum.

A key turning point for the historic church in the Islands came four years after Hawai'i's organization as a Territory when the HEA sent a delegation to the east coast to convince Congregationalists there that the church's work in Hawai'i had reached the point where only one of two courses was possible, advance or retreat, and that to retreat would mean dishonor and disgrace to the entire denomination. It was during this trip that the delegation issued the declaration that "the time had come for a new missionary era."7

The forceful statement of the need for a "new missionary era" was a clear admission by the HEA that the religious picture had changed dramatically since 1863 when the ABCFM had declared Hawai'i a "Protestant Christian nation," no longer to be considered a mission field.8 That the delegation would go to the mainland to
state that the work in the Islands was at the point of bringing disgrace and dishonor to the entire denomination reveals the seriousness with which Congregationalists in Hawai'i viewed the situation. They had a heritage of glowing reports as a mission field in the nineteenth century. It must have been humbling for them to have to come back to their denomination after forty years to tell a story which Doremus Scudder, Corresponding Secretary of the HEA, noted "was an eye-opener to our brethren there."9

The HEA delegation's trip to the East Coast signified more than an admission of difficulties. It also indicated that the HEA believed that if sufficient resources could be mobilized it could advance rather than retreat in the face of obstacles. Scudder, for example, stated that while the 1800s had witnessed "the first missionary era," the first decade of the 1900s was to be denoted as "the second period of advance."10 The Friend expressed a similar sentiment when it concluded

The annual meeting of 1906 is likely to become historic. Our wish for it is like the memorable gathering in 1863, it may mark the beginning of a new era. Forty-three years of missionary effort brought the churches of Hawaii to their culmination in numbers and influence. . . . From that moment decline set in and for the next forty-three years things went from bad to worse. But 1906 marks the staying of the tide.11
There was reason for the HEA to believe that the decline had been stopped and a second period of advance begun. For one thing, the Congregational Church's American Missionary Society responded to the Hawai'i delegation's plea by issuing a $9,000 grant in 1904. This amount was sufficient to cover almost one-fourth of the HEA's budget for its local ministries that year. Scudder reported that this gift led many Congregationalists in Hawai'i to become convinced that the Board had the backing of a great national constituency, that our brethren across the sea believed in us, in our dire need, in the vast importance of this mid-ocean stronghold, and in the necessity of enlarging the Christian enterprise here for the sake of the entire world.

The mainland grant motivated Hawai'i's Congregationalists to contribute $10,000 in extra gifts in 1905 to the HEA, allowing it to finish the year debt free for the first time in four years. Mainland members also aided the newly reorganized Episcopal Church after Restarick's arrival in 1902. Restarick thought aid from Episcopalians on the mainland was only fair because

Men in the Eastern States are making money out of this Territory. They have responsibility as well as we for the heathen in the cane fields of Hawaii and American Churchmen recognize that when the United States assumed control here it meant new duties and obligation for them.

In addition to a sense of obligation, the belief that it was easier to work with aliens under the American flag in
Hawai'i than in their native lands also prompted mainland backing for the Protestants' work in the Islands. HEA Treasurer Theodore Richards cited an example of this conviction in a 1912 article he wrote for the Journal of Race Development:

A prominent businessman of the Western coast once said to the writer that he didn't know much about missions, but if he were to invest money in missionary projects concerning Japan and China, he would do it in Hawaii. His point was that when a people have severed themselves from an old environment and have come to a new country with open minds to see and take in the best which the new country can afford, they are in far better position to drink in the religious truths that that country has to offer. . . . If you cannot bring the Chinese and Japanese to a personal loyalty to the Lord Christ in Hawaii, it is perfectly futile to send missionaries to China and Japan. 16

A comparison of Figures 1 and 2 reveals that 1905 marked a definite turning point in the Protestant Church's communicant totals. After a continual decline in membership for fifty years, the Congregational Church grew significantly in the new missionary era, while the Episcopal and Methodist Churches also attained appreciable increases. Only the Disciples and Lutheran Churches remained static. The net result was that the Protestant communicant figure came close to doubling in this period. Its portion of the total population increased from 4.5 percent in 1900 to 4.8 percent in 1920, in spite of a sizable increase in the Territory's population during this same time. 17 While the Protestants were not able to
Figure 2. The Protestant Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1920.

SOURCE: Tables 7, 10-14.
realize the advance they hoped for during this period, their renewed activity had reversed the long-standing pattern of decline and had indeed stayed the tide.

One of the factors that helped the Protestant Church to rally from the decline it had experienced was the way in which its denominational components began to relate to each other. The established presence by the time of annexation of a number of religious groups, both Protestant and non-Protestant, represented a significant change from the first missionary era. In the 1800s the Congregational Church, as the major, and for a long time sole, Protestant denomination in the Islands, had regarded the introduction of any new religious group as an infringement upon its sphere of influence. At the turn of the century it still felt free to criticize Disciples for their insistence on baptism by immersion and Episcopalians for starting a church near an established Congregational church. \(^{18}\) However, a more cooperative spirit began to emerge. By 1902, for instance, a Disciples minister, in a letter to the mainland, could write

> When it is remembered that our work was begun about eight years ago . . . encountering the familiar obstacles our people usually meet in introducing our special plea where we have never been known, we have made remarkable progress. . . . And now no one questions that we are here to stay. We have won a cordial treatment and recognition in the city.\(^ {19}\)
The change in attitude was partly a reflection of wider ecumenical efforts among Protestant groups on the mainland, as exemplified by formation of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908.

Restarick, a strong advocate for Christian unity, expressed in 1907 a sentiment shared by other Protestants in Hawai'i that the Islands offered a unique environment for church union:

I have often felt that no where else could experiments in organic unity be so readily tried as here if we Christians would put aside pride and prejudice. Christian unity of certain kinds is past the experimental stage. The largest Congregation on the Islands is made up of Presbyterians, Baptists and others who get along very well together. Outside of Honolulu in many places the Union Churches have in them, all Christians in the district of any and all names excepting the Roman Catholics. In six places this Church supplies the only service in English and these congregations get along very well.

The HEA in 1909 echoed the opinion that Hawai'i's ecclesiastical climate was conducive to ecumenicism because

Everywhere the words 'federation' and 'unity' are heard. No field for a union movement is more ripe than Hawaii. One chief reason therefor is that we have here only five Protestant denominations, the Christian or Campbellite, the Congregational or Union, the Episcopalian, the Methodist and the Seventh Day Adventist. Three of these, the Christian, Congregational and Methodist, are practically federated, working in fair cooperation. Hence the proposal of the Hawaiian Church Chronicle [Episcopalian] that it would be well for the historic Churches of the Islands and the Episcopalians to get closer together was welcomed by the Hawaiian Board.
The churches were still issuing calls at the end of the era for church union.23 There was, however, no actual progress toward merger on the denominational level, as organizational and doctrinal convictions were barriers not easily overcome. Although a proclaimed proponent of Christian union, Restarick revealed an obstacle within his own church to organic unity when he wrote in 1907 that: "Our Christian brethren have no objection to receiving the Holy Communion from our clergy. Our people who have a settled conviction of order and authority could not without sacrifice of principle look in the same way at the ministers not ordained by Bishops." Restarick thought it unacceptable to have baptism and Holy Communion administered except according to the provisions of the Book of Common Prayer.24 In addition to questions over matters such as ordination and the sacraments, The Friend recognized that financial considerations also acted as hindrances to organic unity.25

Actual interdenominational union did not prove feasible in the period 1898 to 1919, but a spirit of cooperation and harmony did prevail among Protestant churches. In 1920 an observer of Hawai'i's religious scene testified to the improved spirit of cooperation when he reported: "An era of good feeling between the Episcopal Church and other Christian Churches
has succeeded the unfortunate lack of cooperation during the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the congregational level, the HEA particularly desired to continue its historical practice of incorporating Americans from other denominations into its "Union" churches. In 1920 the HEA had eleven such churches, including Central Union, the largest congregation in the Islands.

The fraternal spirit was evidenced on occasions such as the dedication in 1915 of First Christian Church's new building, at which time Central Union and First Methodist cancelled their Sunday morning services so that they could participate in the program. Donations to various denominations by Congregational missionary descendants such as the Castle, Damon, Baldwin and Wilcox families aided the feeling of brotherhood. In 1910, for instance, Charles Cooke and William Castle, members of Central Union, contributed $5,000 and a corner lot, respectively, toward the erection of a new First Methodist Church. In that same year, some Congregationalists also gave a gift amounting to more than a fourth of the cost of a two-story cloister at St. Andrew's Priory, where many of the Congregational missionary descendants had daughters enrolled.
The spirit of cooperation also came into play in the work with various ethnic groups. Whereas the Union churches were designed to incorporate Caucasian Christians from various Protestant backgrounds, the work with other ethnic groups, particularly immigrant groups, operated along denominational lines under an arrangement known as comity. Under comity arrangements, the Protestant churches sought to cooperate in their efforts rather than to compete and duplicate each other, in keeping with the conviction that competition was an especial waste of energy and money "in a field where we deal with heathenism. These people cannot appreciate the historical causes of our divisions, nor the trivial reasons for different organizations."

The large number of non-Christian immigrants seemed overwhelming to the Protestant Church and created a need for cooperation. Methodists, for instance, made it known that they did not want to trespass on the HEA's field, but they believed the influx of laborers had created an open field for various churches to labor in because the work among such a heterogeneous mass of humanity including 60,000 Japanese, 20,000 Chinese, 15,000 Portuguese, 6,000 Koreans, besides Porto Ricans and others, was so arduous and the burden so heavy that our Congregational friends and co-workers upon whom the responsibilities so heavily rested,
gave us a glad welcome and to this day we continue to work side by side in a spirit of brotherly love and cooperation.33

The comity arrangements, whether formal or informal, reflected the philosophy that: "Where the field was fully occupied by others and where there was none of our own people who needed ministrations, no new work was undertaken."34 These comity agreements primarily involved the Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches, the three denominations with active mission works among immigrant ethnic groups. The minutes of a special meeting of the HEA Board in 1905 reveal the spirit of cooperation in action. The Board called the meeting to discuss the HEA's proposed establishment of a work in Kalihi in light of the fact "that members of the Christian Church had raised the question of comity inasmuch as [they] already had a mission . . . in the same locality."35 For the sake of good relationships, the Board agreed to abstain for the time from opening a mission work in Kalihi.

The ability of the Protestant churches to cooperate with each other in pursuing common goals in the new missionary era stands out as a real achievement. It no doubt contributed considerably to their ability to focus their attention on the missionary task without being debilitated by intra-Protestant Church squabbles. The
fact that the Protestant denominations were, in the main, theologically conservative no doubt contributed greatly to the harmony that prevailed. However, even when liberalism did begin to appear, acrimonious debates were few. In part this stemmed from the absence of extremism on either side. Church historian Robert Handy's stress on the important role that an interest in missions played in the first two decades of the century in furthering the spirit of cooperation may also be relevant. Handy believed tensions between liberals and conservatives were somewhat sublimated in the partnership of piety, progress, and civilization which, it was confidently believed, was preparing the way for the kingdom itself. . . . Evangelicals of various shades felt themselves part of one crusade for the evangelization, the Christianization, and the civilization of the world.36

An examination of the theology of the Protestant Church in Hawai'i during the second missionary era reveals it remained predominantly conservative. It is surprising to find the liberal influence so weak in Hawai'i, particularly between 1900 and about 1912. One reason this is surprising is that the late 1800s up through World War I was the golden age of liberal theology. Secondly, the liberal orientation was prevalent in the mainland affiliate of each of the Hawaiian churches in this study, with the exception of the Lutherans:

Congregationalism, especially in the Northeast and in urban churches, now proved to be the most fertile soil for liberalism. . . . in Northern Methodism as
nowhere in the nation it penetrated to the grassroots. In the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . liberalism also grew strong. . . . and the Disciples of Christ all made important contributions to the liberal movement.\textsuperscript{37}

The conservative theological position of the HEA is evident from even a cursory examination of its views and activities as recorded in reports and minutes throughout the era. William Kincaid, Central Union pastor from 1898 until 1905, voiced the dominant sentiment of his denomination in this period when he spoke of the need for active evangelism in the community and for more effort in order to decrease the number of church members it took "to bring one soul to the point of confessing Christ."\textsuperscript{38}

\textit{The Friend} voiced consistent opposition to liberalism.\textsuperscript{39} In 1901 Sereno Bishop expressed his opinion that on the mainland

The seat of the trouble with the younger Congregational ministers is in the false teaching they have received in a majority of their Theological Seminaries. . . . A considerable proportion of the graduates . . . discard the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and Resurrection of Jesus, of his Atoning Sacrifice, and of Regeneration. Such remaining fragments of the Gospel as they are able to preach, have little savor or power.\textsuperscript{40}

As the period drew to a close, a 1918 editorial warned against trying to mold the post-war church to fit the spirit of the times. The editorial asserted:

That the church should renew its devotion to Christ hardly warrants the belief that "theology must be made over." . . . It is not so long since German-made thought pretty nearly did create a new
theology and a good many of us have not gotten
over our resentment of it. It will do no harm to
remember that the German Welhausen theology gained
its success at the expense of faith in the
Scriptures. If that is what the new church is to
attempt again, we can look for only disaster.41

Under Restarick's tenure as Bishop in Hawaii, the
Episcopal Church maintained a uniformly strong conserva-
tive stance. In 1907 he made known his conviction that

In these Islands of many races how forcibly
is it brought home to us that one thing only can
save the world. It is not a mystical philosophy,
nor an ethical code, nor a teaching of the
prevalence of law. It is the Crucified, the Risen,
the Ascended Christ.42

In his departing message, Restarick expressed regret that
reorganization of the Episcopal Church had occurred at the
national level in 1919 because he felt it resulted in
"too much of a system from which the spirit seems to be
wholly lacking and in which big salaries are paid."43

The Methodist Church was also theologically
conservative during this era. Wadman used language
characteristic of conservatives with pietistic backgrounds
when he called in 1908 for "less formality in religion,
and more of the evangelical type-less of professionalism
in church life and more of fervour and zeal in experi-
mental aggressiveness."44 That same year, David Crane,
First Methodist pastor, urged his church's leadership to
become more active in evangelism and stated, "We need a
revival more than anything else."45 William Fry,
Superintendent from 1914 through the end of this period, clearly called for a program of "soul-converting power" instead of "respectable formalism" in his 1919 address to the Methodists. He warned against any tendency to "steer by fog banks that drift," and predicted that "in these days of reconstruction upon which we enter, there will be scarcely a rule of Christian conduct of fundamental truth, that will not be assailed in the name of some fad or ism."

Although the Disciples in Hawai'i did not have a denominational leader or publication to look to as an indicator of dominant theological views, it appears they too were for the most part conservatively oriented. There were, in this period, six pastors at First Christian Church and a number of other Disciples missions workers. Of these personnel, only one, who will be included in the discussion which follows, can be identified as espousing liberal theological views.

The instances where liberalism did appear in this period stand out as exceptions. In 1910 there were 136 Protestant churches in Hawai'i; and only two, Wailuku and Kahului Union (HEA), can be identified as being liberal churches for any part of the decade 1900-1910. By 1920 there were 155 churches; and only three additional churches, Central Union, First Methodist, and First
Christian can be grouped in the liberal category for any part of the decade 1910-1920.

The first indication of the appearance of liberalism among the otherwise conservative churches came in 1909 when The Friend reported that Wailuku under Rowland Dodge (1906-1919) and Kahului under Theodore Waltrip (1908-1910) had dropped their creeds in favor of covenant statements for those desiring membership. The Kahului membership covenant, quoted in part as follows, affirmed traditional liberal theological positions:

Solemnly confessing my faith in the Fatherhood of God, affirming my belief in the brotherhood of man, and sincerely acknowledging the leadership of Jesus, and His Spirit as the ruling principle of my life, I do now enter into covenant with this Church.47

In 1912 Bishop Restarick reported to his Episcopal readership that the theological views of the Congregational church at Wailuku had recently been publicly questioned. Restarick's assessment, which reflected the traditional conservative position was that people have told us that they were admitted into that Union organization with the avowed understanding that they did not believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ. The minister, as far as can be ascertained, does not believe in the Incarnation, but holds an ancient heretical view that Divinity came to Jesus in His youth or later life. . . . This is virtually an old-fashioned Unitarian position, a species of Arianism, such as Channing held, only presented in modern verbiage. . . . The whole matter makes us sad. Here is the religious body which so largely Christianized these Islands drifting into a denial of the truth. . . . 48
It was also in 1912 that The Friend, then under the editorship of Central Union pastor (1907-1916) Doremus Scudder, issued a lengthy refutation of what he termed the "canard" that he was attempting "to take Central Union Church out of the company of evangelical churches into so-called liberal or Unitarian ranks." Scudder's refutation, written in the third person, asserted that his "own personal theological views are conservative," but that because he admitted into church membership "every honest disciple of Christ irrespective of his theological views," and "because he uses modern scientific language," he had been misunderstood by both conservatives and liberals: "He has been pilloried by the former and hailed by the latter as a Unitarian, whereas there is probably not a more thorough going Trinitarian in Hawaii than he." After seeming to clarify his position, he then proceeded to muddy the water again when, without elaboration, he continued: "But his Trinitarianism is not of the Three-God-One-God type, taught in some of our seminaries a half century ago. It is that of the New Psychology of today." The Friend did not help matters the following year when, still under Scudder, it editorialized

The Friend . . . has never believed in orthodoxy, that frightful, infallible Protestant Pope. . . . Unlike Princeton Seminary as interpreted by President Patton, it does not believe today
 substantially what was believed one hundred years ago by the forbears of its present supporters. It believes in a Progressive Christ and a progressive revelation of truth.\textsuperscript{51}

Charles Dole, Unitarian Church minister from New York and cousin of Sanford Dole, visited Hawai‘i in 1916. He later wrote that

Dr. Doremus Scudder, well known in Boston, was the minister [of Central Union] when we first visited Honolulu. He was trustful enough to have me preach for him, a rather courageous act on his part. I also found in the flourishing Methodist church [Leon Loofbourrow] and in the "Christian" church [D. C. Peters] ministers who had outgrown the dogmatic type of religion.\textsuperscript{52}

If Scudder did not want to be labeled a theological liberal, the same was certainly not the case for his successor at Central Union, Albert Palmer (1918-1924). Although material from the twenties gives a clearer indication of his liberal perspective, one can infer his orientation from the content of a series of evening lectures he delivered in 1919 entitled "A Second Series on Religion, Psychology, Health and Happiness."\textsuperscript{53}

The contention caused by Peters' views at First Christian Church was evident in a 1919 letter C. J. Harrison, a worker in the Disciples Church for many years, wrote to mainland supporters. She expressed her feeling that

Dec. 21 was a red-letter day for Honolulu Church. A. G. A. Buxton began his work as minister by plain, true to the line talk as to his position --foursquare on the Book. . . . We hope we are
done now with hypnotism, 'criticism,' etc, and can be on the firing line once more.54

Leon Loofbourow was the minister of the First Methodist Church from 1915 to 1919; no specific indication of his position was found in addition to Charles Dole's assessment. What is known is that the three churches mentioned by Dole seemed to identify with each other during the latter part of this period. As has been mentioned, Central Union and First Methodist cancelled their morning services in 1915 in order to attend the dedication of First Christian's new building.55

A 1923 letter written in an effort to raise community funds for the Disciples' mission work in Kaimuki reported that in about 1918 "this Mission started in Kaimuki as a union effort of the Methodist, Central Union and Christian Church. Later the above churches withdrew from the mission which as a result became an independent organization."56

Several possibilities can be suggested as to why Hawai'i remained so theologically conservative during the period under consideration. For one, Hawai'i was separated from the Eastern urban centers of liberalism by more than just geographical distance. The Islands were still 64 percent rural in 1920,57 making them comparable to the area in which the conservative Southern Methodists, Southern Baptists, Southern Presbyterians,
and Churches of Christ dominated the religious scene. Likewise, Honolulu was a town of only 82,000 in 1920. Although a port town, it was in terms of size more comparable to Savannah (83,000), or even Memphis (162,000), than to Toledo (243,000), Buffalo (506,000), or Boston (748,000).

Also important is the fact that in 1920 71 percent of the Protestants in Hawai'i were of Hawaiian or Oriental ancestry, the vast majority of the latter being first generation immigrants. Predominantly non-Caucasian, with mostly non-Caucasian ministers trained either in the Orient, Hawai'i, or California, the churches in Hawai'i were in composition closer to the conservative Lutheran and Roman Catholic immigrant churches on the mainland than to their own denominational affiliates.

Although Hawai'i was an American territory during the new missionary era, it possessed more of the characteristics of a foreign mission field than of an urban home mission center of Social Gospel activity. One dominant motivation for the interest in foreign missions during this era was concern for the souls of those dying without Christ. Religious historian William Warren Sweet has concluded that:

To the generation before the war [WWI], foreign missions were generally considered to offer the best opportunity 'of expressing the fullest commitment to the Christian life.' Following the
war . . . the appeal of foreign missions as a life
work more and more gave place to an increasing
interest among college youth in world peace, in
economic injustice and in the race problem.62

Most of the church workers coming to Hawai'i up
through 1919 did not have world peace, economic injustice
or the race problem as their primary interest. Those
concerns could be pursued in cities such as Toledo,
Buffalo and Boston among groups who were for the most
part considered to be at least nominally Christian, if
not Protestant. Other than for pastorates in a handful of
English-language churches, the pressing need expressed
during the new missionary era in Hawai'i was for men
interested in crossing the Pacific to spread the Christian
message among Asians in Hawai'i. Such an appeal tended
to attract conservatively oriented people to a field
that had traditionally been conservative.

Preaching the gospel, an imperative among theologi-
cally conservative Christians, was the major emphasis of
the Protestants in the new missionary era as they worked
to expand their influence in Hawai'i. Although each
denomination used its own terminology, the individuals
responsible for preaching the gospel can be grouped into
three basic categories. First there were pastors,
ministers, or priests, typically ordained men who served
individual churches or groups of small churches. As
pastors, their responsibilities entailed not only
evangelizing and baptizing, but also teaching, counseling, and administering the affairs of their congregations.

The diversity of responsibilities handled by pastors created a need for a second category, that of evangelists:

Each pastor should be his own evangelist. . . . As he is to be their guide in their religious training, he should be likewise the awakening agent among them. . . . And yet there are times when the pastor's earnest work may very wisely be supplemented by the presence in his field of men who have special aptitude for evangelistic work.63

The churches employed special evangelists primarily to work among non-Caucasian ethnic groups. Protestant leadership evidently assumed that the Caucasian population, excepting the Portuguese, was for the most part already Protestants and that its responsibility to this group was to make available English-language churches.

Active evangelistic efforts among the Japanese in Honolulu were exemplified by the Central Union sponsored gospel mission in the Kaka'ako district bordering downtown and the docks. Evangelist P. W. Rider later provided a description of his and colleague John Magoon's efforts to open this work in 1902. After going house to house and finding much bitter opposition to their message, Rider and Magoon still decided to secure a room in order to open a mission. They rented a hall, then held their first meeting which started, Rider recalled, when
We stood on the street alone, sang up a crowd—such a crowd one could hardly find in any other place in the world. I told them what we intended to do, and we were going to stay among them and do our part without any regard to their declarations of intentions against the work or the workers. After a short talk on the street, they were invited into the hall. A very few dirty little boys and girls, and five or six drunken men and women, came in...

It was almost impossible to hear our own voice from the noise, curses and threats made by the crowd on the outside. After a short service we went among them, shaking hands with all who would let us, inviting all to come again. The outside crowd came regularly, but only to disturb the meeting. We always held street meetings before entering the hall. It was very discouraging at times.

Their dedication and persistence kept the mission in operation at least until the time of Magoon's 1910 report on the work. 64

Protestants also carried out evangelistic work among the Japanese on the plantations. Evangelist Mitsutaro Tsuji, for example, wrote in his 1909 report to the HEA that

We had lecture meeting on end of the last month at Japanese camp in Wahiawa. Mr. Takahashi and Mr. Kotani and myself met together and preached about Christian religion to the people of that camp. It was pretty good meeting. It was first time meeting there for the sake of the Gospel. People are expecting very much to have such kind of meeting sometimes... So many gamble men are stopping among that camp, people are very much complaining of it. I hope that you will remember about Dendo (evangelizing) of that place. 65

The desire to stress evangelistic preaching among other non-Caucasian groups was equally evident. The HEA's
1917 annual report conveyed the high priority given to such preaching among the Hawaiians when it stated that its Board "believed that the primary need of the [Hawaiian] churches was to have the gospel preached to them, hence several evangelistic campaigns were conducted [in 1916] which reached a large number of the Hawaiian churches."\textsuperscript{66} A similar emphasis in the work with Chinese can be seen in a 1912 call for Chinese-speaking "evangelists who can teach, rather than teachers who cannot do the work of an evangelist."\textsuperscript{67} Among Koreans on Maui, the work of a Methodist evangelist invited comparison with Methodist workers on the American frontier a century earlier:

\begin{quote}
C. P. Hong, living at Spreckelsville for the past five or six years, is our only Korean worker in Maui. He is a veritable circuit rider, an itinerant Methodist preacher, traveling the entire length and breadth of the island and caring for the dozen or more stations which have been established.\textsuperscript{68}
\end{quote}

After 1910, the HEA and Methodists frequently issued calls for evangelism among newly arrived Filipinos and they made efforts to bring evangelists to Hawai'i from the Philippines.\textsuperscript{69}

The third basic category of those active in preaching the gospel was laypersons, those individuals who undertook, without pay, to help spread the message of the Protestant Church. The role of the lay evangelist
seems to have been particularly important to the Methodists in their work with Asians. In 1910, for instance, they had seventy-four preaching points under the supervision of a fluctuating group of twenty-two to thirty-three lay workers. In 1914 Methodists had forty-six laymen serving as local preachers or exhorters.

Japanese laypersons in the Congregational Church were also active in such evangelistic programs as "1,000 for Christ," and "Men and Religion Forward Movement." The rapidly growing Makiki Christian Church seemed particularly successful in recruiting laypersons for its outreach. Laypersons worked under Takie Okumura using the following plan:

The Makiki district is divided into the care of thirteen members. Every Sunday afternoon they visit from house to house in their own neighborhood, giving tracts to the Japanese who are working in families. The Evangelical Company is organized with ten members and fifteen children. Every Saturday evening this company holds open air meetings in camps in their districts, with three or four speakers. The members who have no time to attend these movements make self-denial offerings to support the expenses.

Perhaps because of the difficulties presented by the language barriers, perhaps because of standards set by some of the denominations for their workers, or because they did not rate headlines, little information is available on the preaching carried out by the individuals in this third category.
There appears to have been reduced evangelistic activity in the post-World War I years. As the mission centennial approached, the HEA's board noted that "the walls of our churches have fallen down in some places... On the 100th anniversary of missionary work in the Territory it is well for us to look them over." In doing so, the board concluded that part of the problem stemmed from "deadened enthusiasm of pastors and evangelists." The majority of those on the board sought to change this attitude and as the era drew to a close the board laid plans for a major denomination-wide evangelistic campaign as a lead in to the 1920 centennial celebration.74

In addition to evangelism, the Protestants undertook various social ministries in the new missionary era. A prime example was the Palama Settlement House, an extensive facility established in 1896 under the aegis of the Congregational Church. It sponsored recreational and social activities, operated a rooming house, conducted a kindergarten, sewing classes, carpentry classes, a night school and Sunday school, provided a library, ran a nurses' dispensary, distributed pure milk for infants, and provided an employment bureau. As stated by one of the settlement workers,

The making of clean, healthy, normal and independent citizens has been the aim of the Settlement. It is not possible to have these
without a moral foundation and where could one better be found than in the Religion of the Nazarene. 75

Waiākea Social Settlement in Hilo and the Alexander House on Maui were two other examples of similar HEA ventures.

Sometimes a team of social workers conducted these ministries, sometimes a concerned individual or couple. The latter was the situation in the case of the Okumura Home for boys and girls. The HEA brought Takie Okumura to Hawai‘i from Japan in the 1890s to serve as a pastor and evangelist. The Okumura Home got its start when Okumura took one boy into his home while the boy’s mother was away in Japan. 76

When Okumura brought his wife, Katsuko, to join him in Hawai‘i in 1896, she found that her "family" included ten boys boarding at their house, all in one room: "Small double-decked bunks were set against each of the four walls and the children, including our own, slept in them." Within a few years, the boarding home had moved into its own facility and had an average of seventy boys, all under Katsuko’s care, with the help of one hired cook. In rather graphic terms, Okumura reflected that

My wife took personal care of each child, from changing his clothes to taking care of bed wetters and cleaning up after those who accidentally moved their bowels. It was an extremely hard life by any measure.
When the war [World War II] broke out she started to worry about the children away in New York, and with so many children under her care and so many mouths to feed, she wondered constantly whether she would have enough rice and soy sauce to feed them all. These and a thousand other things worried and pained her, eventually weakening her heart. ... On March 5, 1942, she passed on to her eternal sleep.

In the course of over forty years, some 1,300 boys, girls, and college students were cared for in the Okumura Home. Among the many students who boarded with the Okumuras in later years was future Senator Spark Matsunaga.

A combination of social and educational endeavors was evident in the work of Shiro Sokabe, who came to Hawai'i from Japan in 1894 to minister with the Congregational Church. The HEA assigned him to the Hāmākua district on the island of Hawai'i, where he labored with little outside notice for fifty years. He established at Honomū a boarding school for youths and a residential compound for adults, through which his influence was extended to more than a thousand children and many adults. His boarding school attracted not only children of Christian plantation workers, but also orphaned or neglected youths, delinquents referred by the courts, and children whose Buddhist parents were impressed with his emphasis on filial respect and sense of duty. In the words of one of his colleagues, Sokabe was "a
cross between a New England Puritan, . . . a loyal
devotee of Bushido and a Christlike lover of children." The Rev. Royden Susumago, whose mother taught at Sokabe's school, wrote of Sokabe in 1930 that

He is the finest Japanese in the Hawaiian islands, . . . not only a great social worker, but a great intellect and individual, a broad-minded, progressive, sincere Christian . . . whose influence upon the younger generation comes through his everyday life.80

The Methodists established the Susannah Wesley Home in Honolulu in 1903. In 1914 the Home cared for twenty homeless Japanese and Korean girls; by 1918 it housed fifty-four girls, with a new policy of accepting those of any nationality.81 In conjunction with their Korean work, the Methodists organized a benevolent society, a boarding school, and a hospital. A full range of services was soon provided in connection with the church's work on the plantations. At Kahuku, for example, some sixty-five to seventy Japanese children were involved in the church's day school, language school, English school, and nursery school: "The pastor [E. Tokimase], his wife and three assistants conducted the nursery and school from 4:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.--providing care, feeding and instruction while parents worked in the cane fields."82

At the beginning of the period the Disciples were involved in several social ministries. One focus was on the large scale prostitution operation centered in the
Iwilei district of Honolulu. Due mainly to the presence of large numbers of male plantation workers, along with some military and seamen, in the early 1900s men fifteen years and over outnumbered women in Hawai'i by three to one. This imbalance, even more pronounced among the immigrant groups, was conducive to a high incidence of prostitution. Because the Japanese were the largest, as well as most recent, group of immigrant plantation laborers at the turn of the century, it is not too surprising that among 269 identified prostitutes in 1899, 226 were Japanese.

Disciples' worker Calla Harrison gave her mainland readers a rather vivid picture of the situation in Iwilei when she wrote

Iwilei, meaning 'bones of the reef' is the horror of all. . . . More bitter than death, more cruel than the grave, more vile than hell, are her prison-pens for women. Inside a high stockade are long rows of rooms each 8x10 feet, with cement floor, one window and door. Each rents for $15 per month. The net gain on the whole stockade is from $2000 to $3000 per month. The company that owns the largest is composed of good, respectable citizens, church members, etc., all headed by the Treasurer of Hawaii.

Women are brought in from Japan mainly. They are mortgaged or sold by parents, husbands or themselves, and smuggled in in boxes as goods, lied in, gotten in in any way—and from 4 P.M. to 2 A.M. the stockade gates are open. Then a crowd of men—moneyed men in hacks; poor men on foot; men white, men brown, men yellow and black—surge up the street and through the gates.
The prostitution operation in Iwilei, supported by some powerful individuals, was obviously profitable and in public demand. In spite of consistent efforts by Disciples' workers to shut this operation down, the most they could claim in the way of progress was that they succeeded in having the stockades closed on Sundays.86

A 1901 report indicates the Disciples also had a prison ministry in the Iwilei district. It stated that missionary A. K. Azbill "had the happiness of bringing two innocent Japanese out of prison, where they had been for months through a perversion of island justice." In the Kona district of the island of Hawai'i, the Disciples sponsored an orphanage where they cared for about twenty children until financial difficulties forced them to shut it down about the turn of the century.87

The Episcopalians' work with the Chinese and Japanese in Mō'ili'ili illustrates the manner in which some of the Protestant Church's social ministries came into being. Not long after St. Mary's Mission was established in the area in 1902, a day school and a Saturday morning sewing school for girls were begun. Workers noted that many of the girls attending the classes were undernourished, so the mission began supplying a midday meal and opened a small clinic. The mission secured a permanent site in 1911 with a building that included staff
living quarters. Soon after, young girls looking for a home began finding their way to St. Mary's. The mission workers turned no one away, which meant that the staff living room soon became a dormitory. After the mission house, intended for three people, had taken in twenty-three, the Episcopalians organized an orphanage in 1918 which cared for scores of homeless children until after World War II when there was no longer a need for such homes.\textsuperscript{88}

The Episcopal Church engaged in an innovative project when it built a number of small cottages during this period on the grounds of St. Elizabeth's Chinese Mission in Pālama. Built for the young married men who attended the Mission's night school, the low rent housing project was the first of its kind in Hawai'i and was a feature frequently exhibited to visitors. The Episcopal Church also opened Cluett House on Queen Emma Square as a residence for women working in the city or attending the University of Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{89} Coupled with these housing ventures was an expressed desire to rid downtown Honolulu of its tenement slums.\textsuperscript{90}

These various social ministries support the conviction that the Protestant Church's theological conservatism during the new missionary era was for the most part moderate, rather than reactionary. It was willing to seek involvement in improving the social
condition of its community as an integral aspect of its mission. At times this involvement necessitated a broader conception of the gospel than would be concurred with by those holding to the tenets of fundamentalism. Doremus Scudder alluded to a broadening of perspective since the first missionary era when he stated in 1904, with reference to Alexander House on Maui, that

Doubtless the missionary fathers if still alive would disapprove of some features of such a settlement but being in heaven they know better. . . . It is proving itself the best possible solvent for the difficulties besetting the social training of the young people of our mixed population.91

As the period under consideration drew to a close, the HEA leadership expressed the belief that: "The Church is directly responsible for the whole community. Its gospel must be carried by every legitimate means to all classes, and conditions and races in every center where it operates." Among the legitimate means cited to carry the gospel were: Athletics, education, recreation, community service, good government, social activities, worship, Bible instruction and training of leaders.92 Yet there also seems to have been some questioning of what were actually appropriate avenues to carry the gospel. This questioning seems to have been behind the HEA's decision in 1915 to release some of its teachers from their jobs in the aftermath of adopting a "policy of
not continuing in its employ, those who are simply engaged in secular work, and not in some definite religious work."®

Perhaps Umetero Okumura epitomized the tension that the HEA in particular seemed to be experiencing at the end of the new missionary era with regard to the role that social involvement should have in the activity of the churches. Okumura was the oldest son of the zealous HEA minister and evangelist Takie Okumura. Okumura and his father were similar in many ways and the two worked like a team. Okumura often acted as translator for his father and worked with him in extending Makiki Christian Church's influence into surrounding areas by means of starting Sunday schools.® Yet Okumura was a graduate of Yale, an institution crucial to the development of liberalism in Congregational churches.® Although The Friend referred to Okumura as an HEA evangelist, he actually worked for the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association. One of his contemporaries has recalled that he never heard Okumura preach an evangelistic message.®

In 1919 Okumura sounded what would be an increasingly heard note in the Protestant Church's outreach in the twenties and beyond. In his call for a building for his work among the Japanese in Mo'ili'ilī, Okumura stated

"Our center should emphasize the social relief side. . . . The Japanese in Moiliili . . . are
strong Buddhists. Mere preaching will not attract them. Through entertainment, movies, etc., and actual relief work we can bring them into our institution.97

Education was a third major activity Protestants pursued in the new missionary era. The Congregational Church had established Hawai'i's first Western educational system during the first missionary era, but the time and expense required to run it prompted the missionaries to ask the government to take it over. The government did this in 1840, although the sectarian nature of most of the common schools continued past the 1850s.98 The government continued subsidizing religious and other private schools until the constitution of the Republic of Hawai'i made such practices illegal after 1896. Also in 1896, Hawai'i's legislature enacted a measure barring ministers from serving on the Board of Education. This action completed the process begun in 1840 of separating the churches and public instruction.99

The Protestant Church, in the opening decades of the twentieth century, lamented that little Christian character building was being instilled through the public schools.100 Such Christian education as existed in the schools was left up to individual churches to initiate. What resulted was a sporadic, poorly financed voluntary program that lacked both a unified curriculum and definite aim.101 The problem was not that the Protestant
Church lacked an interest in education. The value of education was strongly rooted in both the Congregational and Episcopal churches. It appears that rather than trying to work via the public school system, the denominations chose to focus their resources on sponsoring schools that would be under their jurisdiction.

It took a major commitment of personnel and finances to operate a church school. An idea of the relative cost factor can be inferred from the HEA's 1908 report of funds to be raised: $15,000 for unspecified missionary work; $25,000 for Palama Settlement House; $300,000 toward the construction of Mid-Pacific Institute; $50,000 each for Hilo Boarding School, Kohala Seminary and Mauna'olu Seminary. In light of the resources required, it is not surprising to find the two largest and most established Protestant groups, the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians, conducted nearly all the church schools in this era.

Mid-Pacific Institute was the largest Congregational Church sponsored school of this period with 314 students in 1919. It was formed in 1905 through an amalgamation of Kawaiha'o Seminary and Mills School. Kawaiha'o Seminary had been established in the 1860s as a school for Hawaiian girls but by 1900 also enrolled some Chinese, Japanese, and Caucasian girls. Mills
had been founded in the early 1800s as a school for Chinese boys. While operating as a division of the Mid-Pacific Institute, Mills School absorbed both Takie Okumura's Japanese Boarding School and the Methodists' Korean Boarding School.

The HEA saw Mid-Pacific Institute as a means both to train indigenous evangelists for the Orient and to help make Hawai'i a bridge between East and West, a goal expressed in the Institute's name. HEA Secretary Doremus Scudder voiced this vision at the time of Mid-Pacific's founding when he stated

No one can doubt that the intercourse between our nation and these three peoples [Japanese, Chinese, Korean] of Eastern Asia must grow closer with each succeeding year. Hawaii is to play a peculiarly intimate role in introducing them to one another. This Territory also is to send to the remotest parts of these three Eastern countries the message of the Carpenter of Nazareth and to do so by men native to each. Already this work has begun. To accomplish this destiny fully there must be a training school here on these islands to inaugurate this notable missionary advance. This is one of the ideals that move us in the establishment of this enlarged institution.

The HEA also sponsored a Chinese Mission day school in Honolulu with 61 students in 1919, Mauna'olu Seminary on Maui, with 112 pupils, almost all Hawaiian, in 1901, East Maui Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, and Kohala Seminary on the island of Hawai'i.

The Episcopal Church invested much effort and money in education in the conviction that "the best work that
the Church is doing in the Hawaiian Islands is among its young people in the schools." The work nearest my heart is St. Andrew's Priory School. The Priory was founded in 1867 for girls from well-to-do Hawaiian families, but Restarick implemented the policy whereby the Priory turned no one away because of inability to pay the tuition. The boys' counterpart to the Priory was 'Iolani, founded by Bishop Willis in 1872 and operated on property he owned. Under Willis, 'Iolani was regarded as the headquarters for royalists opposing the growth of American influence. The school suffered after annexation, declining from eighty-nine boys enrolled in 1899 to about thirty in 1902. After Restarick arrived in Hawai'i the school developed a new image and by 1919 its enrollment had grown to 225 students, most of whom were Chinese. One of 'Iolani's most famous alumni was the future president of the Republic of China, Sun Yat Sen, who attended from 1880 to 1886 under the name Tai Chu.

Another sizeable Episcopal school was St. Mary's, with 116 students in 1919. St. Mary's Church started its day school in 1907 in order to meet the needs of the large number of Chinese girls whose conservative parents would not allow them to attend public school. St. Mary's was one of the first schools in the Islands to give a
noon meal to its students. The Episcopal Church also conducted schools of Japanese, Chinese and Korean youth in Honolulu, on Maui, and on Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{116}

The Methodists' main educational venture was a grammar school for Koreans established in 1906. Called the Korean Compound, it was a boarding school for boys and girls that offered courses up to the eighth grade.\textsuperscript{117} The Methodist Church made arrangements in 1914 with Syngman Rhee, the future president of Korea, to serve as principal of the school, which had by that time grown to an enrollment of 120 students.\textsuperscript{118} The Methodist Church's leadership abruptly closed the school in 1918 in the aftermath of strong disagreements between themselves and Rhee (as will be discussed in the next chapter). Rhee then established an independent denomination with its own school, the Korean Christian Institute, that took most of the Korean Compound's students. The remaining students were absorbed into Mid-Pacific Institute.\textsuperscript{119}

As a consequence of World War I, the German language schools sponsored by the Lutheran Church in Līhu'e and Honolulu were severely disrupted. The school in Honolulu changed to English instruction and was reduced to two afternoons a week while the school in Līhu'e was completely shut down.\textsuperscript{120}
A major impetus for the support of the Protestant church-school concept, particularly toward the end of the period, was the increasing focus on Hawai'i born Asian youth as the means to reach Hawai'i's Asian population. The educational system was quite conducive to implementing the Protestant Church's increased emphasis after World War I on Americanization and assimilation. The schools were thus evaluated not only in terms of any immediate additions they provided in church membership but also in terms of their long range impact. This perspective is evident in the 1918 report of the Episcopal Church's Committee on Education. After conceding that the percentage of baptisms in the church schools where Asians predominated had been low that year, the committee went on to state:

The question naturally arises, "Does it pay to put so much time and money into day schools where so few are brought into the Church?" There is no doubt but that all of our schools are exercising a strong religious influence on the pupils . . . and we are sure that in the years to come the present labors will bear fruit abundantly. . . . Your Committee on Education feels assured that the schools are doing a far-reaching work in the laying of a Christian foundation for the coming generation of American citizens, and that the Church in the Islands should use every effort towards building up and strengthening all of our institutions of learning.121

The years from roughly 1902 to 1905 marked a shift in the fortunes of the Protestant Church. After decades of steady decline stemming from both external and internal
factors, the Protestant Church began once more to advance. Significant organizational changes within the HEA, Episcopal and Methodist churches along with the HEA's declaration of the need for a new missionary era reflected the concerted effort undertaken to initiate this upward momentum. Although there was something of a time lag, the coming of the American flag to the Islands provided part of the impetus for Protestantism's changed outlook. Walter Frear, Territorial governor from 1907 to 1913, noted this connection when he asserted at the 1920 Mission Centennial that the period 1900 to 1919 was a time "of political incorporation in the United States, with . . . quickened religious and moral interest." 122

The Protestant Church attained appreciable growth during the years 1905 to 1919, aided by consistently harmonious relationships among the various denominations within its fold. The predominant conservative theology throughout the churches no doubt contributed to the prevailing spirit of cooperation. Protestant Christianity's conservative orientation was somewhat unexpected but it appears that Hawai'i's geographical location and demographic make-up meant that the Islands more closely approximated the traditionally conservative foreign mission field than a typical urban center of Social Gospel activity.
Three basic methods were identified whereby Protestants sought to increase their strength in the community, namely evangelistic preaching, social ministries and education. All three avenues seemed to benefit the churches, though an increasing emphasis on the latter two approaches can be detected toward the end of the era. Each of the avenues had noteworthy aspects. Remarkable zeal and perseverance characterized the evangelists of this era, both professional and lay men. Sacrifice and dedication marked the lives of those involved in social ministries, many of which seemed to spring up without much forethought as individuals responded to human needs for shelter, nourishment and care. The success of the church schools encouraged Protestants to believe that long term benefits would be forthcoming from these nurturing ventures.

With this overview of the Protestant Church's status, theology and ministries during the new missionary era in mind, a closer look can now be taken at its efforts to work among the peoples of Hawai'i. It is by examining Protestant Christianity in terms of Hawai'i's ethnic groups that one can best get a feel for and insight into its achievements and frustrations during this crucial era for the life of the churches.
CHAPTER V

A NEW MISSIONARY ERA: THE FOCUS ON ETHNIC GROUPS

Demographic changes occurring in Hawai'i between the 1860s and the early 1900s created the need for a striking "new" aspect to the second missionary era. Whereas in 1820 Hawaiians had comprised close to 100 percent of the population of Hawai'i, by 1900 Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians made up only 24 percent of the population; twenty years later this figure was down to about 16 percent. At the turn of the century the leadership of the Congregational Church began to consider whether the presence of an increasing number of immigrants in Hawai'i warranted a new policy for reaching the various ethnic groups. In 1903 The Friend voiced the opinion that

The period is critical because the Hawaiian work for which it once exclusively stood, has become, owing to the development of its own work among other races and the decrease of the native population, a part instead of the whole, and it now rests with the Board to decide whether its efforts and influence shall decline with the decrease of the native peoples, or whether it will adjust itself to the large and growing demands of the work among other races.

The work among other groups was to receive much attention and energy from the Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches as the focus of the new missionary era. Methodist Superintendent William Fry made clear the emphasis given to converting the Asian immigrant
groups when he reported in 1917 that "the coming of the Oriental brought a new mission and larger opportunity to the church. It is with the Oriental of Hawaii that the real missionary problem rests."\(^4\)

R. H. Trent, Methodist layman and Bishop Estate trustee, described in an article for the 1920 Mission Centennial the spread of the Methodist Church's work among the ethnic groups in Hawaii. The first permanent Methodist church was organized in the 1890s, when Methodists from the mainland met together in order to worship in accordance with their customs:

Later, when the Japanese began coming in in ever increasingly large numbers, it was found that many of the newcomers had been associated with Methodist missions in their homeland, and Japanese pastors were engaged and churches organized for these people in order to hold them true to the faith. . . . This same process was repeated when the Koreans came, and again when the Filipinos began to come.\(^5\)

The effect of this process is seen in the fact that in 1900 the Methodists had one English\(^6\) and one Japanese church, whereas in 1920 they had one English, seven Japanese, fourteen Korean, and four Filipino churches.\(^7\)

The Congregational Church also undertook major efforts with the various immigrant groups, while not neglecting its traditional English and Hawaiian works. The church took a key step in implementing the new focus on the recent arrivals when in 1904 it reorganized its work into ethnic-group departments. Until this time the
ties between the HEA's Hawaiian and English churches on the one hand and the immigrant labor churches on the other were so few as to be practically non-existent. In a step to improve this situation, the 1904 reorganization created Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, and English-Portuguese departments. The HEA's works among these groups, along with the Filipinos after 1915, all experienced growth in the years 1900-1919.

Restarick noted the Episcopal Church's efforts to broaden its outreach when he reflected on his tenure as bishop from 1902 to 1920: "It had always been my policy ... to seek opportunities for extending church work and not wait until people asked for services. So it has been that St. Elizabeth's [Chinese], St. Mark's [Hawaiian], St. Mary's [Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese], and the Epiphany [Japanese] were founded in Honolulu, as well as missions in other places."

The Disciples started several missions among the Chinese and Japanese in the late 1890s and early 1900s that showed initial promise. In 1905 The Friend observed

The Christian Church ... does not possess a large membership, nor does it extend its branches into other islands. Nevertheless, in Honolulu it has the reputation of being the most active in city missions, watching for and entering into the excellent opportunities for establishing missions in the suburbs of Honolulu. Its pastors have left marked impressions on the religious life of the city.
The early promising efforts were not maintained, however. A letter written by First Christian Church minister G. D. Edwards in 1906 cited examples of the money invested in the field by the Methodists and spoke of the aggressiveness of the Congregationalists, in comparison with which

Our work here in Honolulu in the Central Church has just about strength enough financially to keep itself going. . . . Our present missionary has given notice that he expects to give up this work in March, 1907. . . . We shall be a long time doing anything worthy of us at the present rate.12

Dissension that arose at the start of the century over the appearance of liberalism in certain sectors of the denomination directly affected the Disciples' mission work, particularly after its mission agency accepted money from John D. Rockefeller, a theological liberal, in 1905.13 As a result of theological and organizational differences that were closely connected to the issue of missions, the Disciples officially split in 1906 and would separate again over the same issues in the 1920s.14

One repercussion of mainland denominational problems was that by 1911 the Disciples' work in Hawai'i had no mainland-funded personnel and was receiving a mere $10 a month support from the Disciples' mission agency.15

The lack of finances, personnel, and denominational support meant that at the close of the period being examined, First Christian Church and a small Sunday school in Kaimuki were the only Disciples' works in
Hawai'i. As a result, Disciples communicants in 1919 were concentrated in one church that was about 87 percent Caucasian, 12 percent Chinese, 1 percent Hawaiian and Japanese.16

The Lutheran Church was unique among the mainline Protestant denominations in Hawai'i during this era, for it felt its task was to meet the needs of German Lutherans. Its story is worth telling and for organizational purposes will be covered in the section dealing with English-language churches.

Since the new missionary era focused on the various ethnic groups, an examination of the work done with each of them is a natural way to flesh out the picture of the Protestant Church's history in this period. The Congregational Church led the way with its reorganization in 1904, but the other denominations' ethnic works also fit this pattern. Actually, these divisions were not so much ethnic per se as they were language groupings: Hawaiian-English-Chinese-Japanese- and Korean-speaking people needed to hear the Christian message in their own tongue. The need for the Protestant Church in Hawai'i to organize churches on the basis of these language groupings is interesting in light of sociologist J. J. Mol's conclusion that such groupings are especially relevant for Protestants, "since in Protestant services
there is such a heavy emphasis on language (the word of God) and relatively small emphasis on ritual.\textsuperscript{17}

The correlation between language and ethnic churches in this era is understandable, for most of Hawai'i's non-Hawaiian population during this period were first generation immigrants. About 77 percent of this population was foreign born in 1900 while about 50 percent was in 1920.\textsuperscript{18} These percentages, which would be even higher if English-speaking Caucasians were isolated, indicate the strength of the correlation between ethnic background and language in this era. Although the language-ethnic group correlation was not a perfect fit among the churches, particularly among the English-language churches, it was close enough for the terms to be treated as if inter-changeable.

Figure 3 reveals that the Hawaiian churches continued to maintain their position as the major segment of the Protestant Church. Although they formed the largest ethnic segment of the Protestant Church, little information was found about Hawaiian churches during the new missionary era. In part this absence of material may reflect a quietness in the churches after the turmoil of the previous decades. The lack of information also reflects the fact that the focus of the new missionary era, unlike the first, was not directed toward Hawaiians.
Figure 3. Protestant communicants by language groups, 1900-1920.

SOURCE: Table 8.
About 93 percent of Hawaiian communicants were Congregationalists, with Episcopalians accounting for nearly all the remainder. After assessing its Hawaiian membership figure for 1906, the HEA announced at its annual meeting that "for the first time in forty-five years the steady curve of decline has stopped, to be succeeded by an upward movement." Actually, its Hawaiian work just managed to hold its own in this period but this can be seen as something of an accomplishment in light of the steady and rapid decline in Hawaiian communicants up into the opening years of the century. There seemed to be a time of increased activity from about 1906 to 1915, after which membership declined to just above its 1900 level. With an average of only about two baptisms per one hundred communicants, the Hawaiian churches relied heavily on biological growth (children of members) or reactivation of former members as primary means of obtaining new communicants to offset deaths, inactivity, or losses to the Mormons or Catholics.

Hawaiian churches can be grouped into two categories. In the first category were Kawaiaha'o, Kaumakapili, and St. Andrew's Hawaiian Congregation, which together accounted for 26 percent of the Hawaiian communicant figure. These were all located in Honolulu and all had full-time pastors during the period. In the
second category were sixty-seven other Hawaiian churches in existence at the end of the period. Most of these were small congregations on the neighbor islands which were often without the services of a full-time pastor.

Each of the churches in the first category experienced some turmoil during Hawai'i's first two decades as an American territory. As was described in the previous chapter, Kaumakapili Church burned down in the Chinatown fire of 1900 and the congregation experienced a trying ten year period until its permanent facility was finally completed in 1910. Kawaiaha'o, the first church established in the Islands, had a long tradition of being a church for the ali'i pastored by Caucasians. This leadership pattern changed in 1917 when the church called its first Hawaiian pastor, Akaiko Akana. Ethel Damon, in her history of Kawaiaha'o, has noted the unsettling effect that accompanied the transition from almost one hundred years of Caucasian leadership. She concluded

In 1917 Mr. [Henry] Parker's long, devoted pastorate of Kawaiaha'o [1863-1917] came to an end amid tormenting doubts as to his successor. Not even a Hawaiian could have his understanding of the people and their problems. It seemed as if no one could fill his place. Many members transferred to other congregations. Perils and difficulties beset the way.

Finally, however, a promising young Oahu teacher of Hawaiian-Chinese ancestry . . . was welcomed in 1917 as Kawaiaha'o's fifth pastor.
The tensions at St. Andrew's subsided noticeably after Willis' departure, particularly after his appointee, Fitz, also departed. The interest of Queen Lili'uokalani, a regular attender at St. Andrew's, was instrumental in maintaining the congregation and in leading to the confirmation of Prince Kūhiō and his wife, both of whom also attended St. Andrew's. The Hawaiian congregation at St. Andrew's did have a hard time maintaining a sense of cohesiveness because it drew on a membership that was widely scattered around O'ahu.

When Leopold Kroll resigned in 1920 after a ten year pastorate with St. Andrew's, the Cathedral undertook an evaluation concerning its future. Although it would be a long time coming (1958), some already began to voice the opinion that the Hawaiian congregation should be assimilated back into the Cathedral, since most of its service by then was conducted in English. The Episcopal Church's publication replied that, except for the young people, the members of the two congregations had no ties with each other and if merger were forced the Hawaiian congregation "would virtually disappear." Although language was less of a barrier to merging the congregations than it had been in previous decades, the publication recognized that "the Hawaiians like to associate with their own race and to worship with their own people." The same was likely true for many Caucasians at the Cathedral.
The reports for the sixty-seven Hawaiian churches in the second category indicated that they experienced both advances and reversals during this period. In 1906, the HEA leadership perceived a new interest in the cause of temperance, morality, and aggressive Christian work. Other positive elements cited included the re-establishment of the policy of missionary supervision at key locations in the field, the inauguration of widespread evangelistic efforts in English aimed at the young people, and generous financial gifts from the American Missionary Association.

The theme of good leadership over the churches in the various districts was sounded again in 1907, 1908, and 1909. As late as 1912 the HEA reported at its annual meeting that

During the past few years the salaries of Hawaiian ministers have been considerably increased and with marked advantage to the churches. The ministers have been able to give their whole time to the work and a noticeable advance has been made in efficiency and in results. Another incidental result has been that several good men have been led into the ministry. . . . In many respects our Hawaiian churches are better ministered to now than for many years.

All, however, was not as encouraging for the churches in this second category as might be assumed from these reports. A real leadership problem directly affected the many small rural Hawaiian churches. After giving the good news to the 1912 annual meeting, the
Congregational Church's Hawaiian Department went on to concede that the Hawaiian churches faced a serious problem in that:

More than 60 percent of our Hawaiian ministers are over 50 years of age. Each year is taking from us some of our best pastors. . . . It has not been an easy matter, however, to find suitable young men who are disposed to fit themselves for the ministry. 30

The roots of the problem whereby there were too few native pastors have been discussed in Chapters II and III. The closing of the North Pacific Missionary in 1903 compounded the problem, and led the HEA to adopt a new strategy for training Hawaiian ministers. The Friend's October 1905 issue reported that the HEA sought:

A score of capable, devoted Hawaiian young men, able to use the English language thoroughly, theologically educated in a purely American environment and thus fitted to guide their people in this transition stage. The Hawaiian Board clearly perceiving this has voted to raise a fund to send two men to the special training department of Chicago Theological Seminary. 31

Few capable, devoted Hawaiians, fluent in English would be willing to be educated in a purely American environment in order to preach in small, rural Hawaiian-language churches. This fact can be deduced from the Congregational Church's report in 1906 that "although it is widely known that the Board stands ready to educate thoroughly on the Mainland men of ability and devotion only one has been found willing to go, out of no less than eight to whom the opportunity has been offered." 32
Scattered throughout the period are reports of various difficulties experienced: Hawaiian churches without pastors or with inadequately trained ministers, poor salaries which forced ministers to take second jobs, auxiliary societies connected with the churches siphoning off available money. In addition, years passed with no ordinations to the ministry. Although the number of Hawaiian churches expanded from fifty-three in 1900 to seventy in 1920, the number of Hawaiian ministers increased from thirty-three to only thirty-five during this same time. The disparity between the number of Hawaiian churches and Hawaiian pastors at the end of the period reveals that an adequate native ministry was one accomplishment the new missionary era was not able to achieve.

Several Hawaiian churches in this era were forced to function without ministers while Caucasians pastored others with varying degrees of satisfaction. One of the most respected Caucasian pastors of Hawaiian churches was Stephen Desha, an 1885 graduate of the North Pacific Missionary Institute. Desha ministered at the Haili Church in Hilo from 1889 until his death in 1934. Although a supporter of the overthrow of the monarchy, he received continued support from his congregation even during the stormy years from 1893 to 1903 because
of his obvious commitment to the Hawaiian people. 35

Desha, born in Lahaina in 1859, grew up speaking Hawaiian as his native language. His devotion to the Hawaiian culture was such that he refused to address an audience except in Hawaiian. Desha believed that part of his responsibility as pastor of the largest Hawaiian congregation on the island of Hawai'i included involvement in a number of activities of benefit to the community. As a skilled Hawaiian orator, he was frequently called on to deliver addresses. Under his direction, the Haili Church became well known for its choir and for its fund-raising luaus which generated money for everything from a pipe organ to a gymnasium for the church youth. Desha served in the Territorial legislature from 1913 until his death in 1934. In addition, he founded a Hawaiian-language newspaper, Ka Hoku o Hawaii, in 1906 and edited it for fifteen years. 36 He used both his political office and newspaper as vehicles to promote the interests of the Hawaiian people. Congregational Church historian Albertine Loomis voiced the conviction that

The Hawaiian people have never had a more zealous champion of their rights and privileges than "Kiwini," (Hawaiian for Stephen). In association with Prince Kuhio, Hawaii's non-voting delegate to Congress from 1902 to 1922, Desha was an advocate of the Hawaiian rehabilitation plan (Hawaiian Homes Commission) and did all within his power to preserve and perpetuate the Hawaiian race and culture. 37
Another Caucasian pastor of a Hawaiian congregation was Albert Baker, sent to Kona by the Congregational Church in 1904. A graduate of Amherst, Harvard Medical School (1899), and Yale Divinity School (1904), Baker arrived to find what Loomis has described as "a vast area of dead or dying churches, pastorless congregations, decayed and ruined buildings." Although he was a well-educated man and pastored Hawaiian churches in Kona for fifteen years, Baker never mastered Hawaiian. Perhaps his inability to speak Hawaiian stemmed in part from the vastness of his task—he oversaw about ten churches stretched out over more than 100 miles from North to South Kona and his charge included not only Hawaiians but also Caucasians, Japanese, and Chinese residents. Perhaps his lack of fluency reflects a heavy dependence on his Hawaiian colleagues, Enoch Timoteo and John Keala, of whom little is known other than that between them they pastored five churches in Kona under Baker's supervision. In any event, Baker seemed an outsider to some of the Hawaiian church members. When he suggested to two or three small churches that they unite to form one strong church the response was, "'Too far to walk,' for not many of them had horses. And besides, a man who had been baptized at Kahanaiki would not feel at home at Kailua or Holualoa-uka." Sometimes when Baker would rebuke a
church member for immoral behavior, "the majority, because he was a haole [Caucasian] and a malihini [newcomer], resented his outspokenness."\(^{39}\)

In closing the discussion of the Hawaiian churches, it is interesting to note an insight into the era offered by *The Friend* in 1909: "Legislation has been secured whereby quite a number of our churches can procure . . . quit claim deeds to the sites they have long occupied but hitherto without legal ownership."\(^{40}\) Many of the Hawaiian churches lacked titles to their sites at annexation, a situation which the Organic Act did not rectify. The HEA leadership played an instrumental role in securing legislation allowing for the certification of old land claims. Such legislation was only an enabling measure, however, and much energy was expended as each church's case had to be handled separately. In some cases the deacons of a church would question the need for a land deed, thus exhibiting a perspective that makes it easier to understand how, some sixty years earlier, so many Hawaiians failed to take advantage of the Kuleana Land Grant Act of 1849/50 to obtain title to land on which they lived.

Figure 3 indicates that the English language churches (also called Union or Foreign churches) comprised the second largest category of Protestant communicants throughout the first two decades of the century. During
this time they doubled in size from about 1,700 communicants in 1900 to about 3,400 in 1920. Figure 3 also reveals that during this same period, their percentage of the English-language ethnic group moved up from 15.7 percent to 17.2 percent. Of English-language church members, 53 percent were Congregationalists, while Episcopalians followed with 30 percent, then Methodists, Disciples and Lutherans with 6 percent each. An adult-baptism-to-communicant ratio of only about 1.2 to 100 makes it clear that these churches relied heavily on biological growth or transfers of membership rather than conversions as a means of obtaining new communicants.

The Caucasian churches can be grouped into two categories. In the first category were Central Union, St. Andrew's Cathedral, First Christian, and First Methodist. These four churches, all located in Honolulu, comprised 53 percent of Caucasian Protestants in the Islands. In the second category were the remaining nineteen churches that made up the rest of the Caucasian Protestant population.

Each of the churches in the first category, along with the Lutheran Church of Honolulu, was the prestige church for its denomination and in fact basically functioned as the denominational headquarters. Central Union was at the top of the list, as the largest and most
well-known church in the Islands, with a communicant figure that passed the 1,000 mark in 1919. In 1901, William Kincaid, Central Union Church pastor from 1898 to 1905, expressed his desire that the church not be known as a "class church." A perusal, however, of names beginning with A to F in its 1908 membership listing reveals such influential families as: William and Abby (Baldwin) Alexander, Frank Cooke Atherton, Sereno Bishop, Alfred Lowrey Castle, Clarence Cooke, Benjamin Dillingham, and Walter Frear. The leadership of Central Union was the dominant policy-making force of the Congregational Church in Hawai‘i.

A chart developed by the HEA Board in 1916 to help fund raising efforts revealed one aspect of Central Union's dominance. The chart showed that 74 out of 110 Congregational churches were contributing to the HEA. Of $8,384 contributed by the seventy-four churches, $6,101 was from Central Union while all the other churches together contributed $2,283. As might be expected in a church that in part counted on its prestige factor to attract people, a problem plaguing Central Union throughout the era was the high percentage of members who chose not to become involved in the ongoing activities of the church.

St. Andrew's Parish, the Caucasian congregation which shared the Cathedral grounds with the Hawaiian
congregation, was the second largest church in the Islands by 1919 with 628 communicants. This communicant strength was in keeping with Restarick's philosophy that the Cathedral should be the central point for the Episcopal work in Hawai'i: "From the first I believed that a strong center should be built up around the Cathedral, that from this center, a strong, helpful influence should go out to all parts of the Islands." The Cathedral had a special status beyond numbers: "St. Andrew's Cathedral, while the parish church of a white congregation and also of an Hawaiian congregation is the meeting place of all races. As the Cathedral it is the Bishop's church and the Bishop is the Bishop of all races alike." 48

As a prestige church, St. Andrew's Parish had to contend with problems similar to Central Union's in striving to maintain an active membership. At the parish's 1917 annual meeting, Restarick voiced his opinion that many of the communicant members of the Cathedral Parish listed as "regular attendants" were actually "regular absentees" because they had no vital and active interest in the worship and work of the Church. 49

First Methodist and First Christian were both established in 1894, both fluctuated in membership between about one hundred and three hundred in the period 1898 to 1919, both were their denominations' only English-language church, both were involved in a building
program and both experienced a major controversy. First Methodist's controversy came in the midst of its building problem (1910) during John Jones' short pastorage (about 1910-1911). The following excerpts from a letter by Jones reveals the source of the church's problem:

I have been accused of being deficient in tact. . . . Now if it is necessary to discharge me because some are disgruntled and hold a grudge against me, is it not equally necessary that Mr. Wadman should be removed from the superintendency of the Mission. . . . There is dissatisfaction with his administration among both the Japanese and the Koreans. . . . The bishop consulted me about these matters and I said to him that for the sake of Methodism and the new building enterprise do not institute an investigation of these charges [against Wadman] . . .

Again it has been charged that the congregations are not what they ought to be in point of number. I certainly acknowledge that they are not what they should be, but . . . what we do have is white and respectable in appearance. From what I can learn the congregation of white people has not been better since the palmy days when Mr. Pearson was pastor [1897-1904]. I insisted when I came that all the orientals be taken out of the church and Sunday school. That this reduced the number to considerable extent was at first apparent. . . .

Now I think that it is preposterous to discharge a man who has been successful simply because some few are disgruntled. 50

It is unclear what Jones had in mind by successful, but his lack of tact, criticism of the Methodist Superintendant, and his ouster of the Asians did not win him many supporters in Hawai'i. In a society that valued tact, in a denomination that stressed hierarchical authority, and in a district where the Methodists
emphasized outreach to Asians, Jones found himself at cross-currents with his church's leadership. It is not known where he was from or where he departed to, but it is known that his tenure in Hawai'i was brief.

First Christian Church's building program preceded the controversy the church experienced, but the two events had some tie-ins. Pastor G. D. Edwards had recommended in 1906 that First Christian secure land in the Kaimuki district of Honolulu for the purpose of establishing a mission there. However, when the opportunity later arose to secure an advantageous new site for First Christian, church leaders dropped the idea of a mission site in Kaimuki and shifted their attention to obtaining a site for relocation.51

In 1914 First Christian sold its Alakea property and purchased a site on Kewalo Street, in a residential section known as Makiki. The Disciples' properties which had formerly been used for the promotion of mission works among the various nationalities were also sold to pay for the new building. In 1915, First Christian minister D. C. Peters gave an explanation for the relocation that revealed the growth of downtown Honolulu:

The congregation for many years occupied a small building which, however, was always kept in good repair and made to be an inviting place, close to the business section of the city. That
location ultimately came to be a disadvantage. It was noisy and hot and dusty. The passing two street car lines, intersecting at the immediate corner, and the honking of innumerable automobile horns made it very difficult to conduct a service with any impressiveness.52

Not everyone at First Christian agreed with the change in focus from establishing mission works to building a new facility for the church. In 1909, Maude Foster, a First Christian member, started a Sunday school in her home in Kaimuki. When controversy flared up about 1920 at First Christian over the appearance of liberalism in the pulpit there, a number of individuals left that church and helped transform Foster's work into Kaimuki Christian Church.53

Among the nineteen English-language churches in the second category, Kohala Union was probably typical of the rural plantation churches of this era. John Cowan, a Methodist minister, served the HEA church, on the northern part of the island of Hawai'i, from 1907 to 1917. His Sunday audience averaged from twenty to sixty people who were chiefly the families of the managers of three of the five sugar plantations (the other two affiliate with the Episcopal Church)—bookkeepers, engineers, storekeepers, chemists, lunas (foremen), with the doctor's family, the land managers, teachers, clerks, etc.54

Cowan's responsibilities as pastor of a small rural church meant that his activities extended beyond his own
congregation. For one thing, he also conducted communion and baptismal services for nearby Chinese and Japanese churches. The benevolently paternalistic attitude which often characterized Caucasians' view of other ethnic groups in this era was evident in Cowan's relationship with these churches, along with the nearby Hawaiian church. Although all three churches had their own ethnic pastors, Cowan wrote with pride that: "I have the privilege of being a sort of 'Father' to them all, as the early missionaries were." Beyond his work with these churches, Cowan filled his time with monthly training sessions for churches in the Kohala district, with pastoral calls, lesson writing, serving on the board of the Kohala Girls' School, and publishing a weekly paper, The Kohala Midget.

The Portuguese and Germans have been placed in the English-language church category in keeping with the fact that they were classified as Caucasians and because they were small groups that would soon be assimilated into the larger English-speaking churches. Portuguese communicants were a small group within the Congregational Church. In 1920 they had two churches with 271 communicants, representing 1 percent of the predominantly Catholic Portuguese populace in Hawai'i. The HEA organized a separate Portuguese department in the 1890s but absorbed its Portuguese churches into its Union Department in 1916 in recognition that Portuguese were assimilating with other
Caucasians. A comment in 1904 by a leader of the Portuguese congregation located at Central Union reveals that the assimilation process had already begun: "Our church people formerly lived mostly in one neighborhood, but of late they are moving into other localities."\(^5\)

What success the HEA experienced in working with this group came from its contact with young, educated Portuguese, while much resistance was met in its contact with the majority of the group because of their strong Roman Catholic orientation.\(^6\)

Writing on "Race and Churches," sociologist Elizabeth Wittermans has cited the Lutheran Church in Hawai'i as an example of non-evangelical community churches. She wrote that community churches were those established by particular ethnic and cultural groups . . . for the benefit of their own groups . . . . These 'ethnic' churches strengthened the ties between the members of the foreign colony; it [sic] also gave their settlement more permanence and a greater significance.\(^7\)

Bernard Hormann's description of the confirmation process in Līhu'e under Hans Isenberg, Lutheran pastor there from 1887 to 1918, illustrates the community nature of the Lutheran Church in Hawai'i. At age thirteen almost all German children in the Līhu'e area became members of Isenberg's confirmation class:

For the boys and girls it meant not only acceptance into the membership of the church. It meant entrance into manhood and womanhood. Confirmation
marked the completion of the educational process --when a boy was confirmed he was expected to start to work for the Lihue plantation.\textsuperscript{61}

The German orientation of the Lutheran Church in this period is evident from the membership of the church and practices such as writing the minutes of the Honolulu church's meetings in German until almost 1930, long after America's entry into World War I had caused a switch to English in the church's public worship services.\textsuperscript{62}

Constituted as the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, its German ties went beyond ethnic identity to ties with Germany itself. Until 1918 the Honolulu congregation had as a part of its "constitution that the German Consul (an honorary position), who was also the head of H. Hackfeld and Co. (now Amfac Inc.) should be the President of the Church Board and of the congregation, unless he were not a Protestant or did not wish to serve."\textsuperscript{63}

The Lutheran Church took further steps to strengthen the connection with Germany when in 1912 it became a member of the Prussian State Church. The Lutheran Church severed these ties in 1918 at the height of anti-German sentiment in Hawai'i during World War I.\textsuperscript{64}

Although such ties may have been mostly symbolic, they combined with the German orientation of the Lutheran Church to provide a real contrast to the efforts of the other Protestant churches to establish works among all ethnic groups in Hawai'i. Hormann has disclosed that at
a time when the other churches were beginning to expend real effort in establishing churches among various ethnic groups, the Lutheran Church of Honolulu turned down a 1903 request by Chinese immigrants to use the church's facilities. Although the immigrants were Lutheran converts of German missionaries in Kwangtung, the Honolulu church leaders asked the Chinese Lutherans to approach the Congregational Church or the Episcopal Church as each already had ministries among Chinese. Hormann noted that this rejection may have stemmed from the feeling that the Chinese would be too much of a problem for a German-speaking congregation in an English-speaking country.65

The entry of America into World War I in 1917 meant that times would be far from normal for the Lutheran Church. The effect of the war on the general German community in Hawai'i has been described in another study.66 For the Lutheran Church, one repercussion of its close identification with the German community and even with Germany, was the loss of much of its leadership. This loss stemmed from two differing responses to the anti-German feeling prevalent in Hawai'i in the years 1917-1918. As has been mentioned, individuals associated with Hackfeld and Co. had been completely reorganized as American Factors, with all German influence eliminated. Without jobs, and encountering strong
negative sentiment in the Islands, the important German leaders of the firm and of the church responded by moving to the mainland. Other wealthy members of the church transferred their membership to the more socially acceptable Central Union Church or St. Andrew's Cathedral. Concomitant to this loss of leadership was a loss to the church of its major source of income.67

The Lutheran Church severed its tie with the State Church in Germany and switched to English in its services notwithstanding Pastor Arthur Hormann's previously announced position that: "As long as my people pray in German, I'm going to preach to them in German." German ceased to be taught at the Honolulu church's language school, and the Līhu'e church's school was shut down altogether. Emphasis began to be given to the Lutheran, rather than German, orientation of the Lutheran Church.68

These momentous changes were just being implemented as the new missionary era came to a close and it would be some time before the Lutheran Church could regain any forward momentum.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Protestant Church concentrated its missionary attention on the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos residing in Hawai'i. Among these peoples, the Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches invested much time and energy, while the Disciples
terminated their early efforts by about 1915 and the Lutheran Church maintained its German ethnic orientation.

As indicated by Figure 3, the largest work of the Protestant Church among the Asians in Hawai'i was with the Japanese, who were the most numerous ethnic group (40 percent of the population) in Hawai'i by 1900.\textsuperscript{69} Active recruitment of Japanese plantation laborers began in 1887 and continued until the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 severely restricted the immigration of Japanese to the United States. The number of Japanese in Hawai'i continued to increase through the remainder of the period, however, due to the arrival of "picture brides" and the birth of children in Hawai'i. Only 10 percent of the Japanese resided in Honolulu in 1900, but in the wake of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and dissatisfaction with plantation conditions, 22 percent of the Japanese lived there by 1920.\textsuperscript{70}

The Congregational Church could claim 75 percent of the Japanese communicants in this era, followed by the Methodists with 17 percent and the Episcopalians with 6 percent.\textsuperscript{71} With an average adult baptism to communicant ratio of about 18:100, Japanese churches clearly stressed evangelism as a means of obtaining new communicants. Between 1900 and 1920 the Japanese communicant figure tripled from about 700 to about 2,100, indicating that the new missionary era did in fact make its impact
felt on the Japanese community. In the broader picture, however, it was a light impact, as 2,100 communicants accounted for only about 2 percent of the Japanese community in Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{72}

Several factors connected to the situation in Japan hindered work among Japanese in Hawai'i during the new missionary era. One element was the scarcity of Japanese coming to Hawai'i as Christians who could serve as the foundation for the work. Three reasons for this situation are apparent. First, the number of Protestants in Japan was quite small. Second, a large segment of the Protestant presence that did exist was drawn from the samurai class, while little success was attained among farmers and laborers.\textsuperscript{73} It was among the latter group, not the former, that agents recruited for Hawai'i's plantations. Third, the great majority of Hawai'i's Japanese immigrants were from two prefectures in central Japan that constituted the stronghold of Buddhism in that country.\textsuperscript{74}

When Buddhist sects began organizing in earnest in Hawai'i in 1897, they had only to revive what had been traditionally strong Buddhist loyalties. The resurgence of Japanese nationalism and anti-Christian sentiments in Japan, beginning about 1890, caused a further hindrance to the Protestant Church in Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{75} This reaction had the effect of restricting the pool of available Japanese
Christian leaders who could be brought over to help the ministry in Hawai'i.

The Protestant Church had its best results among the Japanese who had moved off the plantations into Honolulu or were born in the city. While only 22 percent of the Japanese in Hawai'i were living in Honolulu in 1920, 49 percent of the Japanese communicants were members of Honolulu churches. This concentration in Honolulu of Japanese Protestants was due in large part to Takie Okumura and Makiki Christian Church. They were the bright stars of the Japanese work, and it was to them that Protestants pointed when looking for success stories. When the HEA organized Makiki in 1904 (Nu'uanu had been organized independently) it heralded the action as "the first step in the procession of Japanese Congregational Churches which shall follow on in coming years." Others did follow, but none would come close to challenging Makiki Christian for leadership of the procession— in 1920, 23 percent of all Japanese Protestants were members of this one church.

Takie Okumura left his samurai family heritage in Japan in 1894 to work with the Nu'uanu Congregational Church. Under his leadership, Nu'uanu became in 1902 the first self-supporting Japanese Congregational church in Hawai'i. Okumura then moved on to start a new work in Makiki. Okumura's later recollection of the commencement
of the work in Makiki provides a glimpse into his accomplishment. Okumura recalled how

in an area without a single believer, I began my campaign.

In the beginning I made house-to-house visits. At times I gathered two or three persons in the shade of a tree and lectured to them on the Bible. At other times, we had heart-to-heart talks in servants' quarters. As I faced my tasks with fervor hot enough to melt steel, I was able to do my spade work with fairly good results. . . .

Going about speaking the gospel in these days was a tough job. . . . Owning a private carriage was, of course, out of the question for me. I went everywhere on foot. On rainy nights, I went to meetings barefoot, carrying a lantern between Kukui and Kinau Streets. The fact that I am blessed with strong legs at my advanced age, I owe entirely to all the walking I did during those early years. 78

After starting in a shed, the work organized as a church in 1904 and grew to 463 communicants by 1919. The role Okumura played in the life of the church can be seen from the following quote found in a 1954 booklet celebrating the church's fiftieth anniversary:

The ministry of the Rev. Okumura was a long, distinguished one, from April 1904 to November 1937. It might be said that most of the time it was a one-man church, with the minister doing most of the work. Even after the church was organized, officers were content to approve the pastor's decisions on all phases of the work of the church. 79

Okumura evidently oversaw the affairs of the church in the same manner as he did his family affairs. Okumura's wife, Katsuko, stayed in Japan with their three children the first two years that he was in Hawai'i, until he decided they would settle in the Islands. The understanding which Okumura announced at the time of
Katsuko's arrival in Hawai'i is insightful as an example of an Isei (first generation Japanese) family's roles:

At the very outset of our permanent settlement in Hawaii I made it known that she was not to inject a single word into church matters and that in return I was not to interfere in the affairs of the family. There was to be a strict division of labor between husband and wife. I made this special pronouncement because I had seen too many cases in Japan where excellent ministers failed because of their superior and domineering wives.

In addition to his work with the church, Okumura found time (in 1896) to organize the first Japanese language school in the Islands. Ironically, this school was so successful that the Hongwanji Buddhist Mission entered into this sphere of activity to the great dismay of the Protestant Church. A home for boys was another of Okumura's efforts, as has been mentioned earlier. Okumura was also a leader in the temperance movement. He was an organizer of the Benevolent Society, which was active in the Chinatown fire disaster of 1900 and which built a hospital in Kapalama. He helped plan for the first Japanese YMCA in Hawai'i. He was also a leader in the campaigns against prostitution in the downtown and Iwilei districts of Honolulu. Okumura thought that "Iwilei" became a great disgrace to Japanese. I felt a most piercing shame, because the man who was operating the business was one of my acquaintances. Unable to remain indifferent any longer when I thought of Christian principles and of the honor of Japanese, we launched forth another clean-up drive.

... Against this social evil, I worked for years, facing many a danger.
The Protestant Church undoubtedly considered itself fortunate to have such a phenomenon as Okumura on its side.

One of the reasons cited for Makiki Christian's growth was its location. Not only was it situated in a fast growing Japanese area of Honolulu, but, "the character of the Japanese living in that part of the city is such that they are far less migratory than most of their countrymen in the Territory. Employed as trusted servants in rich and well to do homes, they expect to remain permanently. Hence the Church loses very few by removal."82 The Japanese churches outside Honolulu often did not have the benefit of stable neighborhoods. The general dissatisfaction of the Japanese with the plantations meant an exodus from rural areas into the towns.83 There were also events like the Russo-Japanese War, as noted by the Methodists: "We have lost greatly through the return of many thousands called back to Japan for military service; our mission stations have felt this exodus most keenly."84

A major sugar plantation strike occurred on O'ahu in 1909 when Japanese laborers, to protest unfair treatment and wage differences among ethnic groups, struck for eighty days. This resulted in the dispersal of displaced Japanese to different localities on O'ahu and to an increased out-migration to Japan: "Our Japanese
community is in a state of flux. Not only is there a shifting from one locality to another, but for several months two or three hundred have departed each month for Japan. This movement sensibly affects the membership and work of our Japanese churches. The situation was such that the Methodists' work in 'Aiea was completely shut down for a number of months.

Even health matters adversely affected the stability of the Japanese work. This factor can be inferred from Cowan's 1915 report from Kohala that the services at the Japanese church there left an impression on him because "they are not yet able to have individual communion cups but, in great dread of tuberculosis which sends so many back to Japan, at their last communion they took the wine in spoons."

Other adverse factors cited during this era included opposition by Buddhist priests, World War I, the 1919 flu epidemic, anti-Christian sentiment stirred by a Protestant supported proposal to bring Japanese-language schools under the Department of Public Instruction, inadequate finances, and lack of workers. The matter of workers seemed to be a fluctuating picture that was for the most part discouraging.

Early in the period the HEA had to rely completely on Japan or California for ordained ministers. This reliance caused problems: "Our failure to find suitable
men enough in Japan to man this most hopeful . . . field, is due mostly to the unhappy mismanagement and consequent failure of the Doshisha theological school [in Japan] to fit and equip evangelists as in former years."\(^{89}\)

Sometimes though reports were more optimistic, such as the 1909 appraisal that evangelists brought from Japan were aggressive, "securing a stronghold on their countrymen all over the Territory."\(^{90}\) Takie Okumura later recalled that during the first decade of the century these men served as more than traditional evangelists. They also acted as interpreters between plantation owners and laborers, as English teachers, letter writers for illiterate workers, quarrel arbitrators and domestic counselors, recorders of births with the Japanese consulate, opposers of prostitution and gambling among the Japanese, and protectors of their countrymen from condemnation by other ethnic groups. For all this, Okumura noted, they were very poorly paid.\(^{91}\)

Between arduous work and poor pay it is not surprising that the HEA's Japanese department announced in 1910 that "the imperative need of the present is young men for ministry."\(^{92}\) In view of the task, the Congregational Church's increase from ten Japanese pastors in 1900 to seventeen in 1920 can be described as an accomplishment only if compared with the meager results
other denominations achieved in recruiting Japanese ministers.

The Episcopal Church admitted that its work with the Japanese was discouragingly small. It had only one Japanese priest in Hawai'i in this era, Philip Fukao. Fukao was a graduate of an Anglican school in Japan and had also attended divinity school in California. Perhaps the Episcopal Church's high standards for ordination were a hindrance to its efforts to recruit Japanese priests. It had a hard time, however, finding even unordained bilingual workers to assist the priests.

One probable reason for the difficulty in securing priests and workers, which affected its Chinese work also, was that these workers were underpaid. Restarick persistently wrote to his denomination's mission board asking for more support for Asian church workers in Hawai'i. He reported that the board considered such a change unfeasible because it would affect the church's whole policy in dealing with Asian pastors in Asia. The board on several occasions turned down Restarick's request for more support. When Restarick wrote his memoirs, he conveyed the feeling that the work could have been expanded if more qualified men and sufficient funding had been available: "The Hawaiian Board and the Methodists have a large Japanese work all over the Islands, which they
began many years ago and on which they spend large sums of money annually. The lack of men has kept our work from the progress it otherwise would have made.  

In part the Methodists had more workers in the Japanese field than the Episcopalians because they were more inclined to give ministerial responsibilities to full-time lay workers:

The perplexity and the glory of our Oriental work in Hawaii is that to a large extent the early ministers were contract laborers in the cane fields who were converted there and were drawn into the ministry. They had little educational foundation, and the Mission afforded no adequate opportunity for their training.

The task of finding educated workers was not easy for Methodists either. Superintendent Fry could have been speaking for the Protestant Church in 1917 when he identified the language barrier as a real obstacle to the development of leaders for the churches. He felt that

The greatest need confronting our work in general is that of trained workers. If we were dealing with peoples of one language, or if all understood the English language, it would not be nearly so difficult. But with three nationalities of different tongues, the matter of trained leadership is both costly and difficult.

The Methodists, like other denominations, were forced to go to Japan or the Pacific Coast to find ordained pastors. One reason Methodists found this system unsatisfactory was that ten of the eleven Japanese workers brought to Hawai'i between 1913 and 1920 were from non-Methodist churches and had no Methodist experience or
It was not until 1918 that T. Seto was employed as a regular mission worker, the first Japanese from Hawai'i serving the Methodist Church in this capacity. Financial matters can again be looked to as a partial explanation for the difficulty in obtaining leadership. Fry addressed the matter of inadequate salaries when he stated in 1916 that

A better living wage for our mission workers is a matter of serious consideration. At present, the average monthly wage paid our pastors and Christian workers is very slightly in excess of that paid the cheapest kind of plantation workmen, while a skilled laborer, or one who contracts to cultivate a given field of cane, earns many times more than any pastor. Many of our Orientals are school teachers and the cheapest of these receive salaries twice as large as many of our pastors. . . . We will never secure an adequate and competent body of workers for this difficult field until we overcome this handicap of insufficient support.

As the new missionary era drew toward a close, Okumura painted a glowing picture of the Protestants' work with the Japanese. He wrote in 1917 that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 had been instrumental in furthering Christianity because after its implementation the Japanese in Hawai'i began to give more thought to staying permanently. At the same time, according to Okumura,

sympathy and interest in the Christian Church and its movements spontaneously sprung within them. Undaunted, they came out openly for Christianity. Children born here have, by the influence of the public schools and the environment, become easy to be Americanized. Nearly all of them have
innate God-consciousness of Christians, and positively no trace of the Buddhistic faith.
. . . Everywhere the churches are now steadily pushing their way into the limelight of the community.102

Other Protestants disputed Okumura's perspective. They did not feel that their claim on 2 percent of the Japanese population warranted his optimism. They saw plenty of evidence of the Buddhistic faith and not so much evidence that Americanization was to be taken for granted. The Protestant Church did agree with Okumura that 1907 was a turning point, and that from that time the Japanese residing in Hawai'i took on a more settled status. In 1908 the HEA voiced an awareness that many of the overwhelmingly non-Christian Japanese should be considered not a transient mission field but a permanent part of Hawai'i's population. Motives for evangelizing Japanese included "bringing them into harmony with the religious ideals of our land; and the importance from an international point of view of having a large, contented population of Christian Japanese in our midst."103

As the Japanese after 1907 became a more established part of the population, the focus of the Protestant Church also shifted. Ralph Moore, in a study of the HEA's work with the Japanese ascertained that after 1907 its emphasis changed "from one of pioneering and new starts to one of consolidation, teamwork, self-support, increased salaries, racial integration and Americanization."104
The significance of such a shift is that it indicates that Protestants began to realize that they were going to have to take a long-range view of their work with the Japanese. In 1920 J. S. Motoda, future Episcopal Church Bishop of Japan, undertook a study for the Episcopal Church of the Japanese in Hawai'i. Looking ahead, he concluded that any optimism such as that conveyed by Okumura was simply not in keeping with the statistical reality of the situation at the end of the new missionary era. According to Motoda, Christian work among the Japanese had been insufficient to meet the demand in evangelizing a race which is destined to play such an important part in the making of future Hawaii.

On the plantations ... Every physical comfort is provided for them, but very little attention is paid to their spiritual welfare. They see few good Christian examples among those with whom they associate themselves every day, and receive little Christian influence from the masters they serve.

In town, Christian work is largely done among young people. Very few of the older and uneducated Japanese are touched.105

Motoda's views echoed those of Methodist Superintendent Fry, who in 1917 had expressed concern that Japanese would constitute an electoral majority in the Islands in about fifteen years. Fry conjectured that "within a few years all the municipal offices may be filled by an alien people." After considering the large number of Japanese holding intense national loyalties
toward Japan who were not being reached by the Protestant Church, the large number of Japanese Buddhist schools in the Territory, and the anticipated numerical predominance of Hawai'i-born Japanese, Fry concluded that: "We ought to be brave enough to face these facts and honest enough to say that thus far the Christian forces in Hawaii have not proven themselves equal to the task confronting them." 106

In light of tight finances, a shortage of Japanese-speaking pastors, and resistance to the Christian message by the older Japanese, the Protestant Church gave increasing emphasis to evangelizing young, English-speaking Japanese. 107 The heightened focus on youth, particularly after World War I, tied in closely with the educational work of the Protestant Church and was an integral part of the church's stand on Americanization and assimilation, two related themes which will be covered in the following chapter. With only 2 percent of the Japanese in its ranks in 1920, the Protestant Church had to look to the future for any promise of a Protestant Japanese population.

The Chinese were the first ethnic group to be brought to Hawai'i in significant numbers to work on plantations. Their active recruitment began in 1874 and, although eclipsed by Japanese recruitment in the late 1880s, continued until annexation in 1898, at which time
America's Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) went into effect in the Islands. In the aftermath of the application of the Exclusion Act, Hawai'i's Chinese population declined from 25,800 in 1900 to 23,500 in 1920. The cutoff of Chinese immigration highlighted the tendency noted by Andrew Lind of Chinese to spend a minimum of time on plantations before moving into Honolulu's central urban districts. This movement of the Chinese is reflected in the fact that in 1900 65 percent of Chinese communicants were members of Honolulu churches, a figure which increased to 79 percent by 1920.

Christian immigrants from the Kwangtung Province of China provided a foundation for the Protestant Church as it began its work in earnest among Chinese of Hawai'i. What would later be known as First Chinese Christian Church (HEA) got its start in 1868 when nineteen Chinese Christians approached Samuel Damon about using his Seamen's Bethel Chapel for worship. Out of a total of about three hundred Chinese Christians in Hawai'i in the early 1880s, Damon estimated that at least one hundred had come from primarily German Lutheran mission stations in China. Most were from the Basel Mission while some were from the Rhenish Mission. When these plantation workers arrived in Hawai'i, their Christianity served as a cohesive social force providing a sense of
identification and belonging. In the Pahala area of the Puna district on the Big Island, for instance, about one hundred of the plantation workers in the late 1800s were Basel Christians. For many years these Christians met together in the evenings after work. Strong ties developed among the individuals in this group, in part because of their common mission-related background. It was Basel Mission Chinese who, after migrating in the late 1890s to Honolulu, were turned away by the Lutheran Church there. They then initially joined First Chinese but in the early 1900s many switched to St. Peter's, which already had among its membership several converts of the German mission work in China. They evidently found the Episcopal ideas and practices to be more similar to their own upbringing than were those of the Congregational Church.

The Chinese churches were not, however, limited in their growth to Chinese arriving as Christians. They continued to show good growth during the new missionary era, even though Chinese immigration had been cut off. Chinese comprised the fourth largest language church grouping in the years 1900 to 1920. During this time the number of churches increased from five to eleven while the number of communicants grew from 392 to 1,070.
Although the number of Chinese communicants did not quite triple, the communicant figure as a percentage of Hawai'i's Chinese population more than tripled, due to an actual decrease in the number of Chinese in Hawai'i in 1920 compared to 1900. Even so, the percentage increase was only from 1.5 to 4.6, meaning that the Protestant Church still had much room for growth among the Chinese as the period under consideration came to a close. The largest number of Chinese Protestants, 56 percent, were Congregationalists, followed by Episcopalians with 39 percent and Disciples with 5 percent. Because of a comity agreement with the Congregational Church, the Methodist Church did not start any Chinese churches during this period.

The Chinese work seems to have expanded during the new missionary era as a result of both evangelistic and nurture efforts. An average of 5.5 adult baptisms per 100 Chinese communicants points to the fact that adult conversions did take place. This percentage is, however, considerably lower than the Japanese conversion figure, and suggests the importance of nurturing for the growth of the Chinese work. The findings of a 1929 study for the Institute of Pacific Relations also point to the nurture of Chinese youth being quite significant to the Protestant Church's program. The study reported that
The older immigrants still cling religiously to their old superstitions, rites and worships and there are still quite a few small temples of worship scattered throughout the territory. However, at least 90% of the children of the early immigrants have abandoned the old beliefs and although not all of them have joined the Christian religions, a great majority of them really did and became good Christians.121

Unlike the Japanese in Hawai'i, the Chinese community did not have aggressive organizations promoting a combination of traditional religion and nationalism via language schools and centralized religious sects. While many of the immigrant generation maintained traditional beliefs, there was a growing willingness to see the Hawai'i-born generation adopt the language and religion espoused by the dominant local culture.

With perhaps some overstatement, the Episcopalian periodical reported in 1919 that among the Chinese "nearly all heathen parents now realize that there is good in Christianity. They like their children to attend Mission and Church schools, and many of them are glad to let their children become Christians. Very few oppose it as they used to do."122 Further support for this thesis can be inferred from a 1934 study of Chinese-Hawaiians in Honolulu. In an article for Social Process in Hawaii, Richard Chow reported that

the tendency of Chinese-Hawaiians to affiliate themselves with Hawaiian groups is greater than the tendency to join Chinese organizations. The fact that . . . 55% of the members of the
Kaumakapili Church are Chinese-Hawaiians validates this point. . . . The cosmopolitan organizations follow the Hawaiian organizations in popularity; . . . 24% of the members of the Kaimuki Church of Christ, and 16% of the members of Kaimuki Community Church are of the Chinese-Hawaiian mixture. The Chinese organizations do not claim a large Chinese-Hawaiian membership.123

While Chow's study did not concern itself with the Hawai'i-born offspring of Chinese couples, it gives credence to the other observations cited concerning the interest of such couples in seeing their children involved in Christian associated programs.

Although Chinese parents did not stress language schools for their children to the extent the Japanese did, it is interesting to note that the matter of dialect was very much a live issue among adult Chinese Protestant in the opening decades of the century. About one-fourth of Hawai'i's Chinese spoke the Hakka dialect of Canton while most of the others spoke the Punti dialect. Fuchs has noted that as long as the immigrants believed they would some day return to China, they maintained an ancient rivalry that had been present in the homeland.124 The first two Chinese churches in Honolulu, First Chinese and St. Peter's, were Hakka-speaking congregations located in the downtown district. In 1902 the Episcopal Church found it necessary to establish St. Elizabeth's in nearby Pālama in order to reach those speaking Punti.125 Likewise, the HEA founded in 1915 what would later be
known as the United Church of Christ. Although located only about four blocks from its Fort Street church, the new church's purpose was to minister to Punti-speaking Chinese. Located at Beretania and Maunakea Streets, it served as a center for religious, educational and social activities for the Punti-speaking Chinese community.

Early reports of the Chinese work during this era were for the most part encouraging. They stressed the large numbers joining the churches, the good attendance at street meetings, the frequent evangelistic meetings in the jail, the Chinese hospital and various plantation camps, and promising opportunities for opening new works. Progress was made but an overriding theme throughout the period was the lack of workers among the Chinese. Initially the HEA hoped that its Hawaiian churches would evangelize the Chinese living near them, but this did not occur, probably because of language barriers. The HEA then sought workers from China but several obstacles hindered this process. One reason given at the start of the new missionary era for the inability to draw workers from China was that "the demand for native evangelists in China is so much greater than the supply that the missions are loath to send some to these distant islands." As a result, there were not enough men to do regular evangelistic work in all the
outlying districts. This meant the Chinese department had to suspend efforts in many areas, rely on traveling evangelists and lay preachers in other areas, and forgo plans to establish new mission works. 130

In the aftermath of the inauguration of the Republic of China in 1912 the Protestant Church hoped that: "The favor with which the new order of things in China regards believers in the Christian religion, will re-act on the situation here, and will doubtless open up new opportunities." 131 The following year, however, it reported difficulties in securing qualified workers from China because of the high demand for Christian men in education and administrative affairs under the new Chinese government. The lack of workers, along with financial considerations, were cited in explaining why more intensive evangelistic efforts were not carried out among Chinese residents in Honolulu. 132 As the Chinese community in Hawai'i took on an increasingly settled status, the shortage of pastors was further complicated by the feeling that workers from China were out of touch with the needs of their congregations, especially English-speaking members. 133

The driving force in the HEA's Chinese work for most of this period was Francis Damon, son of The Friend founder, Samuel Damon. He began his work with the Chinese
in 1882 and remained active over the next thirty-two years until his death in 1915. He oversaw the establishment of several churches and Christian language schools and taught many young men English in the dining room of his own home. This latter venture evolved into Mills Institute, which later became a part of Mid-Pacific Institute.  

Norman Schenck, Damon's successor, characterized his contribution in the following terms: "Taken as a whole, the Christian Progress of the Chinese people in Hawaii is identified with the name Damon. He was truly the 'father' of the faithful, and of the unfaithful, too." 

The HEA saw Damon's death as a serious setback to the Chinese department's activities. The church's leadership felt Damon's experience would be missed in handling situations such as the Hakka-Punti differences. As the era came to a close the Congregational Church continued to cite insufficient workers as a hindrance but saw hope for the future in an increase in attendance, particularly among youth. 

In summary, even though the Chinese work experienced good growth during this time, the era ended with still only a small percentage of Chinese within the Protestant fold. As with the other ethnic work, the lack of personnel hindered expansion. As with the Japanese, Protestants at the end of the period looked to the future, to the
youth, as the source for their optimism. Their actual accomplishments were admittedly small, but Protestant leaders hoped that much had been done in laying a foundation for future growth among Chinese, especially through their nurturing efforts and those of other like-minded institutions. Schenck expressed this view when he stated in 1920 that

it is estimated that not more than 10% of the Chinese in Hawaii are professing Christians, but most of them have profited either directly or indirectly from Christian missions through schools, churches, missions, settlements, and other institutions such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.; noting especially Mid-Pacific Institute, Iolani School, and Maunaolū Seminary, and St. Louis College.¹³⁸

Between 1903 and 1905 plantation management recruited Koreans to work in Hawai'i. In 1910 there were about 4,500 Koreans in Hawai'i, a figure which increased slightly to about 5,000 by 1920. Although relatively a small group in Hawai'i's ethnic mix, the Koreans initially provided a bright light for the work with Asians in the new missionary era. Between 1910 and 1920 about 12 percent of the Koreans in Hawai'i were members of the Protestant Church, the highest percentage for any immigrant group in Hawai'i during the period.

One reason the percentage of Korean Protestants was so high during this time was that: "it was the Christian Koreans who began the emigration movement in the early
part of 1903—a movement lasting only from 1903 to early 1905." Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries were active in Korea and evidently encouraged Christians to emigrate to Hawai'i because the missionaries believed Koreans would not only be better off financially but in an environment more conducive to Christianity.

The Methodist Church was the early benefactor of the influx of Korean Christians to Hawai'i. Due to a comity agreement between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, the latter did not establish a work in Hawai'i until after the territorial period, while the former did not enter Korea. One result in Hawai'i was that the Congregationalists agreed to leave the Korean work to the Methodists, who also incorporated Korean Presbyterians into their churches. The Methodist Church's task was made still easier by the fact that the first Korean immigrants to Hawai'i took the initiative in establishing their own church in 1903, a year before Methodists organized Hawai'i as a separate district of the American Methodist Church. Two Methodist preachers and a few "exhorters" were among the first Korean arrivals in Hawai'i. Soon after they established a church, the newly organized Methodist district incorporated it as an officially recognized Methodist church. Although the Episcopal Church began a work with Koreans in the era,
the Methodists were clearly the dominant force in the ministry to Koreans. All of the fifteen organized Korean churches in 1910 were Methodist while in 1920 Methodists had fourteen Korean churches and Episcopalians two. 143

The Protestant Church did more than just oversee Koreans who arrived in Hawai'i as Christians. Methodists, and to a lesser extent Episcopalians, actively sought out opportunities to bring non-Christian Koreans into their churches. The figure of twenty-seven adult baptisms per one hundred communicants in 1910 is a good indication of the success they had in obtaining conversions among the Koreans in the years up until about 1915. After 1915 the Methodist Church experienced difficulties in its Korean work, the repercussions of which led to a drop to 4.7 adult baptisms per one hundred communicants in 1920.

The Methodists had over thirty mission stations, ten evangelists, and four teachers involved by 1906 in their outreach to the Korean plantation laborers. The zeal of these Christian workers led to the unusual practice Superintendent Wadman mentioned in 1908 whereby "we scarcely ever receive a Korean on probation into our church without obtaining a voluntary promise that he will lead one or more to Christ before he requests baptism at a later period in his probationary membership." 144 These
Korean evangelists and teachers not only preached from camp to camp but also "acted as interpreters, as mediators between plantation people and laborers, and advised the people in various capacities." The presence of few Korean women in Hawai'i and the few activities available on Sunday besides gambling or drinking also contributed to the Methodist Church being an important focus for the social life of many Korean men.

An interesting insight into Korean life in this era is provided by the difficulty the Methodist Church had in getting the few Korean women who were on the plantations to attend church services. It seems

the main drawback was the Korean custom of not associating with the opposite sex. Even in daily life men did not speak or pay attention to women unless absolutely necessary. Gradually, the strict separation became more modified and women began to go to church services... In church the women sat close to the front, or in the extreme back or all on one side of the congregation.

As with the Methodist work, the initiative of the Koreans aided the Episcopal Church's endeavor to develop a Korean ministry. In 1905 a group of Korean men who had recently moved to Honolulu from Kohala approached Bishop Restarick to ask for oversight. However, whereas the Methodists responded by aggressively establishing works on the plantations, the Episcopal Church limited its efforts to establishing two Korean adjuncts of existing Episcopal congregations, one in Honolulu and one in Kohala, Hawai'i.
When approached by the Koreans in 1905, Restarick at first allowed them to meet at St. Andrew's but "their attempts at singing disturbed the Congregations of the Cathedral" so they were moved to 'Iolani until 1908. In 1909 the Koreans again petitioned Restarick, this time for their own place of worship and a Korean-speaking priest. In response, they "were given the use of St. Elizabeth's Church at such hours as did not conflict with the Chinese services." They were placed under the care of the American priest at St. Elizabeth's but did receive the services of Korean catechists. After receiving seminary training, John Pahk served as priest for the Korean congregation from 1916 to 1918. He had the distinction of being the first ordained Korean in the American Episcopal Church. The work, known as St. Luke's Mission, labored under the handicap of not having its own facility until 1925.

The promising Methodist efforts among the Koreans began to suffer serious setbacks as the second decade of the century progressed. As late as 1916 Superintendent Fry reported that

The Korean people adapt themselves admirably to our Methodist economy, so that under the old-fashioned local preachers, exhorters and class leaders system, services are being conducted in all the Korean villages and plantation camps throughout the Territory with a minimum expenditure of money and most satisfactory results.
One year later a sharply contrasting report was given by Fry: "Our Korean mission work seems to be fraught with increasing difficulty each year. Seemingly they do not respond to the work of the Mission as readily as they did when they first came to Hawaii." Actually, the seeds of discord had been present for several years, involving a matter that was primarily political in nature but was clouded by ecclesiastical and personality issues.

The political disharmony within the Korean churches stemmed from Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910:

This event tended to separate the Koreans into two factions. On one hand, under the leadership of a Korean Ph.D. from Princeton, there arose a group who dedicated their lives and resources to gaining immediate independence for Korea. On the other hand, were unimaginative, practical souls who viewed the situation with less impassioned eyes, and remained under the wing of an American Methodist organization in an attempt to solve the immediate problems confronting them. The Princeton Ph.D. was Syngman Rhee who arrived in Hawai'i in 1913, after his anti-Japanese activities forced him to flee Korea. He assumed in 1914 the principal-ship of the Korean Compound, the Methodist school for Korean youth discussed in Chapter IV. Tensions soon surfaced over the running of the school, which Rhee used as a base to organize the Korean people to work for their independence. Although he had organized resistance to the Japanese while a Methodist missionary teacher in
Korea, he found that the Methodist Church in Hawai'i was not so amenable to his political activities.

When Rhee's philosophy led to a growing breach between himself and other Methodist personnel, he temporarily shifted his attention from political independence in Korea to the governing of the Korean Methodist churches in Hawai'i. Rhee began pressing for independence for the Korean churches, a position which evidently had the sympathy not only of those who sided with him politically but also of those Koreans who had been Presbyterians in Korea and were accustomed to more autonomy than the Methodist Church allowed.

The Methodist Church and Rhee were unable to resolve their differences. In a move that could have been cited by Niebuhr in his chapter "Nationalism and the Churches," in *Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Rhee and his followers established in 1916 the independent Korean Christian Church and Institute. The new church patterned its services after the Methodist Church, and there was very little difference in beliefs and rituals between the two churches. The main reason for the new denomination seems to have had more to do with political sentiments than with ecclesiastical matters. In Bernice Kim's study of Koreans in Hawai'i she found that since the question of independence which manifested itself in politics was so close to every Korean's
heart, in taking sides with such, many a Korean who hitherto had not been a church member, joined either the Methodist or the Korean Christian Church, the latter being more successful in gaining new members.160

The drop from twenty-seven to about five adult baptisms per one hundred Korean communicants between 1910 and 1920 was one repercussion caused by the schism. Another was the leveling off of membership statistics. Fry noted this problem when he reported in 1919 that: "The Korean membership is difficult to determine as a large number of our people have gone into these schismatic movements and we have been at a loss to know who were with us and who against us."161 The difficulty Methodists experienced in securing leadership for their Korean churches added to their troubles. It is not known to what extent Japan's occupation of Korea or the turmoil within the Korean churches in Hawai'i contributed to Fry's 1921 report that "during the past eight years . . . not one Korean pastor has been secured from Korea for any kind of pastoral work in Hawaii."162 What this meant is that the number of Methodist Korean pastors in the Islands declined from thirteen in 1916 to ten in 1920.163

The Filipinos were the last major ethnic group to be brought to Hawai'i as plantation laborers. A few workers came as early as 1906, but their numbers increased most rapidly after the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 and the 1909 Japanese labor strike led plantation management
to look for new sources of laborers. As a result, the Filipino population in the Islands increased from 2,400 in 1910 to 21,000 in 1920.\textsuperscript{164} Although the Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, and Disciples denominations had all established mission works in the Philippines by the early 1900s, only the Congregationalists and Methodists opened Filipino ministries in Hawai'i. These two denominations drew up a comity agreement for Hawai'i whereby they agreed to pursue a ministry to Filipinos only within apportioned geographical areas.\textsuperscript{165} As of 1920, the Congregational Church represented 67 percent of the Filipino Protestants in the Islands while the Methodist Church accounted for 33 percent.\textsuperscript{166}

The Episcopal Church in the Philippines was small, confined to the non-Catholicized mountain tribes and to Muslims in Southern regions. Neither of these peoples was among the immigrant laborers brought to Hawai'i. Episcopalians did not proselytize among the Catholic population in the Philippines. Since Filipinos coming to Hawai'i were mostly Catholics, the Episcopal Church did not establish a Filipino work in Hawai'i.\textsuperscript{167} Disciples had a fairly strong work in the Philippines, but in Hawai'i they had no churches on the plantations, where the Filipinos were concentrated during this era.

Although the Philippines had been a Catholic stronghold, the Protestant Church had great expectations
for its work with the Filipinos coming to Hawai'i. HEA Superintendent William Oleson voiced this optimism in his 1914 annual report:

Perhaps there has not been in the history of missionary work in Hawaii anything at all so comparable to the conditions preceding Hawaii's Great Awakening in 1836 as the present readiness and even eagerness of our Filipino brethren for the preaching in their own tongue among them of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.168

The following year the Congregational Church executive board noted that the Filipinos in Hawai'i "appear to welcome religious instruction."169 One reason for this enthusiasm was that the Philippines had been since the Spanish-American War the object of much attention by Protestant churches in America. Beginning with almost no members in 1900, Protestants reported a membership of 4,000 in 1903 and by 1918 the figure had risen to 125,000.170 As with the Chinese and Koreans, the Protestant Church in Hawai'i was able to take advantage of work done by its counterpart overseas.

The fact that a number of Filipinos arriving in Hawai'i were Protestants can be ascertained from a report concerning the regular meetings the Methodists obtained permission to hold at the Immigration Station in Honolulu: "Here we meet the [Filipino] newcomers, many of whom are already members of some evangelical church." In an era when the principle of church-state separation was observed more loosely than at present, the Methodist
Church was able to preach to a literally captive audience of immigrants waiting to be processed. There were often more than one hundred Filipinos in attendance during 1913, a figure reported to have risen to three to four hundred by 1914. Another indication of the presence of Protestants among arriving Filipinos could be found at 'Ewa Filipino Congregational Church, where the nucleus of the largest Filipino congregation in Hawai'i was composed of parishioners who had been Baptists in the Philippines. In another case, Jose Alba, who had been a Baptist seminary student in the Philippines, began on his own to hold weekly meetings for his fellow sugar plantation workers at Kōloa on Kaua'i. When Alba's work came to the attention of the HEA, they ordained him and utilized him to help launch their Filipino ministry.

Filipinos arriving as Protestants were not the only source of membership for the Congregational and Methodist churches. The 1920 ratio of 9.5 adult baptisms per one hundred communicants indicates that the churches were also actively seeking converts from the adult Filipino population. Their endeavors were particularly successful among the young single men and men whose families were in the Philippines. These men represented a significant segment of the population, since of 123,000 Filipinos arriving in Hawai'i between 1909 and 1937, only about 14,000 were women or children. Whereas marriages,
christenings and funerals served to bind Filipino families to the Catholic Church, the friendship, encouragement, education, and opportunity to learn English offered by the Protestant Church attracted a number of single men.

The HEA made a wise move when it recruited recent Manila seminary graduate Simon Ygloria to come in 1913 to head their Filipino work on O'ahu. His knowledge of Ilocano, Tagalog and Visayan, as well as English and Spanish, proved valuable during his seven years of ministry in the 'Ewa and Waialua districts. Ygloria's typical schedule included preaching three times on Sunday and once every weekday except Monday, when for his "night off" he taught an English class and coached volleyball. In addition, he edited a Filipino edition of The Friend. This pace no doubt took its toll, and in 1920 he was forced to go to the Kula, Maui, Sanatorium, where he died of tuberculosis in 1922.

In this era interesting juxtapositions sometimes occurred as the Protestant Church carried its message across cultural boundaries. Rudolph Zurbuchen, who oversaw the Methodists' Filipino work, thought that the situation at the 'Aiea plantation had some interesting aspects: "We obtained admission into a Japanese Buddhist Temple there which made a rather queer combination--a Filipino Catholic congregation, a Japanese Buddhist church
and a German Methodist preacher." In keeping with the traditions of the temple, Zurbuchen preached in his stockinged feet and the congregation refrained from singing.

The Protestant Church could generally be pleased with the results that occurred in its short ministry with the Filipinos between 1913 and 1919. The gains that were made came in the face of strong Roman Catholic opposition. The main problem, however, was that neither the Congregationalists nor the Methodists could place enough workers in the field to meet the demands of a mushrooming Filipino population. In 1919 the HEA had only six workers in this department, which left it feeling overwhelmed. The Methodist Church experienced the same problem--Fry reported that his trip to the Philippines to secure recruits had resulted in securing the services of only one pastor and one layman. An encouraging start had been made in the work with Filipinos but it was only a start.

Even during the new missionary era, there were some incipient signs of a future shift to inter-ethnic churches. During this period these were usually Caucasian-dominated Union churches in which the term "Union" came to mean more than denominational union, as other ethnic groups sought out English-language churches. When, for instance, the HEA formed the Kahului, Maui, Union Church in
1909 it had among its membership twenty-four Caucasians, sixteen Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians, two Japanese and one Chinese. Likewise, the charter membership roll for Kalihi Union, organized in 1913, lists 107 Caucasian, 12 Hawaiian and 3 Chinese surnames. The Central Kona Church was an example of a strictly Congregational Church organized on an intentionally multi-ethnic basis. In 1905 Albert Baker established the new church, which drew on the former Kona Waena Hawaiian Church for members, and by 1913 could report thirty-four Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians, fifteen Caucasians, fifteen Japanese and two Chinese members. By 1915, Koreans and Filipinos were also involved in the church.

Other churches followed St. Mary’s Episcopal Church’s route toward becoming a multi-ethnic church. St. Mary’s began in a predominantly Chinese section of Honolulu in 1902, with oversight from the Rev. Kong of St. Peter’s. In search of expanded quarters, the church relocated in 1905 to a predominantly Japanese section of town and came under Philip Fukao’s oversight. Forced by space constraints, the church again moved in 1907, this time occupying a former Chinese temple on Beretania Street in Mō'ili'i'i. In order to meet the needs of what had developed into a multi-ethnic congregation, services were conducted in English with translations in Chinese and Japanese. Along similar lines, First Christian
Church was able to incorporate Chinese into its membership after it phased out its Chinese mission work because of financial restraints. These inter-ethnic churches represented the future for the Protestant Church in Hawai'i, but it was a future that awaited the maturation of the multitude of children who were being instructed in English in the ethnic churches' Sunday school programs.

The major distinguishing mark of the new missionary era was the focus on the various ethnic groups. The Hawaiians, who had been the target of the first missionary era were not forgotten but they now became one part of the scene instead of being the whole picture. This shift in emphasis reflected the demographic reality of Hawai'i's population in the light of the recruitment of laborers for the plantations. The emphasis in particular on Asians denoted the start of a new era. It was an emphasis still being sounded as the time period under consideration came to a close. In 1919 the Congregational Church on the mainland sent a delegation to Hawai'i to evaluate the work of the HEA. One of the deputation's suggestions stressed that

while other aspects of the work be not neglected or abandoned peculiar emphasis ought to be laid upon the work for Orientals. The future of the Islands and the Church are involved in the crisis of today.
The other aspects of the work were the Hawaiian and Caucasian churches. They were not abandoned. The downward trend in the Hawaiian churches was reversed, and Hawaiians maintained their numerical dominance. In sharp contrast to the years immediately succeeding annexation, the Hawaiian churches appeared quite settled. The primary means utilized for growth were the reactivation of former members and nurture of the youth. The major trouble spot throughout the period was the Protestant Church's inability to recruit and train a Hawaiian ministry. For the most part the Caucasian churches also grew. The Lutherans were an exception, suffering difficult times in the wake of the war. The English-language churches clearly perceived themselves as the promulgators, not the recipients, of the evangelistic thrust of the new missionary era. They relied almost entirely on nurturing efforts and mainland transfers to augment their numbers.

Proportionate to the population, Koreans were statistically a success story in the Protestants' work among the immigrant groups. This largely Methodist effort got off to a good start with a strong Christian presence among the arriving laborers. Early reports spoke of zealous church personnel and of the vital role the church played as a focus for the lives of the mostly single men. The picture darkened, however, shortly after
the arrival of Syngman Rhee. His charismatic personality and zeal for Korean independence sparked intense political loyalties, acted as a catalyst for latent dissatisfaction with the Methodist system, and prompted personality clashes among the leadership. As the period came to a close, the work was suffering from a serious schism and a possibly concomitant inability to recruit Korean personnel. At the same time, it needs to be remembered that the Methodists' loss was not a defection from Protestantism, but was a lateral movement to the Korean Christian Church. An accurate assessment of Korean Protestantism after 1916 would require the inclusion of this church. While relatively a small issue for the broader Protestant Church in Hawai'i, this development did portend the future, when the number of Protestant denominations in the Islands would be much more diverse.

In 1920, 4.6 percent of the Chinese were Protestant communicants, placing them second behind the Koreans in the church's ministry to Asians. As with the Koreans, there was an important nucleus of Chinese arriving as Protestants. Most of those coming did so without bringing their families, and there was no strongly organized traditional and/or nationalistic religion competing for their loyalty to Hawai'i. As the first group to be
brought to the Islands, they led the way in raising up a Hawai'i-born generation. The positive response of the Chinese to the Protestant Church's nurturing of their youth was a hopeful sign for future work among the ethnic groups. Drawbacks included the need to compete with China for both missionaries from America and workers from China.

The Protestant Church achieved significant progress among the Filipinos who began arriving during the era. Work done by Protestants in the Philippines again contributed to this success. The Catholic Church sought to maintain traditional loyalties but the Protestant Church found a degree of receptivity among single Filipino men. The lack of workers for this field was a growing frustration in the face of a rapidly increasing Filipino population.

The Japanese were the largest ethnic group to be brought to Hawai'i and they received a corresponding amount of attention in the new missionary era. The Japanese presented a number of obstacles to the Protestant Church's efforts: The Protestant Church had converted few of them in Japan, they came in large numbers and, with aid from aggressively active traditional organizations (Buddhist sects), they were exposed to competing religious/nationalistic forces. The Protestant Church was again handicapped by a lack of workers. In spite of these hindrances, Japanese communicants, who had
the highest adult conversion rate of all Hawai'i's ethnic groups, almost tripled in twenty years and their percentage of the population doubled. Most of this growth came among Japanese who had been in Hawai'i a number of years, who had moved off the plantations into Honolulu, and who were planning to make Hawai'i their home. Still, all this progress meant only 2 percent of the Japanese were communicants in 1920. The Protestant churches realized that the task they had geared up for by 1905 still remained largely unfinished. Undaunted, they began to focus increasing attention on English-speaking youth, as the hope for the future.

In sum, all the ethnic groups contributed to the growth of the Protestant Church during the new missionary era. Each group had more communicants in 1920 than in 1905. There was not, however, an even response. For purposes of analysis, Table 3 lists the various factors that have been determined in this chapter to have had a bearing on the degree of success experienced by the Protestant Church in its work with the ethnic groups during the new missionary era.

The presence of an arriving nucleus of Protestants correlates strongly with the ranking of all the ethnic groups. The "no traditional alternative" factor was low for the Koreans and Chinese, while the Filipinos, Japanese and Portuguese fall into the opposite sector. Koreans,
### Table 3
Factors Affecting Ethnic Group Response to Protestant Christianity During the New Missionary Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Factors Ranked in Order of Significance</th>
<th>Caucasian, non-Portuguese</th>
<th>Koreans</th>
<th>Hawaiians</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Portuguese&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant nucleus from native land</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No strong traditional religious alternative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No socializing (traditional, non-Protestant) force by cohesive family unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of time in Hawaii</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living off plantations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: 1 = most true for this group  
? = least true for this group

 SOURCE: Chapters IV and V and Table 8.

<sup>a</sup>This category included 27,002 Portuguese, 5,602 Puerto Ricans, 2,430 Spanish.
Chinese, and Filipinos had the largest percentage of single men, while by 1920 the Japanese and even more so the Portuguese had established traditional family units. Length of time in Hawai'i and movement off the plantations (related phenomena) seem relevant to the Chinese response to the Protestant Church, but the response of the Koreans and Filipinos indicates these factors were outweighed by other considerations.

In addition to these variables, factors uniformly affecting the ethnic work of the Protestant Church were men, money, and the language barriers. The ever present cry was for men who could communicate to the ethnic groups. The Protestant Church was fully aware that its work among Asians was not progressing as well as it might because of "the lack of workers who can speak the language of these various peoples." The Protestant Church proved for the most part unable to raise up a sufficient native ministry among either Hawaiians or Asians in Hawai'i. Competition for American missionaries was intense, as the Disciples' mission society president, Archibald McLean, noted in 1919: "The great and populous fields of the Orient attracted men and women who wished to serve as missionaries, as Honolulu did not." Likewise, Protestant nationals were in great demand within their own countries in the Orient. Restarick captured the feeling of the Protestant churches
when he wrote that money had been scarce, but even "if money had been obtainable, suitable men could not be obtained, although every effort was made to secure them." 188

A century of Protestant missionary work in the Islands came to an end in 1919. In order for the Protestant Church to make significant strides in the years ahead, it would have to capitalize on the key factors contributing to its growth while at the same time looking for ways to minimize the obstacles encountered. In the mind of the Protestant Church leadership, the youth—Americanized, assimilated, English-speaking young people—held the brightest promise for the future. 189
CHAPTER VI
THE BROADER CONTEXT

In order to gain an understanding of the Protestant Church in the period 1898-1919 it has been necessary to examine its activities, its theology and its composition. It is also valuable to look at the broader context in which it operated to find out such things as its perception of other religious groups, its relationship with the power structures in Hawai'i's society, and its response to various social and political topics current in Hawai'i at the time.

Attitude Toward Other Religious Bodies

While relationships among established Protestant forces in the Islands have been described as cordial, Protestants' attitude toward other religious groups was less than friendly throughout the period. There was no inclination toward cooperating with these groups or belief systems, namely kahunaism, Roman Catholicism, Mormonism and Buddhism. Protestants viewed these "isms" as opponents of the aims of the new missionary era.

Kahunaism was a real source of irritation to Protestant Church leaders up through the days of the Home Rule Legislature but seems to have lost most of its
influence shortly thereafter. HEA Corresponding Secretary O. P. Emerson wrote of kahunaism in 1903 that

its power has been broken and . . . it is no longer such a menace to the life of the Hawaiian as it was a decade and a half ago. . . . Where fifteen years ago, many native pastors confessed to being under the spell of kahunaism, there is hardly one today who does not stand ready to denounce it in his pulpit.¹

In 1905 Restarick wrote that while kahunaism was still believed in, it was no more a force in the Islands than was superstition a force in the States.² In contrast to the considerable attention Protestant reports and periodicals gave to kahunaism in the late 1800s, they seldom mentioned the issue after 1905.

The Protestant Church, in contrast to its opinion of kahunaism, continued to perceive Catholicism, Mormonism and Buddhism as formidable foes. HEA Hawaiian Department Superintendent Doremus Scudder wrote in 1905 that the problem his department had been having in maintaining an adequate native pastorate was complicated by the sagacious methods adopted by the Roman Church and Mormon hierarchy in placing their men all over the country to toil at first hand with the natives. They deserve their success because of the devotion with which they labor. If American Romanism, enlightened and in process of reformation, were dominant here the case would be different, but it is the European Church and that too is its most sinister form, Jesuitism, which confronts us . . . . Besides these two complaisant Churches of Rome and Salt Lake City we must meet the influence of Buddhism and of Asiatic standards
of life. A new and startling environment is being created, hostile to the pure Christianity.\(^3\)

A common tack employed on the mainland by those opposing the influence of the Catholic Church in America had been to emphasize its non-American connection with Rome. Scudder's statement reveals that the Protestants utilized this approach in Hawai'i and expanded it to cover the Buddhists also. The non-American theme was also applied to the Mormons, as is evident in Restarick's 1914 assessment that

Roman Catholic priests - devoted men - are all from the continent of Europe. The Utah Mormons are not, I judge, enthusiastically American in the sense we use it. . . .

Then the Japanese use every means to keep their children Japanese in spirit. After the public schools close at 2 p.m., Japanese children are sent, if possible, to a Buddhist priest and taught the Japanese language and patriotic principles. . . .

The Roman Catholic priests on the Islands are a fine set of men; I admire their devotion, and I like them personally, but I am simply stating facts when I say that the Roman mission here is carried on by the Society of the Sacred Hearts, whose priests are chiefly Belgians and French.\(^4\)

Most of the Protestants' conflict with Catholics stemmed from efforts of both groups to work with Hawaiians and from Protestant attempts to evangelize traditionally Catholic Portuguese and Filipinos. In 1904 the Disciples reported to the mainland that "as our work is chiefly among the Catholic element, the priests have forced a great many to give up attending our services."\(^5\)

The situation had not changed by 1911 when First Christian
minister D. C. Peters wrote that the mission work in the Kewalo District was being carried on "in the midst of a most bitter Catholic opposition." The Friend reported that it found in 1908 that the Portuguese young people were generally "more liberal minded and not so easily dominated by the priesthood. . . . but fear of persecution and ostracism on the part of the more fanatical hinders many from making a stand for the truth."7

Some among the Protestants believed in taking a very direct approach in dealing with any Catholic opposition. Soon after the Methodist Church began its work in 1913 among Filipinos, one of the first converts, Placido Alviar, became a student at Mills Institute and a Methodist preacher. He worked almost entirely among people of Catholic background, but when told by a Roman Catholic priest that he had no authority to evangelize, Alviar had cards printed that read, "This certifies that Placido Alviar, the bearer, is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Honolulu, T. H. and is hereby entitled to but [sic] into any conversation, any time and at any place."8

The Protestant Church characterized the Mormon Church as being particularly devious in its expansion efforts:

Mormon missionaries on Hawaii usually introduce themselves as ministers of Christ, speak of their reverence for the Bible, and present some harmless bit of literature which emphasizes, as they do in their conversation, the essentials of Christianity upon which all agree. It is only very gradually that they make known their real beliefs. Often they deliberately seek out members of churches who are
dissatisfied with their church relationships, flatter them, and tell them that of course they are not satisfied with an incomplete Gospel. The ignorant and superstitious, or those who seek material gain in church office, money, or health, listen to them.9

In a 1914 article printed in the *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, Bishop Restarick wrote that the expansion of Mormonism in Hawai'i in the 1800s occurred because it did not oppose kahunaism, it quietly favored polygamy, was similar to the native Hawaiian religion, and in general grew "not by appealing to the highest, but by pandering to weakness."10

To his own denomination, Restarick, who had lived in Mormon families when a young man, asserted that these Mormon attitudes and practices had continued into the twentieth century.11

The HEA's board held a special executive session in 1919 to discuss the continued Mormon inroads into the native Hawaiian population. The minutes of the meeting make it clear that while at the end of this period under investigation the Protestant Church may have softened its approach in countering Mormonism, it had not modified its attitude toward the Mormon Church. After noting that a paper on Mormonism had been quietly distributed among the Hawaiian people, the minutes reflect the board's belief that: "We do not, however, believe that in this campaign against Mormonism it is advisable to use
speakers or to preach against this menace. This will only arouse opposition that will breed ill feeling."12

It was noted in Chapter II that the Hongwanji Buddhist mission initiated an active work in Hawai'ī in 1897. By 1898 the Protestant Church was reporting that "we are now, as never before, beginning to feel the competition and opposition of the Buddhists... Priests... of that faith confront our evangelists at many points."13 A Disciples layman later reported that Japanese conversions to Christianity often came in the face of opposition not only from Buddhist priests but also from Buddhist family members.14 Restarick spoke for most Protestants in Hawai'ī when he evaluated Buddhism as a system which was powerless to deal with the religious needs of man:

We learn to admire and appreciate the good maxims of Confucius, or the doctrine of sowing and reaping which Buddha taught, but we learn also to see how powerless are mere aphorisms, and how Buddhism and all systems fail to give any answer to the cry of the human heart for pardon, peace and grace.15

Until about the time of World War I, a rallying cry of the new missionary era was the opportunity to convert Asian immigrants in Hawai'ī so as to have them help spread the gospel upon their return to their native lands. In an article entitled "Wars of The Friend," The Friend with characteristic literary flair promoted Hawai'ī as a launching ground for missionary effort in the Orient:
Whole armies of Oriental faiths have come outnumbering us ten to one, but the shout of victory is heard in the kingdom of God, and its willing captives are now going back to the lands from whence they came to plant our standards there.\textsuperscript{16}

Even after it became apparent that most Asians in Hawai'i were not planning to return to their native lands, Protestant leaders continued until the end of the era to espouse the conviction that beliefs planted in Hawai'i would soon germinate in the East and the rest of the Pacific. Fry wrote in 1919 of the importance of working among Asians whose occidental training will reflect upon their respective countries for years to come. Hawaii affords a center from which Christianity and democracy are carried to the Orient. Whatever is firmly planted here soon spreads to the Orient and the islands of this vast Pacific sea. It is the nerve center of the Pacific and a place of supreme advantage to Christianity.\textsuperscript{17}

The Protestant Church, did, however, give increasing attention to the reality that thousands of Japanese Buddhists planned to make Hawai'i their permanent home. Few Protestants had agreed with Bishop's prognosis that "Buddhism has had its say and its insufficiency is being more clearly demonstrated every month."\textsuperscript{18} Fry more nearly reflected Protestant sentiment in the post-World War I years when he declared that "if we are to overtake the tremendous Buddhist propaganda and defeat other enemies
of Christ's Kingdom, we must 'speed up' the machinery of the church."19

The Protestant Church and Merchant Street

There are several reasons why the Social Gospel was not a significant factor in Hawai'i's religious scene between 1898 and 1919. The Social Gospel has been described as the religious arm of the Progressive Movement,20 but this movement was only fleetingly active in Hawai'i. The Social Gospel's primary focus was on industrialized urban areas, but like the South, Hawai'i was not an industrialized urban region. Furthermore, although "the Social Gospel must be understood as a transitory phase of Christian Social thought . . . a submovement within religious liberalism,"21 religious liberalism was not an important force in the Islands.

The conclusion that the Social Gospel was not a major force in Hawai'i is surprising because the major exponents of the movement on the mainland were the dominant Protestant denominations present in Hawai'i. The conclusion is also surprising because the Protestant Church in Hawai'i advocated and was involved in many of the same causes that are typically identified as Social Gospel concerns.22 The commonly shared areas of concern included: Prohibition, crime, war, women's suffrage, child labor, immigration and related issues, labor,
tenement (and in Hawai'i, plantation) conditions, government, and ecumenism. The Protestant Church in Hawai'i, however, differed from the Social Gospel Movement in the emphasis put on these different issues and in terms of perceived causes and solutions.

Social Gospel historian Charles Hopkins concluded in his study of the movement that its primary concern was with the problems occasioned by the Gilded Age's unregulated industrialization. Matters such as Prohibition, amusements, prostitution, war, immigration and housing were given attention, but "were all of secondary importance . . . the social gospel was the reaction of Protestantism--markedly stimulated by socialism--to the ethics and practices of capitalism as brought to point in the industrial situation." 23

Hawai'i's Protestants were, based on the following quote by Restarick, aware of the interest among parts of the Protestant Church on the mainland in the ethics and practices of capitalism. Restarick wrote in 1906 that

in our American social life it has been a year of exposures in the conduct of the business of civic affairs and of large corporations until men are wondering . . . how it is that the laws seem to be inoperative against the illegal methods of greed, when that greed has millions at its back . . . . Already among the most sane of our people are those who believe that there must be a more fair distribution of profits and the prevention of the undue power of enormous wealth by placing some limit upon its passing to others. 24
There is no evidence that Restarick's awareness of and even sympathy for exposures of greed and the call for a fairer distribution of profits led to any action on his part to confront such situations in Hawai'i. The same can be said of most other Protestant Church leaders, who did not significantly challenge the conduct of large corporations or concentration of great wealth in the hands of a powerful elite.

The ethics and practices of capitalism in Hawai'i were most clearly symbolized by a coterie known as the Big Five or Merchant Street. The Big Five controlled 75 percent of the sugar crop by 1910, in an industry with a labor force of over 25,000 during this period, and also exercised extensive control over businesses as diversified as banking, transportation, utilities and merchandising.25 The Big Five were also politically powerful. Although Hawaiians comprised a majority of the electorate through the first decades of the century:

The lack of appropriate education or of political experience prevented the Hawaiian-part-Hawaiian majority from making effective use of their numbers . . . As a result, control of Territorial politics gravitated into the hands of a haole (Caucasian, chiefly American) elite, together with such Hawaiian allies as they could attract . . . and its political power was backed up by a solid economic base in control of Hawaii's plantation economy.26

Sociologist Milton Yinger has pointed out that, in contrast to a religious sect, the church sought to
influence the secular world. Yet, the church recognized the strength of secular forces rather than the church "losing its position by contradicting the secular powers directly, [it] accepts the main elements in the social structure as proximate goods. . . . It is built therefore on compromise." Their formidable combination of economic and political power made the Big Five an unlikely target for criticism by the Protestant Church. In addition, however, there was a close association between the Protestant Church and Merchant Street which heightened the tendency Yinger noted for the church neither to withdraw from nor radically criticize political/economic powers such as the Big Five.

This close association in Hawai'i stemmed in part from the genealogical networking present by virtue of the Big Five companies all having missionary descendants on their boards: "Many of the large stockholders not only live here but they are of missionary descent." This networking extended beyond the sphere of missionary offspring. Restarick, for instance, wanted it known that:

The importance and influence of the [Episcopal] Church in this Missionary District we feel is not to be measured by its numbers, for it undoubtedly yields in public opinion considerable weight. This is due to the fact that many of our men and women are prominent in the communities in which they live.

The HEA also had a number of such prominent individuals among its membership, as did the Lutheran Church.
Merchant Street's financial support of the Protestant Church further heightened the interlocking of the two groups. The Protestant Church regularly needed financial support above and beyond the contributions of its membership. Wadman voiced a theme common among the churches when he admitted that: "Our Missionary appropriation never begins to cover the whole work. The burden of raising an amount nearly twice that of the Annual appropriation, in 'Special Gifts' here and on the mainland, is an exceedingly heavy one demanding much of my time and attention."31

Protestant leaders found themselves in the position of counting on the Big Five to help relieve their financial crunch: "An unusually large percentage of the wealth of this community is in the hands of men with missionary ancestry who are not ashamed of their forebears and mean to carry on their work to perfection."33 Such a relationship made it hard for the Protestant Church not to be beholden to the Big Five, not to associate its fortunes with those of Merchant Street. In 1902, for instance, The Friend revealed the conviction that a favorable outlook for the sugar industry that year was also good news for the HEA because it brought a gleam of hope for the sadly straitened finances of our Hawaiian Board, threatening disastrous shrinkage in our needy work. Several of our most munificent donors have been compelled by loss of
income to diminish their gifts. If the expected relief comes, they will assuredly resume their liberal aid.\textsuperscript{33}

A number of specific examples can be cited illustrating the Protestant Church's indebtedness to the generosity of Big Five connected church members. The HEA's board noted in 1919 that its Filipino edition of The Friend had been saved from a large deficit the previous year by a special subsidy from G. P. Castle, former President and then Vice-President of Castle and Cooke.\textsuperscript{34} The Lutheran Church in Honolulu was able to exist without ever taking an offering in this period because the program of the church was basically underwritten by the Hackfeld and Isenberg families.\textsuperscript{35} Bishop Restarick recalled that much of the advance made by the Episcopal Church was due to gifts from the children of various missionaries: "Many things could not have been done without their aid."\textsuperscript{36} The property for the Beretania Street site of First Methodist Church was donated by W. R. Castle, President of Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd. and of the S. N. Castle Estate.\textsuperscript{37}

It was in its work with plantation laborers that the Protestant Church was most dependent on the Big Five's benevolence. The Big Five exhibited a certain sense of noblesse oblige for the welfare of their workers that
Protestant leaders extolled even in the midst of the massive 1920 plantation strike:

Having inherited the conscience "All ye are brethren," they have found it impossible to shake off the conviction that they are in a high sense their brothers' keeper. They have in consequence acted out that formula with the result of a description of paternalism most marked on certain of our most prosperous plantations. 38

Many of the immigrants whom the Protestants wanted to evangelize and nurture in the new missionary era worked and lived in Big Five plantation camps. The potential financial leverage the Big Five could exert on the needy Protestant Church is implicit in the following 1906 Methodist report concerning the loss of Japanese ministers: "One of our more important Churches is still vacant, while two or three larger plantations have sent us requests for evangelists, with promises of financial assistance." 39

Because of the control exercised over laborers residing in plantation provided housing, Protestant leaders had to look to management for a site in order to establish a church with access to the workers. The tenuousness of this situation is illustrated by the following notation, which appeared at the bottom of the 1913 to 1919 statistical reports of the Methodist Church: "Many churches are built on land owned by the plantations, for which no leases have been obtained." 40
plantations also frequently made land available for a parsonage and provided all or part of the minister's salary. It is not too surprising then to find Fry writing in 1917 that "I want to express my gratitude to the Sugar Plantations for their liberal support and sympathetic interest in our work on the plantations."\(^41\)

Liston Pope has provided an incisive analysis of the ways in which the Protestant Church can find itself dependent on the good will of its membership's employers, and some of the repercussions emanating therefrom.\(^42\) Although Pope's study was set in a milltown in North Carolina, his conclusion that the system had mutual benefits has bearing on the situation in Hawai'i.

The Protestant Church's efforts in Hawai'i would have been seriously hindered logistically and financially if the ire of the paternalistically inclined Big Five had been aroused. On the other side, there was more than paternalistic feeling that governed plantation management's willingness to further religious work on the plantations:

'Most of the plantation managers are exceedingly kind and do all in their power to assist us in our efforts to better the moral condition of their laborers, feeling that in the end it is a paying investment. A few, however, have little concern, their chief aim being a good crop of sugar and often their mules are better cared for than their coolies.'\(^43\)

Again, Wadman reported in 1912 that:
These Koreans make the most sincere Christians I have ever known," remarked a plantation manager not long ago. "They are becoming more and more most desirable and efficient laborers," remarked another. "I wish we had several thousand more on Hawaii." . . . "I shall certainly build a school house for their children as you request. They are among my most faithful employees. 44

When Fry, Wadman's successor, stated that, "our Mission Work is greatly appreciated by plantation managers and others," 45 this study has suggested that the appreciation derived from a combination of benevolent and economic motives.

Hawai'i most closely resembled an industrial environment during the new missionary era on its sugar and pineapple plantations. Although the plantations were not urban industry, neither were they worked by yeoman farmers. The plantations were what has been termed industrial agriculture. 46 In an effort to ascertain the Protestant Church's perspective on plantation conditions in Hawai'i, attention will be given to such matters as work conditions, wages, work days, and plantation sponsored religious institutions. These were areas where paternalistic, economic and religious motives did not always coincide in the eyes of management, laborers, and/or the Protestant Church's leadership. Such points of conflict help clarify the orientation of the
Protestant Church leadership's attitude regarding the economic powers in Hawai'i.

The Congregational Church had the largest work among the various plantation workers in the period 1900-1920, followed by the Methodist Church and then the Episcopal Church. The Lutheran Church at Līhuē, with less than a hundred communicants for most of this period, drew mainly on German plantation workers, while the Disciples had no churches on the plantations.

Although approximately twenty-five thousand laborers worked on the plantations in 1900, large scale importation of workers continued until 1932 in order to meet increased production needs and to replace those who left the plantation work force. The Chinese were the first ethnic group brought to Hawai'i to work the plantations, but they quickly moved off the plantations into urban areas. When Hawai'i was annexed in 1898, America's 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act went into effect in the Islands. As a result, recruitment of Japanese workers, ongoing since 1886, was stepped up so that between 1898 and the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, which stopped the flow of Japanese workers to the United States, approximately 40,000 workers were brought in from Japan. The Japanese moved off the plantations less rapidly than the Chinese; in 1920 88% still resided
outside Honolulu and they remained the largest force on the plantations in this period.\textsuperscript{50} A number of Koreans were brought in about 1904, additional Portuguese came between 1906 and 1913, and a significant number of Filipinos began to arrive after 1907.\textsuperscript{51}

Until the Organic Act of 1900, plantations operated under a contract labor system that obligated a worker to a plantation for a certain number of years at a certain wage, with penalties if the contract was broken.\textsuperscript{52} In 1899 \textit{Friend} editor Sereno Bishop spoke out in opposition to the system of contract labor as inimical to American practice. He also expressed fear that "the immense aggregation of capital in the plantations is liable to act as a money power, impeding proper inspection and due justice to the laborers."\textsuperscript{53} Such comments if acted on would represent a real threat to the plantation system's status quo. There is no indication, however, that such a position was pursued by other Protestant leaders in the period 1900-1919.

In 1903, John Leadingham, Bishop's successor at \textit{The Friend}, penned an article entitled "Contract Labor System in Hawaii." Although contract labor had been abolished in 1900, it seems as though he felt it was necessary to refute Bishop's 1899 comments. Leadingham asserted that the government had "maintained a thorough and careful
system of inspection which corrected such abuses of laborers as occasionally appeared."\textsuperscript{54} He also served notice that in the period under consideration the Protestant Church would not be questioning any immense aggregation of capital by the plantations;

In respect to land for farms, it will not do, for at least a long time to come, to displace the sugar plantations, because it is upon them that the present wealth of the Islands depends. They are the source of our material prosperity. The means as well, for carrying on all benevolent and religious work is derived almost wholly and directly from them. Work for the moral and spiritual elevation of the races which need such uplifting would be practically brought to a stop if the plantations were to be greatly interfered with.\textsuperscript{55}

Restarick later expressed the same unequivocal support for large scale plantations.\textsuperscript{56}

One certain way to interfere with the plantations was for the laborers to go on strike. Despite Leadingham's contention that abuses of laborers were few and had been dealt with, the Hawaiian Board of Immigration had admitted in 1898 that violent treatment by some plantation luna (overseers) had contributed to the high rate of Japanese desertions from the plantations.\textsuperscript{57} In the six month period after the Organic Act invalidated Hawai'i's penal contract law, about twenty-six labor disturbances occurred on the plantations as the workers vented resentments over unjust treatment, wages and other
conditions. John Reinecke's study lists another twenty-three minor plantation disturbances between 1901 and 1908. Of the forty-nine disturbances recorded for 1900-1908, 57 percent involved wages or working conditions, 37 percent pertained to charges of mistreatment or unfair practices by management and 14 percent related to living conditions or unknown factors. 58

Protestant leaders chose to ignore wages or working conditions as issues in these disputes. To the extent that they took note of the labor agitations between 1900 and 1908, they chose to attribute them to either unjust lunas or the influence of immoral agitators, mainly gamblers and brothel keepers. Because the disturbances were usually short and minor and because the church leaders did not perceive them to be organized attacks on plantation management, but protests against unfair treatment by low level overseers or outside agitators, they found it easy to sympathize with the strikers. For instance, in the aftermath of the May, 1904 Japanese workers' strike at Waipahu, The Friend declared that:

On the evening of May 4 the strike ended after the obnoxious overseer resigned. The independence and determination of the striking men is not to be condemned. Under the conditions represented it becomes a public duty for working men after exhausting all lesser measures to strike. . . . Every brutal luna is a menace to industrial peace on these islands. The plantation, that invites a strike by engaging lunas such as this one is said to be, is the worst foe of our business interests. 59
The Friend's opinion that the Japanese laborer was ignorant, excitable, lacking in judgment, and easy prey for trouble makers, and its advice to plantation managers to be firm but absolutely fair also indicate the paper's paternalistic approach. 60

Between 1909 and 1919, Reinecke found record of seven plantation labor disturbances, four of which involved charges of unfair practices or mistreatment while three were over wage matters. 61 Six of these disputes can be classified as minor in nature, but the seventh, which occurred in 1909, was a major, organized strike. Between May 9 and August 6, 1909, about seven thousand Japanese workers from all O'ahu plantations except La'ie struck for wage increases and an end to racial wage-rate discrimination. 62 The Higher Wages Association, Hawai'i's first plantation trade-union, organized the strike. Japanese newspaper publisher Yasutaro Soya, with the aid of Honolulu businessmen, had founded the organization in 1908. 53

Although the plantations had been paying Caucasians a third more than Orientals for the same field work, 64 Protestant leaders ignored the differential issue and took a dim view of the request for higher wages. Restarick typified their position when he concluded that any desire for increased wages could not stem from
necessity since "Postoffice Order reports show that a large amount of money is sent to Japan." He also believed that compared with similar laborers in the United States the Japanese were not underpaid.65

The Friend took the position that organized Japanese gamblers operating from Honolulu had forced the Japanese laborers to strike. Editor Doremus Scudder further advocated the elimination of gambling racketeers as the panacea for plantation labor problems:

Almost all the ills suffered by the Japanese laborers in this territory are due to this lawless element that terrorized the simple hearted, honest peasants among them. If a determined effort were made to get the evildoers out of the Islands it would be the greatest blessing to the entire community.66

The Episcopal Church likewise gave attention to the fact that this had been an organized strike:

If workmen had real grievances they would have been heard if they had been presented properly. But we are also sure that if the Planters had given way to a few self-constituted leaders, that the business of these Islands would have been given over to their hands and would have been at their mercy. . . .

The Japanese have done themselves harm by putting their cause into the hands of men who were not Plantation workmen.67

Restarick did concede that on many plantations there was a need for better quarters: "Where there are women, in some cases, conditions do not conduce to decency."
Having conceded this much, however, he then put the onus on the workers for looking to outside labor organizers:

If the laborers had gone at the matter in the right way we are sure that the Planters would have heard them and would have been disposed to have improved conditions. But to submit to the dictates of men who had no interest in the Plantations would have been to have handed over the control of the vast interests of these Islands to a few scheming men in Honolulu. 68

Evidently the laborers continued to go at the matter in the wrong way, for James Shoemaker noted in 1939 that "housing bordering slum conditions is still to be found, representing about 20 percent of the total." 69

The lack of support for the strikers was most pronounced among the Japanese churches, with Okumura at Makiki Christian being the most vocal opponent. In Okumura's eyes the issue was not plantation conditions or wages, it was whether the Japanese in Hawai'i were willing to be good Americans and loyal workers or whether they deserved the characterization of being part of a "yellow peril." 70 It is possible that the Japanese Christians in Honolulu felt the need to distance themselves from the striking workers in an effort to avoid being negatively associated with them by virtue of ethnic background.

Caucasian leaders of the Protestant Church, on the other hand, quite openly identified with plantation management. "We," wrote Restarick in 1909, "know fairly
well the men who control the commercial interests of these Islands. One can almost sense hurt feelings—a questioning of how the laborers could strike against employers who were so interested in their welfare:

We have lived in many countries and we have seen many industries, but we never saw men who were more disposed to be just and kind than the Planters and Managers of estates on these Islands, almost without exception. We know Managers to whom the people come as to a father for decisions and to settle trouble. The position of a Manager is one of peculiar responsibility, but the Managers of Plantations on these Islands are men, as a rule, who try to be just, fair, considerate, helpful and kind.

Although plantation management and Protestant Church leaders usually saw things in the same light, there were some exceptions. The HEA came out loudly against plantation management allowing sake and gambling operations in the camps. The Methodists had a standing committee which reported regularly on the "blatant evil" stemming from the plantations' neglect of the observance of the Sabbath. All the churches castigated the plantations for either requiring work on Sunday or for offering extra wages to get laborers to work on Sunday.

Protestant Church leaders directed most of their ire, however, toward the plantations' practice of financially supporting Buddhist temples and Japanese language schools. They regarded such support as
tantamount to giving aid to the enemy. They thought little of "ill advised concessions" that had led so many Christians at the head of sugar enterprises to compromise with Buddhism by contributions of money to build temples and maintain priests and schools in order to win the good will of the laborers. Such a conscienceless procedure never attains its object. . . . For a Christian to help build Buddhist temples, employ Buddhist priests and erect or maintain Buddhist schools in order to keep the Japanese laborer contented is a cowardly concession.75

These abdications of Christian responsibility, serious as they were from the Protestant Church's perspective, were not enough to interfere with the general support given to the Big Five. Simeon Ygloria, Congregational Church pastor in 'Ewa and editor of The Friend's Filipino edition, Ang Abyan, exemplified this continued support when he wrote in 1918 that:

Moving about is the ruling passion of the Filipinos and Ang Abyan has made an effort to bring to their attention the unwisdom of constantly seeking new locations. This has been in line with the efforts of the Sugar Planters' Association to keep laborers on the plantations. The Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association in turn encouraged the distribution of the Ang Abyan to all the plantations.76

As the period under consideration drew to a close, Methodist Field Secretary D. H. Klinefelter reiterated Protestant Church leadership's desire for a continued close working relationship with plantation management.
Klinefelter wrote in 1919 that he was impressed with the hospitality he had received whenever visiting plantation managers and that he appreciated "their hearty co-operation in all that we would do for the Filipino laborers. Laborers have nothing to fear from men of their type." Such an assessment did not prove very prophetic, coming as it did on the eve of the massive 1920 Filipino-Japanese plantation strike, during which many families suffered greatly when twelve thousand workers were evicted from their plantation housing in the midst of an influenza epidemic.

Klinefelter's report called for an English-speaking Filipino to be designated as a lay preacher for the Methodist Church. The report evidenced open identification of the Methodist minister with management when it stated that

such a man should also function for the Plantation manager as a Welfare Worker in keeping the manager in close touch with the condition among the laborers and acting on the recommendations the Manager may see fit to make. This objective has been reached on some plantations and the same type of service is desired by other Managers.

Klinefelter also thought it important to

say that while there may be some need for the Filipino in the City of Honolulu and at Pearl Harbor, and in the army camps, yet the real friend of these people will endeavor to keep him on the plantations. Much of the crime attributed to the Filipino is due to idleness while off the plantation.
In his 1958 analysis of Methodism in Hawai'i, Vernon Middleton, General Secretary of the Division of National Missions of the Methodist Church, commented on the relationship between Methodist Church, plantation management and workers. His conclusion that, in the early years of the Methodist's work, "it would have been virtually impossible for the church leaders to disassociate themselves from the plantation owners," seems a fair assessment of the Protestant Church as a whole in the period 1898-1919. The leaders of the Big Five had close ties with the Protestant Church by virtue of both genealogical descent and involvement in the church. They were important financial contributors to the work of the Protestant Church. They were proud of their paternalistic attitude, an attitude that was culturally acceptable to the Caucasian-dominated society of the era and one that was not easy for the immigrant workers to question openly. This paternalism contributed to the Protestant Church's belief that more was to be accomplished by cooperating with plantation management than by assuming an adversary position.

Conservative in social outlook as well as theology, the Protestant Church saw no need for any restructuring
of the economic power base in Hawai‘i. This acceptance of the status quo seemed a satisfactory arrangement that allowed expansion of the Protestant Church beyond what its own financial resources would have allowed. This arrangement did not require significant concessions of principle, for Protestantism clearly perceived itself a force for social stability. The desire for social stability even made strange bedfellows at times of the Protestant Church and its otherwise foe, Buddhism. In the aftermath of the 1904 plantation strike at Waipahu, The Friend conceded that

[Waipahu's] manager deserves praise for the wise and forceful manner in which he brought the strike to an end. We are glad to record that the local Buddhist priest came out frankly and helpfully on the right side in the late strike. Buddhist influence in Hawaii has not always proved a peaceful industrial factor. It is pleasant to record this hopeful change of base. We trust Waipahu will soon add to its conservative peace-guaranteeing forces by securing a resident Christian Evangelist. For we have known of many instances where a brave upright Christian leader has averted or led his countrymen to conclude strikes which had no real cause.81

Albert Palmer, Central Union minister from 1917-1924, provided an apt concluding illustration of the basically conservative social nature of the Protestant Church. As has been mentioned, Palmer's theological orientation was liberal. He also played a leading role in
promoting such social causes as the effort to get the Big Five to recognize the rights of Oriental laborers to bargain collectively through a labor union. While he may have seemed to be marching out of step with most of the Protestant Church in Hawai‘i, he was certainly not marching in an opposite direction. He was as far removed from being a Christian Socialist as were the majority of the Protestant ministers from being Social Gospelers. His 1920 New Year's Sermon preached at Central Union makes clear his basic social conservatism. After listing Prohibition as the highlight of the year, he continued: "To this should be added on the credit side the vindication of American belief in orderly government shown by the splendid victory of Governor Coolidge in Massachusetts and the steady swing of public opinion against ill-advised strikes and over-radical labor agitation." Again, Middleton's conclusion that the close relationship between the Methodist Church and plantation management in this period meant that "the worker could not help identifying the church with management," was applicable to the Protestant Church as a whole. To the extent that this identification took place, one can infer that any questioning of the benevolent nature of management's paternalism by laborers would also have
colored their perception of the credibility of the Protestant Church.

Table 4 may be informative in regard to the relationship between dissatisfaction with plantation management and unresponsiveness to the Protestant Church. Any statements about relationships between plantation and communicant variables can only be tentative, for other possibly relevant factors such as leadership or cultural factors, length of time in Hawai'i, and strength of previous religious affiliation have not been taken into account. It can be concluded, however, that there was no clear correlation between laboring on a plantation and being a Protestant in this period. There does seem to be something of an inverse pattern in comparing the extent of each ethnic group's involvement in labor disturbances and their involvement as a group in the Protestant Church.

The most striking observation is that the Japanese, who were by far the least complaisant group toward plantation management, were also among the least responsive to Protestantism. Although more research is needed, Table 4 suggests that Protestant Church leadership's identification with plantation management was not an asset in the church's efforts to reach the largest ethnic group in the Islands, the Japanese. Conversely, one can perhaps surmise from Table 4 why plantation management thought that Protestants made good employees.
### Table 4
Comparison of Plantation and Communicant Statistics, 1900-1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Percent of Group Laboring on Plantations&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Group as Percent of Plantation Laborers&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Percent of Disturbances Involved in</th>
<th>Percent of Group Protestant Communicants&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian, Other</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0% 0%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1% 1.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1% 1.8%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2% 3.6%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>3% 5.4%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>3% 5.4%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>46% 82.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES:** Reinecke, *Labor*, pp. 6-16; Lind, *Island*, p. 325; Schmitt, *Demographic*, p. 120; Table 8.

<sup>a</sup>Caucasian, Other refers to non-Portuguese/Puerto Rican/Spanish Caucasians. Hawaiian includes part-Hawaiian. Portuguese includes Puerto Rican and Spanish.

<sup>b</sup>Plantation labor statistics are from 1896, 1910, 1920. Population and communicant statistics are from 1900, 1910, 1920. Korean/Filipino breakdown for 1910 estimated, from total for both, to be Korean 2852, Filipino 1485. Caucasian, Other/Portuguese breakdown for 1910 estimated, from total for both, to be Caucasian, Other 680, Portuguese 6694. Percentages in these columns are an average of 1896, 1900, 1910, and 1920 figures.
Although church historian William Warren Sweet's comments on the Protestant Church and labor are dated, they indicate that the position that church leaders in Hawai'i took in identifying with management during labor disturbances resembled the posture of Protestant leaders on the mainland. Sweet noted that in an era of sometimes bitter contests between management and labor, the churches' acceptance of large gifts from corporations and the churches' seeming identification with the interests of big business, brought charges that the churches were indifferent to the interests of labor. Sweet reported that middle-class people, who made up the largest proportion of church membership, generally condemned labor disturbances and ignored grievances being raised by workers. Church papers frequently voiced anti-labor sentiments. 85

**Crusading Protestantism**

The Protestant Church did care about the disadvantaged in this era. As was noted in the two previous chapters, it was involved in a number of activities, both on and off the plantations, in an attempt to ameliorate the situation of people experiencing difficult circumstances. For the most part, however, these activities were directed toward meeting individual needs. The primary emphasis of the new missionary era in Hawai'i
was not on Christianizing the social order, it was on converting non-Christian individuals. Protestants still thought of sin primarily in terms of an individual's relationship to God rather than in terms of social dynamics. The Protestant denominations in Hawai'i sought positive state action in social issues only selectively, if at all. When they did seek such action they viewed it not as the ultimate solution, but as a complement to needed individual conversion.

In an article entitled "True Basis of Social Reform," Bishop concisely stated the dominant conviction as to the solution for social ills: "Society cannot be uplifted in the mass, nor its corruptions cured as a whole. The degraded communities must be pervaded by redeemed individuals."86 This conviction again found expression in a 1913 Friend editorial stating

The Friend has loved reforms. It began by championing the cause of the sailor [by opposing alcohol]... . It was lively business back there in the 40's and 50's, but Mr. Damon was a Puritan and the son of Puritans. He never gave nor asked quarter. During the years other great issues have developed, slavery, political honesty, industrial justice, the white slave trade with their numberless corollaries. All of these have had the Friend as advocate. It is this type of Christian progress, the regeneration of the world, that has enlisted the largest share of this journal's active support. Yet it has stood conspicuously for the individual. Evangelistic effort has found in its columns enthusiastic advocacy. It has believed in the birth from above as the great Christian essential and prerequisite in all persistent, patient, uncompromising conflict with social ills.87
Similarly, Fry stressed in 1919 that the conversion of the individual was the ultimate solution for dealing with social needs:

Each year closer attention is being given to the social needs of the plantation laborers, both by the various Boards of Directors and the managers. There has been wonderful advancement in the personal interest taken in the welfare of the laborer during the past year. But plantation life will not be ideal and satisfactory either to the employer or the employed until the deeper cravings of the human heart are fed by the life-springs from on High. There is no safe-guard to compare with the transformation of the individual who accepts the Christian ideal of responsibility to God and man.88

The Protestant Church in Hawai'i's involvement in social issues did not originate from the belief that reform was mainly a matter of reorganizing society's structure to allow man's basic goodness to evolve. Neither did it see the Big Five with its large scale plantation systems as the natural focus of attack. To the extent that Protestant Christianity in Hawai'i contemplated the reshaping of society, its involvement largely emanated from a conservative theology that believed reform through positive state action complemented, but did not supplant, the Christianizing of individuals, and which saw moral issues as the natural focus of attack.

While the Protestant Church's response to key moral, social, and political issues in Hawai'i did not fall into
the Social Gospel mold, neither can its response be grouped into any other single category. The debate over involvement in these issues indicates the greatest participation in moral, patriotic, and ethnic-related issues, followed by living conditions and politics, while interest in labor issues trailed the others.

The denominations also expressed varied opinions with regard to moral, social and political issues. The HEA, Methodists, and Disciples were all active in espousing denominational positions that were quite similar in orientation. The Episcopal Church often identified itself as taking a neutral position, particularly with regard to the moral crusades. The Lutheran Church for the most part either isolated itself from the various social currents or actually found itself in opposition to the other denominations' stances. In looking for explanations for the differing responses by the denominations, it is inadequate to cite conservative versus liberal theological orientations since all the denominations clustered on the conservative end of the spectrum.

According to religious historian Charles Hopkins, the active involvement on the mainland of the Unitarian,
Congregational, and Episcopal Churches in the Social Gospel movement is attributable in part to their "inheriting the state-church tradition of responsibility for public morals." Hopkins' thesis would seem a possible explanation for the HEA's involvement in social issues. The HEA's heritage as the dominant church in the Islands included a record of involvement in the affairs of the kingdom, an influence noticeable from the time of the first written laws of the 1820s. Hopkins' thesis does not, however, account for the Episcopal Church's lack of social fervor, especially since its heritage in the Islands was as the Anglican Church, invited in by the Hawaiian monarchy. Nor does Hopkins' thesis explain the involvement of the Methodist and Disciples Churches, neither of whom identified with a state-church tradition.

Although Hopkins' thesis might have some merit in the case of the Congregational Church, the historical roots provided by Puritanism and Wesleyan perfectionism seem to have been a more significant stimulus for denominational involvement in the various social issues of the period. Puritanisms' basic confidence that the world could be constrained and reshaped in line with God's will had joined forces with the Wesleyan demand for holiness to provide two important,
and sometimes intermingled, sources for many humanitarian efforts as early as the Second Great Awakening,\textsuperscript{90} as well as the often unheralded efforts of the Salvation Army and other rescue missions, many of which were founded by Holiness and Pentecostal sects.\textsuperscript{91} The lines from Puritanism to the Congregational Church and from Wesley to the Methodist Church were direct, while the Disciples pragmatically drew on both traditions to flourish in the late 1800s.

In contrast, the Episcopal Church, which had seen both the Congregationalists and the Methodists leave its ranks in England and the east coast, disassociated itself from the Puritan and Holiness traditions. Restarick made clear the Episcopal Church's position on moral issues when he stated in 1908 that

\begin{quote}
The [Episcopal] Church has never considered Puritanism the normal state of the Christian mind and heart. She has never frowned on amusements, innocent in themselves because some abuse them, and in the past she has attracted young people to her for this reason.\textsuperscript{92}
\end{quote}

According to Restarick there were two classifications of Christians. By his definition "Churchmen," included communicants of the Episcopal, Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, while "Puritans," included members of the Congregational Church.\textsuperscript{93} In contrast to Hopkins' thesis, Restarick believed that the reason
the two categories differed in spirit was that the former had a state-church mentality, accepting those baptized by its priests as members whereas the latter emphasized a regenerate membership and sought to distinguish between the godly and ungodly in society. A manifestation of the difference in spirit was that "the Puritan idea has been to compel people by law to abstain from certain things," whereas the "Churches of the Anglican Communion have as congregations always avoided politics."¹⁴

It should be noted that there was a minority viewpoint on these issues within the Episcopal Church as represented by the Committee on Moral and Social Conditions.¹⁵ This committee, which issued its first report in 1911, led a frustrated existence throughout the period under consideration. It issued regular reports on tenement conditions, drinking, prostitution in Iwilei, gambling and Sunday blue laws. The committee felt particularly opposed to the tenement situation in the vicinity of the Cathedral and called on the Episcopal Church leadership to take action by stirring public interest in the matter, by using its influence to get county authorities to deal with the situation, and by seeking legislative redress to implement needed laws.¹⁶ There is no evidence that much attention was ever paid
to the committee's suggestions. By 1919 the committee had unhappily concluded that its assigned role was to be an observer, rather than a catalyst for social action:

From all the reports made since the forming of the Committee in the year 1910 it seems that it was only intended to be a kind of observation committee. Shall the Committee continue on these same lines or shall it take a more active interest in legislation promoting and urging conditions that will tend to the benefit of the Territory both in Honolulu and the other parts of the Islands generally. We recommend the latter named method.97

Restarick's analysis of Churchmen and Puritans seems fair enough, although he did not account for the Methodists and Disciples joining forces with the Congregationalists. In any event, these three denominations were the ones in Hawai'i who actively contributed to the spirit of crusading Protestantism. Their crusading spirit focused on several alliterative issues: Prohibition, Pacifism-Patriotism, Prostitution, and Politics. The Congregational Church took the most vocal stand on these and similar issues, mainly through its organ The Friend.

During the first four years after annexation, Bishop gave crusading Protestantism attention with articles on matters such as horse-racing at Kapi'olani Park, prostitution downtown and in Iwilei, and temperance.98 When the HEA took over management of the periodical in 1902 it issued a policy statement assuring
its readership that the paper would continue to "be devoted to the presentation of facts and discussion of questions that relate directly and indirectly to the social, moral and religious life of the Hawaiian Islands."\(^9^9\) The HEA leadership further conveyed the importance it gave to moral issues when it declared at the denomination's annual meeting in 1909 that the key concerns of the denomination were "the liquor evil, Divorce, Evangelism and ministerial recruiting."\(^1^0^0\)

Available supplementary materials indicate that the Methodist and Disciple Churches were both in close sympathy with the positions advocated by the HEA. Fry decried that

Gone are the days in Hawaii when the missionary was the most conspicuous person in the community, and when no question of moral value could be settled until he had cast his deciding vote. Commercial interests are very strong and the forces of evil so active.\(^1^0^1\)

John Cowan, Methodist minister serving the HEA church at Kohala from 1907-1917, published a weekly paper, The Kohala Midget. The Methodists' cursading spirit was evident in this paper, which Cowan used to advocate

temperance, good roads, civic righteousness, [and] sound decency. . . . I whack away at evils clear up to the helve of the axe, and no one can say a word except: "Please stop my paper."\(^1^0^2\)
First Christian minister D. C. Edwards (1905-07) spoke for the Disciples when he took a stand on the liquor question, on prize fighting, and on some election matters . . . . "This church stands definitely and strongly for things moral in the community. I have spoken my mind fully regarding wrong and those responsible for wrong. In no case have I heard complaint [from my congregation]. 103"

The Lutheran Church in Hawai‘i meanwhile maintained a mostly inward focus on its own distinct German community.

Prohibition, Prostitution and Assorted Vices

Throughout America most Protestant churches aligned themselves solidly behind the prohibition movement in the opening decades of the twentieth century in the conviction that it would promote social conditions under which morality was more likely to prevail. The exceptions were the Lutherans, who sided with the Catholics and Jews on this issue, and the Episcopalians, who simply advocated moderation. 104 This pattern held true in Hawai‘i, where the HEA, Methodists, and Disciples expended much energy in the temperance cause.

When the HEA took over The Friend it began a regular section entitled "Temperance Issues," and the new editor, John Leadingham, principal of the North Pacific Missionary Institute, wrote that he would give considerable attention to the subject, "because we believe that the
suppression of the liquor traffic is one of the main objects to be achieved before this Territory can enter upon any career or progress that will be substantial, and embrace all the people." Leadingham and his successors faithfully adhered to this pledge until an Executive Act implemented as a war measure in 1918 halted the liquor traffic in Hawai'i.

In addition to general promotion of the temperance cause, The Friend saw the political arena as a key front in which to carry on the fight. The confrontation on this front had several dimensions to it. First, the periodical supported a local option bill calling for a plebiscite on the prohibition issue, in the conviction that Hawai'i's voters would pass such an option. Bishop was so confident that local voters would approve prohibition that he asserted in 1901 that he did not want to see prohibition legislated for Hawai'i from the federal level. When the territorial Senate blocked a plebiscite in 1903 by tabling a local option bill, Leadingham wrote that the action revealed the ability of the liquor lobby to further its interests in spite of community sentiment.

Under Doremus Scudder's editorship (1904-1916) The Friend continued to urge that a plebiscite be held. One argument given for such a move was that it was sure to
further Hawai'i's chances of statehood.\textsuperscript{109} When a plebiscite was finally held in 1910, the voters decisively defeated prohibition. In the face of the defeat, Scudder conceded that "the majority . . . was such a decisive one that anti-saloon men must now look in other directions for the effective curbing of the saloon evil."\textsuperscript{110} Soon thereafter, Scudder announced that: "Federal prohibition is infinitely preferable to anything our territorial legislature and authorities could have given us even if the plebiscite had directed the passage of a local statute."\textsuperscript{111}

Another tack taken by The Friend on the political front was the effort to bring pressure to bear on the Legislature and on political candidates.\textsuperscript{112} The paper's single-issue orientation with regard to prohibition in evaluating candidates is evident throughout the period. In 1904, for instance, the paper declared that

There is already a growing sentiment that candidates are to be looked at keenly from this new point of view, viz., 'Are you openly on the side of the saloon or not?' Some of us are ready to go this far for the present--all men notoriously connected with liquor interests will be 'scratched most vigorously.' Why? Because they are not to be trusted on affairs of public policy.\textsuperscript{113}

Once it became apparent that prohibition would have to come via federal legislation, it was easy for The Friend to focus on one individual, Jonah Kūhiō
Kalaniana'ole, Hawai'i's delegate to Congress from 1902 to 1922. The paper's ire was raised when, in an apparent last minute change of positions, Kūhiō refused to support the temperance cause in the 1910 plebiscite. During the 1912 election the periodical strongly opposed Kūhiō because of his stance on prohibition. He continued, however, to get re-elected and was evidently astute enough to detect the shifting winds of public sentiment. The periodical supported Kūhiō in the 1918 election after it reported that he "had the courage to turn about face on this whole question."

The Methodist Church in Hawai'i also mirrored its mainland counterpart's emphasis on prohibition. In his 1910 report, Wadman contended that "nothing would help us so much in winning these Islands to Christ, and particularly the alien populations and help save the remnant of the Hawaiian race, as the utter and absolute overthrow of the liquor interests and the total annihilation of the traffic in strong drink." Wadman's conviction that temperance was important led him to resign his position as Methodist Superintendent in 1914 in order to become Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in Hawai'i. From about 1916 on, even the Episcopal Church began showing some interest in the subject of prohibition. Its concern, however, remained
relegated to published reports by its Committee on Social and Moral Conditions in the annual report of the denomination. 118

It is not a coincidence that the eighteenth and nineteenth Amendments, prohibition and women's suffrage, were enacted in the same era. Most of those who supported women's suffrage believed that their vote would help bring about progressive legislation and reform, including prohibition. 119 Such was the case in Hawai'i, where The Friend first came out in favor of extending the franchise to women so that they would have "the right to help decide the great question [prohibition] by their ballots." 120 Support for women's suffrage did not signal a shift in the Protestant Church's basic perception concerning the status of women but was an action pursued as a means to accomplish the goals of crusading Protestantism. 121

When the Methodists' Standing Committee on Temperance applauded the 1918 implementation of prohibition in Hawai'i, it expressed an enthusiasm shared by the HEA and Disciples:

Police arrests for all misdemeanors have decreased 62 per cent and those for drunkenness and disorderly conduct 85 per cent. Post office and savings bank deposits have increased 35 per cent during the same period. Homes are happier, business better, churches stronger and mission work more prosperous because of the removal of saloonism with its bane and curse. 122
The Episcopal Committee on Social and Moral Conditions also supported the action. In contrast, in the years just preceding prohibition in Hawai'i, the Lutheran Church had debated whether, in light of public sentiment on the matter, it was appropriate to dispense beer on the church grounds during socials. Although hesitant, the church's board gave its approval for beer to be served and for dances to be held at German community functions held on the property.

Although most of Protestantism's reform energy in the period 1898-1919 was directed at temperance efforts, other moral issues also elicited attention. Prostitution came under sustained attack by the same churches which crusaded for prohibition. The county sheriff and his police force openly permitted brothels in Iwilei in spite of laws to the contrary. Some discussion of the nature of the problem and attempts to deal with it was given in the section of Chapter IV related to social ministries. In addition to the previously covered efforts by Protestant clergy and lay workers in Iwilei, the churches also participated in studies, published pamphlets, and penned numerous articles in an attempt to have what was termed "the social evil," dealt with firmly. Although it is unclear exactly why, about 1916 the police finally shut down Iwilei. The churches who had crusaded against
it certainly took great satisfaction in the role they believed they played in seeing the red-light district closed. In his memoirs, Takie Okumura recalled the broad-based support that this campaign had enjoyed:

Near the red-light district, a certain Rev. Ashville [W. K. Azbill] of the Christian Church and [a] Japanese evangelist by the name of Otohiko Ota opened a mission center, and preached fearlessly night after night against the evil of prostitution. For our part, we attacked it vigorously, with our own paper, "The Honolulu Shinbun," while Theodore Richards [HEA] and other social workers commenced their drive which finally moved the police authorities to close up the houses of ill fame and clean out the whole district.126

The Episcopal Church opposed immorality but did not crusade against it. Consistent with its different perspective, it did not support the campaign against Iwilei. Episcopalians took the position that "the improvement of morals in these islands will not be brought about with the enactment of laws, however necessary for restraining open vices these may be."127 While others described the vices of Iwilei in graphic terms, Episcopal clergy and lay leaders reported that it was orderly and under police and medical supervision. While others trumpeted the closing of Iwilei, they noted that its closing caused the prostitutes to scatter to other parts of the city and to the neighbor islands.128 This perspective, clearly out of step with the fervor of
crusading Protestantism, seems more in keeping with the
tenor of the later times.

The crusading churches also found lesser evils to
oppose in the years preceding World War I. Typical
of the coverage these issues received was the 1902
article in The Friend entitled "One Dozen and One Facts
Concerning Dancing, Card-Playing and Theatre-Going."
Gambling, smoking, prize-fights, amusements, and work on
Sunday all came under attack. With regard to gambling,
the paper was probably premature in congratulating itself
that its Filipino edition, Ang Abyan, "has made a strong
fight against this great evil among the Filipinos. That
its influence has been felt is attested by those in close
touch with the life of the people." Actually, interest
by the churches in these minor vices dropped off markedly
after about 1916. Perhaps the churches observed that
these activities proceeded unabated, or possibly the
final push for prohibition absorbed their energy.
Probably the major reason, however, was the changed
attitude of the churches: "Life today demands more than
ever before that every person learn to discriminate
between the use and abuse of many of the things [cards,
theatres, dancing, amusements, and fiction were cited] that
the churches of 50 or 100 years ago were wont to tabu in
toto." Restarick took note of and applauded this
change of heart as a move toward the attitude to which the Episcopal Church had traditionally adhered. 133

**View of Local Government**

Protestant Church opinions on government in Hawai'i in this period were basically confined, at least in writing, to the pages of *The Friend*. It is not too surprising to find that, once the turmoil engendered by the Home Rule Party had passed, moral issues highly colored the periodical's overall evaluation of the territory's government, although other issues did receive attention.

Although *The Friend* had castigated the Home Rule Party, its perception of government in the years after 1901 was not much more positive. It characterized the 1903 legislative session as self-seeking, charged that the various governmental departments were tainted with graft, claimed that the Republican party had won the O'ahu county election "only by the desperate expedient of rejecting ballots by the hundred," and expressed relief, in light of the chairman of the O'ahu Board of Supervisors' connection with the liquor business, that the county government act had been declared unconstitutional. 134

*The Friend* felt that the 1905 session would "be longest remembered for its subservience to the element of the population which makes for civic unrighteousness."
Scudder made specific reference to the handling of blue laws, liquor interests, and to the enactment of a county government in a form he termed "'the Grafters' Pride.'" Theodor Richards, the paper's business manager, went so far as to claim a Home Rule Legislature would not have done worse. The bright spot for the periodical in the years 1903 to 1905 was Roosevelt's appointment of missionary descendant George Carter to be territorial governor. The Friend applauded Carter for putting government departments on a business basis and for calling for O'ahu Sheriff Arthur Brown's resignation because of alleged scandalous police mismanagement. The paper decried Carter's tendered resignation in the wake of Brown's re-election, but was pleased that Roosevelt did not accept the resignation.

Temperance legislation and other moral crusades continued to dominate The Friend's view of the 1907 to 1919 legislative sessions. Characteristic of its opinion was the charge that the 1915 session... dodged nearly every moral issue it could. It shouldered the Sunday movie bill onto the supervisors. It refused to safeguard the homes and girls of the poor by quietly strangling the red light injunction bill... This legislature told the same old story that the rich get what they want both in money and in the flesh and blood of the poor.

The periodical's parting shot in this period concerning these issues was to report that in the 1919 session of
the House, "two of its members . . . were drunk all through the session and others more or less of the time, a sad commentary on the prohibitory law."140

A desire for order, efficiency, expertise, and for positive, responsive, government are some of the attributes that have been attributed to the Progressive Movement.141 The Friend evidenced some interest in these issues during the period being examined. When a county act passed in 1905, the paper protested that it was inefficient and created useless jobs. The paper did support the desire for more direct participation by the people in their own government. Along these lines it called for a referendum and a plan modeled on the New England town government pattern.142 After a municipal charter was enacted for O'ahu in 1907 the periodical repeatedly argued that it contained a "hodge podge of irreconcilables, antiquities, impossibilities, and inefficiencies" that needed rationalizing.143

Indications that the influence of the Progressive Movement touched Hawai'i are most obvious between 1911 and 1913. The Episcopal Church's Committee on Moral and Social Conditions commended the 1911 Territorial Legislature for passing positive measures related to public health, morals, the criminally insane and public
housing for the daughters of those afflicted with Hansen's disease. In 1912 The Friend first mentioned a businessmen's movement in Honolulu working for "honest, efficient city and county management," and alluded to "the Roosevelt contingent." The following year an article entitled "Progressive Party Birthright" appeared. The paper described the 1913 session as "the best yet," and applauded: 1) the improvement of local government, 2) public improvements, 3) the establishment of civil service in the police, fire and health departments, 4) conservation measures, 5) a strengthened Board of Health, 6) a good public utilities act, and 7) a child labor law, albeit a weak one.

Such progressive sentiments evidently soon dissipated, for after 1914 the church publication gave little further comment on such issues in the evaluation of succeeding legislative sessions. Furthermore, although these efficiency, reform, and conservation matters were consistent with the commonly accepted perception of the Progressive movement, so too were anti-trust and anti-monopoly initiatives against large mainland corporations. The Protestant Church in Hawai'i raised no questions as to whether the Big Five companies warranted similar investigation in light of their virtual control of key aspects of Hawai'i's economy.
Also of interest is The Friend's support of statehood from 1908 to 1915. It argued that Hawai'i was entitled to statehood "by its history, by its strategic importance . . . as well as by the character of its citizenship." The paper dropped the issue after 1915, probably in response to the reality that statehood was not imminent because of "the Islands' remoteness, their small population with a high percentage of aliens, and questions as to how American their economic and social patterns were."

Pacifism/Patriotism

With regard to the Protestant Church's views on the related issues of pacifism and patriotism, Yinger has aptly written that

The changes in attitude of religious spokesmen towards war are well known. Sometimes within a few months, the dominant attitude can shift from sharp condemnation of war mixed with pacifism to vigorous support of a government in the prosecution of a war. The sociological meaning of "church" as a religious institution thoroughly integrated with a society . . . [makes it] inconceivable that a church should fail to support a nation in a major war. Such, with the exception of Lutherans, was the general pattern followed by Protestants in Hawai'i.

The Protestant Church had a particularly easy time supporting America's involvement in the Spanish-American War. For one thing, it saw the war as the triumph of liberty and righteousness over tyranny. Secondly, it
viewed the war as the major stimulus for Hawai'i's annexation. Furthermore, Bishop, at least, saw the Spanish-American War as good preparation for a war he anticipated in China involving the United States and European powers.

In the years between the Spanish-American War and World War I the HEA in particular aligned itself with the general support given the peace movement by churches in America. In 1911 The Friend's editorial board organized itself into a Peace Society, and in 1915 the publication voiced encouragement for those "striving to rally all the churches in support of an active peace propaganda." Also in 1915 it helped to successfully oppose a bill to make military training compulsory in the Territory. It resisted the contention that America needed to arm "to the teeth." In the midst of a period when "relations between the United States and Japan took on an increasingly critical, if not hostile tone," the periodical condemned the animosity aroused by the yellow press toward the Japanese and strongly opposed the idea of a war with Japan.

In keeping with its Anglican heritage, the Episcopal Church in Hawai'i took a pro-English stance soon after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1914. In an editorial that year Restarick wrote:
Looking out over the world, we may ask ourselves what in our judgment would be for the best interest, not for a nation, but for mankind? . . . Would it be a German world or an English speaking world? Would Germany be likely to grant that freedom for trade and commerce and opportunities for all men of European stock which English-speaking civilization has given to men in every quarter of the world? . . .

It is a known fact that for years the chief toast on German ships has been "To the Day," that is to the day when the German Navy was to try its strength with England. An officer of the United States Navy said to the writer recently as others have done before, "'To the Day' means first England and then the United States."160

This editorial evoked such strong reaction from German citizens in Hawai'i that Restarick issued a statement to a Honolulu daily paper to the effect that he "had no intention of advocating the position of any nation or ruler." He also wrote a follow-up article in the *Hawaiian Church Chronicle* to refute the view held by "some plantations" that the Episcopal Church in Hawai'i was English.161 Restarick had the last word on the issue, though, three years later when he wrote that "what was stated in that [1914] article was generally accepted later on."162

After America's declaration of war, Restarick openly advocated that: "The first line of defense, as the Navy is called, should be backed up with all the powers of earth and heaven, and in my humble judgment, every other line of offense and defense until the last enemy of God and His righteousness be permanently out of the fight."163
This position served notice that the Episcopal Church approached the war with the crusading spirit which was so noticeably absent with regard to the issues previously discussed. Restarick elevated the war with Germany to that of a righteous, moral cause: "Editorials and sermons should be a ringing challenge to win the war in God's name with Christ as our Captain, Jesus as our Head." Fry likewise viewed the war as a moral crusade and pledged the Methodist Church's

. . . undivided and enthusiastic loyalty to the United States of America, its flag, its President, and its every need. . . . We pledge ourselves to labor for God and home and native land and the cause of the allied nations until peace based on righteousness shall come and the world be made safe for democracy and truth.165

The war evoked a more varied response from the HEA than from the Episcopal and Methodist churches. By late 1915 The Friend began to move from its anti-involvement stance. When America declared war the new editor, Frank Scudder, brother of the previous editor, proclaimed that: "We feel that we are waging our most effective battle for peace by giving him [Wilson] our unequivocal support in this national crisis."166 The periodical also declared that: "In assisting the Draft Board to arouse the patriotism of Filipinos, in giving instructions concerning registration and in publishing notices Ang
Abyan has rendered a signal services. Yet, in spite of the great wartime pressure for patriotism, the publication did not suppress differing viewpoints on America's involvement in the war. It continued to print perspectives by those such as Theodore Richards, its business manager and HEA treasurer. Richards questioned the moral crusading spirit of many churches toward the war and extended the thesis that

No one can escape the contagion of the stirring of the blood that this war begets. The clear fact is that American youth are prepared to fight for their country and are asking very few questions. Fine, as is this sacrificial offering of men and blood, it is no offering to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

This war may be HIGH, but it is not high enough. The good is ever the enemy of the best. So the war is standing woefully in the way of the progress of the kingdom. Nor can the war be said to usher in the kingdom: it merely stands ahead of it chronologically.

The war was soon over, and so was the moral fervor associated with it. The churches realized that Richards had been right, that the war had not ushered in the kingdom of God. An editorial soon appeared in The Friend stating that the periodical "reaffirms its active purpose, maintained throughout its history, of championing the principles of peace." Albert Palmer, Central Union minister, urged support in 1919 for the League of Nations, and the Episcopal Church in the early twenties urged churches to take action to encourage United States
participation in the Court of International Justice, headquartered at The Hague. The period under consideration concluded in 1919, but the patriotism-pacifism-patriotism cycle entered into by the Protestant Church between 1898 and 1918 was already starting to repeat. However, the churches' reaction after World War I was to be much stronger than had been the case following the Spanish-American War and would contribute to the United States taking an isolationist stance in the thirties in the face of significant totalitarian threats to world peace.

Ethnicity and Related Topics

Ethnicity and the related topics of race, immigration, and Americanization were all matters of interest to Hawai'i's Protestants in the years 1898-1919. Except for the Lutherans, the Protestant churches were fairly uniform in their attitude toward these issues. In the pre-World War I era much attention centered on countering racial prejudices and discriminatory legislation.

There were deviations from this pattern. Some blatantly racial statements were actually penned by Sereno Bishop and published in The Friend. In 1906 Bishop made known his belief that "the well-known mercantile inferiority of the Japanese race to the Chinese is due to their inherited deficiency caused by a
large infusion of Malayo-Polynesian blood upon Mongolian stock." Bishop also believed that there had always been conspicuous intellectual and moral weakness in the Hawaiian race. Bishop was no longer editor when he wrote this article (he was seventy-nine at the time) and his beliefs received no commendation in the pages of The Friend, nor among the leadership of the Protestant Church.

John Gulick, Punahou graduate and son of ABCFM missionary Peter Gulick, more accurately reflected the Protestant Church's perspective on race. His position in 1916 that: "The strength of the Japanese is, I believe, due to the mixture of Mongolians, Malay and even to some extent of the Aryan races," seems to be a repudiation of Bishop's earlier assertion. Restarick was also characteristic. As Episcopal Bishop, he opposed any slighting of the different races: "When any race was attacked I defended it in the press, whose columns were always open to me." In a similar vein the Caucasian Episcopal clergy wrote to the denomination's Mission Board to protest the practice of paying the traveling expenses of Caucasian but not Asian clergy on furlough:

We are asking for a consideration of Oriental clergy in Hawaii that in justice they shall be put on the same footing as other clergy who are paid by the Board.
... we feel that under the peculiar conditions of these Islands where the races meet on equal terms they should ... be allowed a reasonable furlough with their fare paid to their native land and return.174

Related to the issue of race was the matter of immigration. Nativism on the mainland led to the exclusion of Chinese immigration in 1882 and of Japanese in 1907.175 When the Organic Act barred Chinese from entering Hawai'i, The Friend stated in several issues that it was unjust to single them out for expulsion.176 The paper responded to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 by asserting that

it is a triumph of diplomacy, but hardly one of principle. It can not but leave a bitter after taste throughout Japan. It is a clever law, but not a righteous one, because one-half of righteousness consists in treating all men as brothers.177

The periodical encouraged the Japanese to consolidate with Chinese, and all other Americans opposed to discrimination, to "down every candidate who will not vote to put Asiatics on the same basis with other races."178 As tensions stemming from discriminatory U.S. policies and growing aggressiveness by Japan developed, the publication attempted on numerous occasions to deal with prejudicial statements made concerning the Japanese and to castigate what it believed to be inflammatory statements by Theodore Roosevelt at the end of his term, and by Wilson, through his Secretary of State, Bryan.179
It might seem that the Protestant Church was again acting in the best interests of the Big Five when it castigated discriminatory policies against Chinese and Japanese immigration. Lind has noted that when the Organic Act nullified the contract labor system in Hawai'i, "the immediate response of the planters to the labor crisis accompanied by annexation was to stimulate labor importations from the Orient, with a view to creating a surplus of dependent labor." ¹⁸⁰

*The Friend*, however, indicated consistently through the period under consideration that Protestant Church leaders did not want a territory populated with cheap labor, they wanted an American community. In order to prevent the mass introduction of laborers into the Islands, *The Friend* called for tightened immigration and naturalization procedures based on cultural attributes. ¹⁸¹ The periodical summed up the position that immigration standards should be equal but high when it stated near the end of the period that

To attempt to safeguard our citizenship by drawing any lines of racial exclusion must be a perpetual source of friction. The real safeguard, which is the logical, patriotic, and ethically right one, is to raise our standards high, and then without fear or favor, admit all those who can qualify. ¹⁸²

The Protestant Church leadership opposed racial discrimination but clearly believed in the superiority of Western civilization, particularly as exhibited in
America. The Friend enunciated this position near the beginning of this era when in 1904 it asserted:

If the white race is to maintain its leadership, it will never be because it is white, but solely because it obeys the dictates of the highest human conscience and retains the mental ability to guide... It is moreover, a pity to suggest race issues here in Hawaii. Our very safety... lies in forgetting color lines and exalting manhood.183

Such a position continued to be voiced throughout the new missionary era.184

Paul Varg, in his study on China, made an assessment of those spearheading mission activity in this era that is applicable to the situation in Hawai'i:

Bred in comfortable urban middle-class homes, or more often amid the happy circumstances of well-established families in small towns or on farms, this generation had no squeamish doubts about the superiority of American life. Its excellence they attributed to the influence of Protestant Christianity.185

The association of Christianity and civilization had been present in Hawai'i from the early days of the first missionary era but as the 1900s proceeded the theme of Americanization became much more pronounced.

The initial response of Protestant Christianity to the influx of peoples from non-Protestant countries was to seek to Christianize them through evangelism, through social ministries, and, to a lesser extent, through educational efforts, primarily via night classes for adults. This strategy, which did not emphasize
Americanization, began in the late 1800s but for several reasons proved increasingly inadequate by the approach of World War I. For one thing, it was based on the initially valid assumption that most of the immigrants would be returning to their place of origin. By 1917 this assumption was no longer valid. Secondly, the immigrants came in significant enough numbers that they were able to maintain a sense of cultural cohesiveness. The churches sought to operate within these cultural frameworks. However, efforts to penetrate the various cultures via their own ethnic churches and in their own languages were seriously hindered by the lack of qualified Christian personnel. In the same vein, the Japanese language school, intended by Okumura to be a bridge into the Japanese culture, was soon adopted by Japanese community leadership and utilized as one of its most powerful tools for maintaining traditional cultural, including religious, beliefs.186

The following report sent to the mainland in 1913 by a Disciples resident in Hawai'i captured the concern of the Protestant Church as it came to grips with the reality that, while progress was being made, the new missionary era was not going to Christianize Asians in Hawai'i in one generation. Irene Myers wrote that

To Christianize these Japanese and Chinese seems to me a very different matter from that old
missionary effort to Christianize the native Hawaiians. These are men and women tough-fibered in body and mind, whose standards of morals, whether high or low in our judgment, are centuries old, clear and definite; . . . they have unlimited self-confidence, they are capable and know it; they are wasteful neither in their substance nor their time; their children are gathered in vacation schools under their own teachers, while other children run wild. I feel in them a steady, persistent, silent, indeed, a terrible force which has not yet wavered in the face of our fitful, often superficial and half-hearted efforts to subdue it. To me, the oriental people of Hawaii do not seem to have noticed Christianity.

Asian culture, nationalism, and Buddhism, components of a comprehensive belief system, led Protestants to view Americanization as not only a product of, but a foundation for, the Christianization process.

The increasing emphasis by Protestants on Americanization came in part as a response to, and as a reflection of, wider societal concern about Hawai'i's diverse population. In 1915 Sidney Gulick, former Dōshisha University professor, and HEA missionary son, wrote a book about the presence of a large Japanese population in Hawai'i. It is clear from his book that Gulick believed that Christianity was an essential unifying force in Hawai'i's society:

Is it not axiomatic that the successful welding together of the many races now in Hawaii in such ways as make possible the maintenance of genuine democracy, an honest suffrage and a pure home, with progressive victory over graft, lust, venereal disease and alcoholism absolutely depends upon the substantial Christianization of the rising generation of Asiatics? . . .
Exactly because Hawaii is the meeting place of so many diverse races is the propaganda and practice of vital Christianity the more pressing.\textsuperscript{188}

It appears that the Protestants sought to capitalize on the concern aroused by the presence of many Asians residing in Hawai'i. The line of reasoning would have been as follows: 1) Americanizing influences are needed if society is to be kept from radical alteration when Asians begin to vote, 2) The Protestant Church is looked to as a key factor in the Americanization process, and 3) All those favoring Americanization should support the work of the Protestant Church.

The \textit{Hawaiian Church Chronicle} succinctly expressed in 1916 this rationale for supporting the Protestant Church:

There is among many people a kind of opposition to Christian work among these Orientals which would mean, if carried out, that we should have here within a few years a people constituting a plurality of the voting population without a knowledge of the Christian religion, upon which rest the constitution, the laws, the customs, the ideals and modes of thought in this nation.

\textbf{A SERVICE TO THE STATE}

We hold, therefore, that we are performing a service to the State and are having a large part in determining the future of these Islands—as to whether they shall have a Christian population or whether they shall have a majority of citizens who are Shintoists or belong to one of the Oriental cults.\textsuperscript{189}

Another expression of this position was Fry's declaration in 1918 that: "Standing out here on this frontier of our
Western civilization, our church should be strong, well commissioned and fairly throbbing with energy." The reasons Fry gave to support the contention that his church's work was vital included Hawai'i's role as America's contact point with the Orient, Hawai'i's lead in the U.S. as a "melting pot" of the races, and Hawai'i's strategic importance to the U.S. government. 190

The push for Americanization of necessity looked to the Hawai'i-born children of immigrants. The pragmatic reason for concentrating on the youth was summed up by Robbins Anderson in his article on the Episcopal Church written for the 1920 Mission Centennial:

The Episcopal Church is attempting to do its share in Hawaii's great task of making Christian American citizens. Its aim has been mainly to reach the English-speaking young people of Oriental races born in Hawaii, knowing that it is very difficult to influence the older aliens. 191

In response to these various local factors, as well as to corresponding sentiments on the national level, the drive in Hawai'i for Americanization accelerated after World War I. Language schools operated by the various Asian ethnic groups, especially the Japanese surfaced at this time as the main focal point of friction. Louise Hunter noted in her study of Buddhism in Hawai'i that the language schools had been a sore spot for Protestants ever since the Honpa Hongwanji opened its first language school in 1902 and the number of students
at Takie Okumura's school dropped overnight from 200 to 70. Hunter found evidence that the Christian clergy had reason to be alarmed at the tactics of Buddhist priests, who sought to absorb those language schools not under their direction. In their early efforts to control the Japanese language schools the priests not only used the issue of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor but also "used their moral influence and a form of boycott to force Christian Japanese to send their children to Buddhist schools and to renounce their adopted form of worship."192

Protestants voiced little criticism of the language schools in the years up to World War I. As late as 1916 The Friend passed them off as being no threat to the Christian cause. It asserted that the Buddhistic teaching in the schools was being condemned by the schools' supporters themselves and that independent schools were steadily winning over those tied to Buddhist denominations.193 In the wake of the increased emphasis on Americanization that came after America's entry into the war, the Protestant Church replaced tolerance of the language schools with mounting criticism of these institutions. This shift in attitude was in keeping with John Higham's analysis that in the midst of the suspicion of things foreign that permeated the war era,
Americanizers opened a frontal assault on foreign influence in American life. They set about to stampede immigrants into . . . adoption of the English language and into an unquestioning reverence for existing American institutions. 194

In late 1917 The Friend published an article by Charles Loomis, County Secretary of the Kaua'i YMCA, in which he stated that "the indispensable key to the whole Americanization problem of the Hawaiian Islanders is the English language. . . . The day of the usefulness of the foreign language school has passed." 195 The anti-language school attitude had intensified by 1918 when Fry wrote that the "language school propaganda was commenced by the Buddhists that they might control the young life of the Territory." Fry continued by disputing the Hongwanji's assertion that its work did not retard the Americanization of Asian youth. 196

In January 1919 Albert Judd, Honolulu attorney and HEA missionary grandson, drafted what came to be known as the "Judd Bill." The measure in effect sought to insure that language school instructors were certified as being actively pro-American. The February issue of The Friend noted the swift reaction by the Japanese community to this proposal when it reported that

Mr. Judd's proposed bill, prescribing the qualifications for teaching, has touched the nerve center of the Japanese community. It has literally turned the community into a hotbed of lively discussions. Practically every Japanese magazine and press on the islands are either arguing on the
merits of the proposed bill, or attacking it as a couched measure against the Japanese Schools.

The article, written by Takie Okumura's son Umetero, went on to state that the Judd Bill was quite reasonable and would undoubtedly pass the coming session of the legislature.¹⁹⁷  Takie Okumura, whom some of the leaders in the Japanese community accused of being the instigator behind the Judd Bill and a similar measure by Lorrin Andrews, later recalled that as a result of intense feelings evoked by the controversy, "many threatening letters came. One even mailed to me my own book [Thirty Years of Christian Mission Work] cut up with a razor, with a note, 'I'll fix you in this manner.'"¹⁹⁸

When the territorial Senate tabled the Judd bill, a Friend article entitled "Chicken-Hearted Legislation" gave notice that the periodical did not think much of the "cowardly surrender of principle."¹⁹⁹  This was, however, but a temporary set-back in Protestant Christianity's drive for Americanization. The churches firmly believed Restarick's 1919 assessment that "the English language is the most powerful factor in Americanizing our youth. They cannot think as Americans until they speak the language of Americans."²⁰⁰  The HEA's Japanese Department had determined in 1917 that the following decade would be the "Period of Americanization," thus illustrating a theme Walter Frear, Hawai'i's governor from 1907 to 1913,
touched on in his contribution to the mission centennial. He stated that the influx of immigrants to the plantation had resulted in an extreme of heterogeneity—in language, religion, thought and assimilability to American ideals, thus presenting new problems and calling for a more intense heating of the melting pot by the fires of Christian example and organized service. Christianization, civilization, Americanization—these have been the aim.

As the era under consideration drew to a close, Roderick Matheson, former Honolulu Advertiser editor, took stock of the rising push for Americanization. With regard to the language school controversy he questioned the wisdom of so close an association of Christianization, civilization, and Americanization, "unless it is the idea to abolish religious freedom and make Christianity the state religion of Hawaii." Neither he nor the Protestant leadership would have agreed that "the idea" was to "make Christianity the state religion of Hawaii." His statement does, however, drive home the point that as the end of a century of Christian activity in the Islands approached, the Protestant Church's heightened efforts in the new missionary era to regain a measure of its former sphere of influence in the Islands had made an impact on Hawai'i's society. The heightened efforts would continue into the twenties and Americanization would be one of the key rallying cries.
While language schools were the center of controversy concerning the Americanization of Asians, most of the controversy with regard to the Hawaiians dealt with their fitness for suffrage. Protestant Church leaders expressed differing evaluations of Hawaiians' ability to vote. Mention was made in Chapter III of Protestant Church leaders' reaction to the provisions of the Organic Act and the consequent rise of the Home Rule Party. Their open consensus from late 1901 through 1903 was that the Hawaiians were not ready for suffrage. The Republican Party soon established dominance with the aid of Hawaiian votes and by 1904 Friend editor Scudder felt he could afford to sympathize with the Hawaiians' response to the events of the decade preceding annexation. Between 1904 and 1909 reports appeared in that periodical commending the Hawaiian majority of the territorial legislature and asserting that "Hawaiians can be trusted as citizens and office holders equally well with white Americans."203

In 1910 The Friend suddenly shifted positions again. Scudder paternalistically described Hawaiians as being "child-men" who were not ready for suffrage. This perception seems to have been predominant among the Protestant Church leadership from 1910 to 1919.204 There were dissenting views, however. Perley Horne, Friend editorial board member, President of Kamehameha Schools,
and a Central Union trustee, was one who reacted to Scudder's 1910 characterization of the Hawaiians. Horne argued that the Hawaiians were as capable of exercising the right to vote as was any other group.205 Restarick, for another, consistently supported the Hawaiians' right to the vote and contended that "the thoroughly educated Hawaiian is the equal of any race on the globe."206

The ready explanation for Scudder's shift in attitude, and the resultant divergence of viewpoints among the Protestant Church leadership, is connected with crusading Protestantism. There was a direct correlation between Scudder's perception of the Hawaiians and his belief that the overwhelming defeat of the prohibition plebiscite in 1909 came at the hands of Hawaiians who had been influenced by grafters and vote buyers.207 He revealed the same attitude in his 1915 comments that he looked forward to the day when the "easily frightened," "gentle, unsophisticated native," would no longer constitute an electoral majority because until that day, no thorough reform on liquor, red light districts, or medical certificate requirements for marriage licenses stood much chance of success. The same grounds were used by those who backed crusading Protestantism to support women's suffrage and to oppose Hawaiians' suffrage. On the other hand, those such as Restarick who
were not so fervently involved in crusading Protestantism used a broader set of criteria to evaluate the Hawaiians and came up with a different, more positive, conclusion.

On the issue of Americanization, the Lutheran Church again provided a sharp contrast with the main body of Protestants in the Islands. Whereas the Caucasian-American dominated leadership of other denominations saw Americanization as a concept to be implemented in their work with other ethnic groups, the German-Lutherans were themselves a distinct cultural group. Since the Lutheran Church in Hawai'i was so closely identified with German culture during this period, Americanization was actually seen by some of the leadership as a process to be resisted as a threat to the identity of their church.

The resistance to Americanization was probably most evident under Emil Engelhardt, who came from Germany to pastor the Honolulu congregation from 1912 to 1914. Engelhardt "made it his sacred mission to preserve the German culture." Engelhardt, in an attitude more characteristic of a sect than a church, charged that the Hackfeld associated group dominated the congregation and that they had become Americanized and materialistic. He also asserted that the Hackfeld group elevated themselves onto a higher social plane than the other members of the
German community. This package of charges was too much for the church's (Hackfeld dominated) leadership and by the beginning of 1915 Engelhardt was on his way back to Germany.\textsuperscript{209} The Lutherans then called an American-born pastor, Arthur Hormann. Even so, it was only in response to intense anti-German feelings during World War I that the Lutheran Church began to take definite steps to Americanize its image.

\textbf{Summary}

The broader context for the Protestant Church in the years 1898-1919 involved a number of groups, activities, and issues with which the Protestant Church either interacted or expressed a viewpoint. In the religious realm, Protestant leaders had a unified and definite perception of the status of other religious bodies in the Islands, namely Kahunaism, Mormonism, Catholicism and Buddhism. Kahunaism dropped out of sight as a perceived threat shortly after the turn of the century but the Protestant Church unequivocally opposed the other groups as hindrances to its aims in the new missionary era. In an era of intensified nationalism and fear of things foreign, Protestant leaders promoted the idea that these other groups were non-American institutions. Any cooperation with these other bodies would have to wait for a later era.
Surprisingly, the Social Gospel Movement was virtually absent in the Islands. Although Protestants in Hawai'i and the national Social Gospel Movement pursued reform in several areas that were of common concern, these groups differed significantly in their emphases and in their analyses of the causes and solutions to various social, economic, and political issues. Although admittedly subjective, Table 5 was compiled in an effort to help clarify the position taken by the different denominations on those issues which generated significant interest in the period 1898-1919.

It was proposed that the active involvement of the HEA, Methodists and Disciples in promoting their position on these issues, especially the matter of moral crusades, could be attributed to the influence of the Puritan and holiness traditions, along with the HEA's historic position of influence in the Islands. The Episcopal Church's conscious separation from the Puritan and holiness traditions, combined with its perception of itself as a church of baptized members, not just converted communicants, contributed to its having more of a neutral orientation. Because of its unique, sect-like orientation in Hawai'i, the Lutheran Church either isolated itself from or actively opposed the positions taken by the HEA, Methodists, Disciples and sometimes even Episcopal denominations on the various issues.
Table 5
The Protestant Church's Response to Key Issues, 1898-1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriotism</th>
<th>Moral Crusades</th>
<th>Americanization</th>
<th>Living Conditions</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Labor</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Congregational Church</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
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<td>15.6</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>-1.3</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Church</td>
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<td>-0.3</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-1.3</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>13.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-7.2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Overall--Mark Gallagher; Congregational Church--Lela Goodell, HMCSL librarian; Methodist Church--Harry Komuro, former District Superintendent; Disciples of Christ--Harold Gallagher, Kaimuki Christian Church Sr. Minister, 1961 to present; Episcopal Church--Ken Perkins, former priest and current historiographer of the Episcopal Church in Hawai‘i; Lutheran Church--Bernard Hormann, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Hawai‘i.

**Note:** Scale values are -5 to +5, with -5 for strongly opposed, +5 for strongly supported.

- **Patriotism:** Viewing America's military involvement as a moral crusade. Opposition to pacifism.
- **Moral Crusades:** Temperance, anti-prostitution, 'Blue laws,' women's suffrage.
- **Americanization:** Restriction of immigration, control of language schools, stress on assimilation.
- **Living Conditions:** Support for improved tenement and plantation living conditions.
- **Politics:** Attempts to influence and evaluate territorial government.
- **Labor:** Support of working class. Support of plantation labor in conflicts with management.
For those churches most actively involved in the issues discussed in this chapter, conservative theology and a desire for positive state action converged and elicited the most fervent interest in those matters placed under the "Moral Crusades" rubric, such as prohibition, prostitution, and a host of lesser vices. The churches that pursued these issues were not content to be reflectors of events in Hawai‘i. They sought to mold public opinion and to mobilize public support, even when they seemed to be a definite minority. The HEA in particular, through The Friend, took opportunity to promote its views on these issues in the political arena and to commend or castigate individuals, legislative sessions, and even the whole Hawaiian race almost solely on the basis of the stand these groups took on temperance.

The Protestant Church also attempted to mold public opinion on ethnicity-related issues. Except for the Lutheran Church, it actively opposed racial prejudice and discrimination while at the same time espousing the superiority of American culture. Americanization became increasingly a by-word among these churches, especially from the time of World War I and language schools became the focal point of controversy into the twenties. In light of the task Protestants faced in converting the masses of Asians and Portuguese immigrants, they counted
on Americanization to be a precursor to, as well as concomitant of, Christianity. Americanization was a topic of concern among the leaders in Hawai'i's society that Protestant leaders sought to capitalize on as an apology for the work of their churches.

From a distance, the Protestant Church's perspective on American culture can perhaps seem narrow and insensitive to other cultural values. At the time, however, there was real concern that Hawai'i was being threatened by numerically superior first generation representatives of non-Western and non-Protestant cultures. It is important to consider that while other groups in the country, such as yellow journalism adherents, sought to inflame racial prejudices and intensify cultural separation, the Protestant Church in Hawai'i espoused racial equality and sought Americanization as the best basis for achieving a common bond among people of diverse backgrounds. It believed that Protestantism and Americanization were intertwined agents acting as cohesive or integrative forces in Hawai'i's society. The value that the Christian Church's message can have in ameliorating a sense of social disunity has been pointed out by Yinger in an analysis that is relevant to Hawai'i's situation in the period 1898-1919:
If the appeal to "Christian motivation" does not change the class situation, it can at least soften some of the harshness of the conflicts in that situation. It can help to maintain some sense, among all classes, of a common identity. . . . When the groups within a society feel no sense of common destiny, when even their religious life sets different aspirations and beliefs, the mutual adjustments that human life demands are made far more difficult. 210

The Protestant Church's position on patriotism was quite similar in tone to its reaction to the issues labeled as moral crusades. On this issue, however, the churches in Hawai'i seemed mostly to be responding to national sentiment--the Lutheran Church to Germany and the others to Anglo-American positions. The need for improved living conditions was uniformly supported by the denominations. Involvement in this area, which was extensive but not comprehensive in nature, stemmed mostly from responses to situations in which church workers had some kind of personal involvement.

While an important aspect of the Social Gospel was a critique of the ethics and practices of capitalism, the Protestant Church closely identified with the economic power structure in Hawai'i, labeled as the "Big Five" or "Merchant Street." This identification stemmed in large part from genealogical networking, from personal associations, and from the commonly held opinion that cooperation between the Protestant denominations and Merchant Street was mutually beneficial.
The association with plantation management received attention as a case in point concerning the Protestant Church's relationship with Hawai'i's power structure. The discussion of plantation strikes revealed a situation where paternalistic or economic aspirations of management and laborers did not coincide. Given a choice between the two, Protestant leadership clearly sided with management. Even significant sore points, such as management's supporting Buddhist institutions and condoning gambling and alcohol on the plantations, did not disrupt the relationship between Protestant and plantation leaders. This relationship had many benefits for the Protestants' work, not the least of which was financial.

There were also drawbacks, however, to the identification of the churches with management, particularly in the case of the Japanese, the Islands' largest ethnic group and a major focus of the new missionary era. It seems that the Protestant Church leadership's identification with plantation management presented serious drawbacks in its efforts to promulgate the Christian message among the Japanese and possibly other ethnic groups on the plantations. Likewise, it was surmised that the low percentage of Japanese Protestants may have had a bearing on the comparative radicalism of Japanese in labor disputes.
The Protestant Church's views on the broader religious, social, economic and political currents flowing in Hawai'i between 1898 and 1919 were often repetitious, sometimes amusing, sometimes amazing, and occasionally self-contradictory. Its impact on these currents is hard to judge but seems to have varied. The Protestant Church sought to promulgate a perspective on other religious bodies that was probably convincing to many actively or nominally within its own folds and to increasing numbers from those other religious groups. Its affirmation of Merchant Street represented no threat to the power structure. One would have to engage in "Counter-Factual" history to assess to what extent the Protestant Church's support helped cement the economic and social status quo which prevailed. The Protestant Church's political clout seems suspect, as indicated by the Home Rule Party, the defeat of the local prohibition plebiscite, Kūhiō's continued re-election, the long-standing situation in Iwilei, and the defeat of the Judd Bill. At the same time, one does have to acknowledge that the Home Rule Party quickly dissipated, that prohibition was implemented in Hawai'i in 1918, that Kūhiō did in the end switch to a pro-prohibition position, that Iwilei was closed down, and that the Protestant churches would get, in the twenties, the language school legislation they wanted. Forces of causation are always hard to determine but it appears
that, if slow in coming in, the tide was at least moving in the right direction for the Protestant Church on a number of issues during the latter part of this period.
CHAPTER VII
A LOOK AHEAD: 1920-1959

The remaining years of Hawai'i's territorial era divided into two units—1920 to 1941, and 1941 to 1959. The first unit spans the years from the Mission Centennial to the eve of World War II. Figure 4 reveals that while the Protestants saw good growth between 1920 and 1940 its percentage of Hawai'i's population actually declined from 4.8 percent in 1920 to 4.2 percent in 1930 before recovering to 4.6 percent in 1940.¹

The 1920 Mission Centennial was a catalyst for evaluation and planning. Perhaps the HEA set the pace for Protestants with the development of a centennial associated ten year plan entitled "Demands of the New Era Upon the Churches." The plan revealed a continuation of preaching, social ministry, and education activities but the previous era's emphasis of evangelism seems to have been lacking.²

The HEA did launch a several-month "Church Power Drive" campaign in conjunction with the Mission Centennial in an effort to get many "to unite with the church . . . so our churches will come up to the Centennial with a strong spiritual emphasis and a large number added to the membership."³
Figure 4. The Protestant Church in Hawai'i, 1832-1959.

SOURCES: Tables 1, 7.
The HEA conducted one other evangelistic crusade in the mid-twenties, bringing in an evangelist by the name of French Oliver. He berated many prominent men from the pulpit and as a result the HEA decided to bring no more evangelists to Honolulu. The HEA made an exception in the mid-thirties to bring Gypsy Smith in, but that was the last city-wide crusade the HEA sponsored.4

The Methodists felt that cultural factors also hindered the organization of evangelistic meetings because "each of the races have customs which in some measure are peculiar to themselves, which make it a little difficult to conduct mass meetings."5 A further indication of a lessened emphasis on evangelism appeared in Fry's 1938 statement that

If we are ever so fortunate as to catch up with our building and physical equipment which makes such heavy demands upon our time and money, we could then direct our attention to special needs in several places now demanding evangelistic programs. During the past year we have spent most of our time and effort in building parsonages for our pastors to live in and reconstructing churches until we have almost forgotten the purpose for which parsonages and church buildings exist.6

The HEA's ten-year plan did stress the strategy of reaching out via church sponsored community centers. The various denominations continued their new missionary era social ministries through the twenties and thirties and even started additional new projects. One such example was the Filipino United Center, opened at Pālama and
Kanoa Streets to meet the needs of single men from Hawai'i's most recent immigrant group. The center provided a dormitory for thirty men and pursued a program of physical, social, educational and religious activities.  

Kalihi Union Church also became an important center for the numerous ethnic groups living in the Kalihi district of Honolulu. The church provided dental care, free breakfasts and lunches, nutrition classes, a dispensary, a baby clinic, a kindergarten, boys' clubs, and had its playground and gymnasium utilized by about 1500 youth in the course of a week.

The increasing emphasis on education noted in the final years of the new missionary era continued during the twenties and thirties. Palmer set the tenor in his Centennial celebration text when he stated that: "Some of the missionary methods of a hundred years ago are no longer applicable to our changed conditions. But their fundamental method, education, is still our greatest hope."  

The emphasis on education was in line with the strategy stated by John La Mothe, Restarick's successor, to reach the English-speaking young people, knowing that it is very difficult to make Christian Americans of older people. . . . The plan for the future is to make Christian American citizens and it has its chief hope in the young.
To a certain extent, the Methodist Church also stressed in this era the importance of its educational ministry.11 La Mothe at one point expressed dismay over the large numbers of church-school children who were not joining the church. Nevertheless, comparison of the percentage of adults who became Episcopalians under Restarick (32 percent) and La Mothe (16 percent) illustrates the increasing importance of the Protestant Church's nurturing programs during the period before World War II.

The erection of buildings was not spelled out as being a major aim, but the Protestant Church expended considerable energy in building up its physical facilities in the 1920s. This was especially true of its key Honolulu churches. Central Union's cultural orientation in the period was evident in its decision to hire a Boston architectural firm to design a new building reflective of a New England heritage, and in the erection of two tennis courts on the new church grounds.13 Mainland support allowed Methodists to undertake a major building program for its Honolulu churches, while La Mothe devoted attention to building improvements and the associated financial ramifications.14
The minimizing of evangelistic campaigns and the attention given to building programs perhaps indicate an attitude of diminished evangelistic concern. One evaluation in 1929 alluded to the fact that the churches had lost ground during the decade compared to Hawai'i's expanding population: "The study of the underlying causes for the gradual decrease in efficiency and capacity to appeal to the unchurched people of the community should be a problem of great concern for the members of the Hawaiian Board."¹⁵ The HEA's annual report for 1929 leaves one with the impression that their churches ended the decade evidencing little need for any great concern about their status. The report stated

The twelve months now ending have not been marked by any extraordinary event in the life of our churches. There have been no unusual movements or campaigns among the various racial groups. With the exception of the Hawaiian churches the main work of preaching has been carried on by the usual corps of ministers.¹⁶

Although the Islands avoided the drastic effects of the 1930s depression felt by some parts of the mainland, there were still major shock waves felt, such as the Jones-Costigan Act in 1934 placing Hawai'i's sugar on an unequal footing with mainland producers. One direct repercussion of the depression for the Protestant Church in Hawai'i was the curtailment of income from mission funds from the mainland. For example, the Methodists'
appropriation from their denomination body shrunk by over one-third in the first half of the thirties. The cutbacks in finances led to a 10 percent cut in mission personnel salaries. Local financial setbacks compounded the stress caused by loss of mainland support. Methodist leaders felt compelled, for instance
to remove the Reverend S. Asakura for Wahiawa and Waipio. The business failure of the leading businessmen there together with the slump in the pineapple industry has created just about the most difficult problem we have yet confronted during our administration of the field.  

The Lutheran Church's minutes from the thirties provide another example of the economic hardships experienced. The February 8, 1932 minutes record that the church's board cut Pastor Arthur Hormann's salary. This cut was insufficient to rectify the church's financial woes, for the April 17 minutes note that "Dr. Hormann proposed to cut his salary from $250.00 to $225, which . . . was accepted with profound thanks to the pastor for his sacrifice." Five months later the September 1934 church board minutes reported that some bonds owned by the church had to be sold in order to pay the pastor's salary.  

In spite of financial and other strains, the dominant theme in the wake of the depression among the various Protestant denominations seemed to be that spiritual
vitality was high, attendance better, and sacrificial giving to missions increased. The HEA, Episcopalians and Methodists all experienced continued good growth through the thirties. On the other hand, the Disciples and Lutherans maintained a no-growth pattern, as indicated by Figure 5. While the first group was able to rise to the challenge of the economic stress, the latter struggled to maintain their existence. First Christian's December 1934 board minutes referred to low attendance, finances and morale. A general resignation of the church's board was considered in order to provide new leadership for the church but the idea was abandoned because the present board represented practically all the available leadership.

The spirit of fraternal cooperation among Protestant denominations continued through the twenties and thirties, as symbolized by regular gatherings of the Honolulu Federation of Churches. The Federation's activities together ranged from serious discussions of plantation conditions and joint educational ventures to more lighthearted events like "skinny-dipping at Hanauma Bay." 

The interdenominational and intradenominational harmony of the era prevailed in the face of an increasing diversity in theological viewpoints. Central Union
Figure 5. Key Protestant Denominations in Hawai‘i, 1920-1959.

SOURCES: Tables 10-15.
continued to use its position as the largest Protestant Church in the Islands to foster a liberal Christian perspective in terms of both the theology and social responsibility of the Christian Church. In 1922, Palmer called for creative Christianity because none of the old creeds or formulas fully meet the moral and spiritual stresses of today. Even the beautiful . . . Apostles Creed has nothing to say about the social gospel, no hope of human progress, no adequate recognition of God's abiding presence in nature and human nature or of foreign missions and world unity. . . .

Now if Christianity is to be creative today, it must have a message of supreme power with regard to the two master questions of today—the conduct of industry and the abolition of war. No zeal for old theological battle cries, no theories about Biblical interpretation, whether sane or insane, no fussing around about orders or polity or forms or ceremonies will move the world to even a respectful toleration.23

The Methodists' Acting Superintendent, D. H. Klingfelter, epitomized the continuing conservative orientation among many of the churches when he called for a "passionate evangelism," and stated while "social service" is the slogan of the day . . . we need be careful lest it become our entire program or of first consideration. Sin is the same today as when the hiss of the serpent was first heard in the Garden of Eden.24

La Mothe maintained a similar position, as is clear in his 1925 statement affirming his conviction that the heart of Christianity required a belief in the full divinity of Jesus Christ and the literal acceptance of
Christ's words, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." 

There were hard feelings among Protestant churches on the mainland in this period as polarization occurred over the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. The Scopes trial and the forced resignation from the pulpit of First Presbyterian Church in New York City of one of America's foremost liberal spokesmen, Harry Emerson Fosdick, both in 1925, pointed to the intensity of the debate. So did the controversy surrounding the report Rethinking Missions which an appraisal committee, headed by Harvard philosopher William Ernest Hocking, issued in 1932.

The Protestant Church in Hawai'i was aware of and discussed these issues. There was also an awareness that it had among its constituency a wide range of perspectives. The Friend, for instance, noted in 1925 that

An important part of the work of the Hawaiian Board, which is sometimes overlooked, is that being done by our missionaries and pastors of our Union Churches. . . . The social Gospel, as well as the individual Gospel of Salvation, is emphasized by our pastors and missionaries, who represent both extremes of theological thought, as well as those who might be classified as "Moderate Liberals." . . . Many of our Hawaiian churches may be ultra-conservative along some lines, but they have always . . . insisted upon the value of righteousness and goodwill in the community.
What stands out, then, is the degree to which harsh attitudes evidenced on the mainland were absent in the Islands. The unity amidst diversity of the churches in Hawai'i was striking to visitors from the mainland. Brewer Eddy, an ABCFM representative whom the HEA engaged as a consultant, remarked in 1924 that

> the presence of different theological points of view at the table [HEA Board meetings] is of value. Both must be represented; both are important factors in your list of donors. You have as much of unity and spiritual sympathy as could possibly be expected in such diverging views.28

There was not complete harmony,29 but HEA minister Kim On Chong captured the prevailing spirit of the period when he wrote in 1943 that theological discussions appearing in The Friend evidenced "a genuine Christian spirit. Conspicuously lacking was the spirit of bitterness which so often characterizes theological controversies."30

Several reasons can be suggested for the lack of antagonistic attitudes. The Islands' separation from the mainland acted as a buffer, especially when combined with the influence of Hawai'i's traditional "spirit of aloha." Particularly distanced from these European-and-mainland-originated controversies were the Protestant Church's Hawaiian and Asian members, who continued to comprise the majority during these decades. Also, it appears that the task at hand, the continued
expansion of Protestant Christianity and the push for Americanization, seemed much more pressing an issue, and continued to act as a cohesive force on those of divergent theological perspectives.

Based on examined sources, it appears that the Protestant Church maintained its adverse position with regard to other religious groups in the pre-World War II period. Protestants viewed Mormons, Bahais, and Jehovah's Witnesses as menaces and continued to look with disfavor on Catholics. Protestants continued, however, to perceive Buddhism as the main foe of Protestantism. Arthur Dean, University of Hawai'i President and HEA Board member in the 1920s, illustrated this perception when he wrote that "the passive resistance of the religion of ancient Hawaii was a slight barrier compared with the active propaganda of the apostles of Oriental cults."32

An interesting study toward the end of the pre-World War II era of Japanese in Kona, Hawai'i, concluded that Buddhists were aware of the evangelistic activities of the Protestant Church. Anthropologist John Embree found that, at least partly in an effort to forestall Christian proselytizers, Buddhists Hawai'i had adopted a number of traditional Christian practices: "The new functions in connection with younger people are strongly influenced by the American Christian church."
In this respect the process of acculturation is all one way--from Christian to Buddhist."\(^{33}\)

The one-way direction of the acculturation process was as the Protestant Church intended it, even if its application to Buddhist religious institutions was most likely a mixed blessing to the Protestant Church. For in their push for Americanization in this era, Protestants not only sought to produce Americanized Asians but also Christianized ones.

The Protestant Church's relationship with Merchant Street and with laborers was also an important issue during the 1920s and 1930s. The dominant theme seems to have been the continued identification of the Protestant Church with the former group.\(^{34}\) Klinefelter expressed this perspective in the wake of the massive 1920 plantation strike by Japanese and Filipino workers:

The recent strike put on by the Japanese has hurt our work in many places. It is very deplorable that . . . we should come to know at this time the threatening murmurs of labor. . . . With the present schedule of wages the laborers in this Territory are the most highly paid laborers in the world for the kind of work done. . . . It is almost incredible that with such a condition obtaining the laboring classes can be led by unscrupulous agitators into a strike which can only impoverish the laborers and can never achieve their real good. The Church is ever the champion of the oppressed, the poorly-paid and the unfortunate. Were the laborers in Hawaii of this class we would be the first to mediate in their behalf. They are not. . . . We rejoice that many of the Filipinos who were led into the strike have
seen the error of their ways and have returned to work.\textsuperscript{35}

There were, however, signs of changing attitudes. Palmer played a key role in trying to mediate the 1920 strike, a position which the strikers were more willing to accept than was management.\textsuperscript{36} In a shift from the stance taken during previous strikes, \textit{The Friend} disputed with those who wanted to dismiss the strike as being due to outside agitators. The paper asserted "there are agitators on the side of capital as well as labor in Hawaii." The paper, unlike its position in previous strikes, took note that the issues raised concerned Sunday work, an eight hour day, and higher basic pay in lieu of bonuses. \textit{The Friend} thought that since none of these issues was "un-American" a mutually satisfactory settlement was feasible.\textsuperscript{37}

Some Methodists may have questioned management's paternalism when Utanosuke Fujishiro, minister of the Methodist Church in 'Aiea, was, along with the 'Aiea plantation workers, evicted from his plantation-owned home as a retaliation measure by management.\textsuperscript{38} Despite Fry's close association with plantation management,\textsuperscript{39} some Methodist ministers began to voice differing viewpoints.

N. C. Dizon expressed his concern as a Methodist minister of a Filipino congregation in Honolulu by writing
in 1920 to one of Honolulu's major dailies to speak out against rumored bribes by plantation management to get Filipino strike leader Pablo Manlapit to pull the Filipinos out of the 1920 strike. Dizon continued to speak out and because his social views differed from Fry's he left the Methodist Church about 1927 with a considerable following to start his own independent church.

Seikan Higa, Methodist minister in the Pālālama section of Honolulu, was even more outspoken in his support for Japanese labor. His letters to the Japanese language papers in support of labor organizing efforts were reported to the Big Five and in turn to Fry. Higa found it expedient to leave the Methodist Church about 1924 to start an independent ministry on O'ahu and Hawai'i.

Another indication of changing attitudes came in the aftermath of the 1924 Filipino strike on Kaua'i. In a move apparently designed to alter the open identification of the Protestant Church with management, the HEA's board enacted the following measures, which it had already implemented in its Japanese work:

1. That the Board shall not allow any Filipino worker in its employ to act as a plantation employee, court interpreter, camp boss and policeman. VOTED.

2. That no Filipino worker in the employ of the Board shall be paid direct by the plantation, and this arrangement shall go into effect as soon as it is possible to make the change. VOTED.
At the same meeting, Palmer urged the board to "enter on a new economic relationship with the planters of the territory, to safeguard any possibility of the Board being simply a tool of the Planters' Association." 42

By the mid-thirties, Protestant Church leaders realized that the situation on the plantations was changing in the aftermath of the virtual cessation of labor importation. Even Fry perceived that a new middle class would develop on the plantations and that the churches would have to make adjustments if they were to remain a viable factor there. 43

The Protestant Church underwent no radical realignment of perspective through the thirties. One Episcopal minister recalled that in that decade, after some discussion by the Honolulu Ministerial Association about current labor grievances, they were invited by a Waimanalo plantation manager to visit his camp. This they did, and after their carefully conducted tour, the consensus among the ministers was that conditions did not seem deserving of any serious complaints. 44

In sum, while the close association of the Protestant Church with the Big Five factors seems to have remained the dominant position, there were indications that some realignment was taking place. Although more research is
needed, perhaps Martin Marty's analysis of simultaneous mainland developments has some validity for the Hawaiian scene as well. He thought that

never during the 1930s did labor and Protestantism come to an easy peace. . . . Yet by the end of the decade and the beginning of the Second World War, dialogue had begun, understanding was present, and Protestantism was no longer regarded a priori as the enemy of labor.45

Other than the stands taken on Americanization and labor conditions, there was apparently considerably less activism in this era with regard to moral and social issues than had been the case during the new missionary era. It seems that the energy level devoted to such matters waned after the enactment of the eighteenth amendment. HEA leaders were aware of the decline in activity, but it is not known whether anything developed beyond forming a study commission in an effort to make "church members more active in the solution of problems affecting the social and moral life of our people."46

In the Episcopal Church, recommendations from its Committee on Moral and Social Conditions continued to elicit little response from the denomination's policy makers. La Mothe underlined the Protestant Church's lack of activism regarding social and moral issues when he commented that "it does seem as though the religious
forces have been somewhat supine." Among those issues which the Protestant Church did give some attention to were the cause of peace, blue laws, gambling, prostitution, and divorce. 48

Americanization has already been covered in previous chapters as an issue of rising importance for Protestants in the post-World War I years. It remained a key issue through the twenties, during which time it seems to have replaced the drive for prohibition as the topic of greatest concern for Protestant leaders as they reflected on Hawai'i's society.

Demographically, Hawai'i had entered the post-Protestant era by the time of annexation in 1898. It has been suggested, however, that the initial Protestant Church response to this reality centered on efforts in the New Missionary Era to convert a mostly transient immigrant population. Only as it became obvious that the majority of aliens in Hawai'i after 1907 would be permanent residents, raising children born in the Islands, did Americanization come to the front as a concern for Protestant leaders.

On the mainland, particularly in the urban areas, Protestantism's culture-shaping power had similarly faced what Handy termed the "second disestablishment" of religion." 49 By the time of the Judd Bill in
1919, the Protestant Church in Hawai'i had both perceived the parallel between its experience and that of the mainland urban centers and determined to exert its energy in the cause of Americanization. Fry, for example, stated in 1919 that

just as the great cities of America are rapidly becoming foreign in their political and social complexion, so with the rapid increase of the Hawaiian-born Oriental, the time is not far distant when every office . . . [in] local politics may be in the hands of an alien people. Herein lies the problem of the Church, for if the Church does not do her part the problem will never be solved.50

The 1920 Mission Centennial provided a forum for Protestants to consider issues and plot strategies as a second century of Christian activity commenced in the Islands. It was also in 1920 that the Japanese-Filipino plantation strike, the most extensive Hawai'i had experienced to that point, occurred. These events acted as a catalyst for further discussion and action on the Americanization topic.

It is evident from the statements made at this time that Protestants viewed Christianization, assimilation, and Americanization as inter-related issues. Takie Okumura conducted an Americanization campaign on the plantations in the 1920s that he claimed was misunderstood by those who thought his purpose was to break the labor unions or spread Christianity under the cover of
Protestant leaders certainly evidenced little interest at this time in avoiding such charges.

At the Centennial celebration, Palmer expressed the conviction that: "Our most pressing problem is the assimilation of the Japanese into our current of American ideals and standards. In this process observers agree that Christianization spells Americanization." In the midst of the major plantation strike that year, the HEA printed in its minutes the report of the leadership of its Japanese Department. It stated that the disturbance made it clear that certain non-Christian religious organizations do now, and have for many years taken a stand and quietly worked against Christianity, endeavoring through all means possible, to prevent their people from coming under Christian influences... 

BE IT RESOLVED, That it is the point of view of the Hawaiian Board, at the beginning of the 2nd Century of Mission Work, that for the Plantations to continue, as in the past, to financially assist the non-Christian religious organizations, is detrimental to the welfare of Hawaii, and is a hindrance to the Christianization and the Americanization of the alien peoples in the Hawaiian Islands...  

When ABCFM consultant Brewer Eddy presented his report to the HEA board, one of his observations was that you are not only making these Islands Christian, but to keep them truly American and to build here the institutions of our democracy in righteousness, is no simple part of your task.

People who draw checks to the Hawaiian Board are giving directly to the preservation of patriotism and the Americanization process in this Territory.
Umetarō Okumura's language was itself imbued with religious connotations when he spoke of Americanization: "Only through actual assimilation can Japanese in Hawaii or the mainland attain salvation. . . . Americanization, or assimilation is most essential for the future progress of Japanese in Hawaii."55

The Protestant Church's Americanization efforts fell into two basic categories, the first being its focus on youth. Protestant leaders thought the use of English crucial because it was "the most powerful factor in Americanizing our youth. They cannot think as Americans until they speak the language of Americans."56 Much of the work with young people took place in Protestant sponsored Sunday schools and weekday programs. The Honolulu Federation of Churches, for instance, in the 1930s sponsored classes during the week with an enrollment reaching over 3,700.57

In keeping with this emphasis, Protestants viewed Buddhist sponsored language schools as the greatest threat to Americanization/Christianization. Their continued efforts to limit the influence of these schools aided the enactment of restrictive legislation in 1920.58 The United States Supreme Court declared this legislation unconstitutional in 1927, but only after long years of dispute between the Japanese and American
communities and between first and second generation Japanese. 59

The Protestant Church did not concentrate all of its Americanization efforts on youth. After the 1920 labor crisis Palmer called for the establishment of not only Sunday schools but also night schools within reach of every plantation. The Protestant Church leadership could solidly back such a proposal but the majority no doubt thought Palmer was going too far when he recommended that Japanese and Chinese members should be brought into the Ad Club, Rotary Club and other civic organizations primarily engaged in meeting community problems. . . . The plantations should take an all-important step toward Americanization by organizing a system of recognized and legitimate employees' representation with which they can deal frankly and openly in place of the old-time policy of refusing any recognition at all to their workers. 60

Efforts such as Okumura's educational campaign on the plantations from 1921 to 1927 and the similarly intentioned New American's Conferences, which ran from 1927 to the start of World War II, were more in harmony with the intention of the majority of Protestants. 61

Also important in the eyes of Protestant leaders were ongoing church activities in each denomination. MEA Japanese Department head Frank Scudder, for instance, expressed the sentiment that

Our ministers and evangelists are from that class of Japanese who were most receptive to
American ideals and who therefore sought their education under American teachers in mission schools. Most of them have been under American influence from early youth. They are our best 'go-betweens,' most readily catching our points of view and most effectively explaining them. The Church and Sunday School are a short-cut to Americanization, too short and steep for some, hence the great value of other guides who lead around by a circuitous route but to the same point,--American manhood, womanhood, and Christian citizenship.62

Judith Gething, in her study of Elsie Wilcox, has suggested that "toward the end of the decade [1920s] the fear of the language schools and the drive for Americanization seem to have diminished."63 Conditions contributing to this diminished drive include the 1927 Supreme Court decision ruling the restrictive legislation unconstitutional, the lack of agitation that characterized plantation labor for a number of years after the 1924 Kaua'i strike, and the awareness that Americanization was indeed occurring.

Edwin Gaustad's observation that the period between the two World Wars saw other institutions filling some of the roles the churches had once filled is also relevant to the churches' role in the Americanization process. Gaustad wrote that "the school, not the church, would now Americanize ethnic minorities and culturally deprived groups. The school, not the church, would now give instruction in prudence and morality--the basic niceties that became known as 'Citizenship.'"64
In passing, some highlights can be noted regarding the Protestant Church's work among the ethnic groups in the twenties and thirties. Historian Robert M. Miller has concluded that the period 1919 to 1939 witnessed increasing segregation within the mainland denominations.65 This analysis was not applicable to Hawai'i, where the churches were actually moving, if by necessity slowly, toward integration. As Sidney Gulick observed in 1937: "The maintenance of racial churches is not due to a policy of race discrimination but to the fact that different languages must be used to reach the different groups."66

Aware that an English-speaking Asian population was coming of age, Protestant leaders characterized this period as a time of transition from immigrant oriented churches to churches seeking to attract Hawai'i-born youths. This transition presented difficulties in attempting to bridge an often wide cultural gap between these two generations, but it was believed that changes were inevitable if the churches were to survive.67

One of the first steps Protestant leaders took was to encourage the use of English during church worship services,68 a move that was in line with the push for Americanization. A further step was the development of inter-ethnic churches. One of the earliest examples of a congregation forming with the stated intent of being a
multi-ethnic church was the Church of the Crossroads, established in 1923 with predominately Caucasian and Japanese young adults comprising its membership.69 Kalihi Union offered another early example of a cosmopolitan church. By the mid-thirties it counted Hawaiians, Samoans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Portuguese and Puerto Ricans among its membership.70 The move beginning in the late 1920s to merge the Portuguese Pilgrim Church into Central Union's congregation was a similar example.71

Such inter-ethnic works were still the striking exception, however, in the pre-World War II period. Most of the Protestant Church's work continued to be pursued via ethnic churches. An examination of these churches' story would, of course, be an important part of any study of Protestant Christianity in the period 1920-1940.

Several themes surface as being important to pursue in the study of the Protestant Church in the World War II to statehood era. As depicted in Figures 4 and 5, the Protestant Church achieved significant growth during these years, particularly in the post-war years. From 1950 to 1959 the Protestant Church's communicant membership as a percentage of Hawai'i's population actually increased from 4.7 percent to 5.2 percent, in spite of a rapidly growing population.72 Although this figure
included Baptists it did not account for numerous other Protestant groups entering the Islands in the forties and fifties, thus indicating that Protestantism's progress was indeed marked in this era.

Pearl Harbor began the period on a traumatic note for Hawai'i's society, including the Protestant Church. The impact of curfews, corps drills, the draft and the many servicemen stationed on 'O'ahu was in part captured by Fry in his annual report for 1942:

> Every pastor faces a critical issue in the matter of his church membership. Congregations have broken up, many who were regular attendants at the Sunday morning worship have for more than a year been working in a seven-day week defense program. . . . It is feared that some [young people] will not come back at all.73

A related repercussion was the United States government's placement of rigid restrictions on all individuals of Japanese ancestry in the Islands and the removal of some to detention camps on the mainland. Protestant ministers soon noted "the absence from the church of the middle-aged and elderly, presumably the aliens who have withdrawn from the spotlight since the blitz."74 On the other hand, it has been suggested that many of the Japanese youth became identified with their Caucasian counterparts by joining Christian churches.75

Another war-related development worthy of examination was the arrival of a number of new denominations and
independent churches in the wake of imported civilian workers, military personnel, and displaced missionaries. Andrew Lind wrote in 1952 of the phenomenon whereby

One of the most striking developments within the Christian religion in Hawaii during the past twenty years has been the appearance of some of the evangelical denominations and of the pietistic and faith-healing cults from continental United States.... Hawaii provided an especially attractive field for the labors of missionaries recalled from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, because of the large number of unconverted immigrants from these areas residing in the Islands. The younger, militant, but relatively "undisciplined" religious sects, which were just becoming established in continental United States also found in Hawaii a promising field for expansion. Unrestricted by comity agreements or denominational commitments, and moved only by "a compelling passion to win souls," the self-appointed evangelists of a score of peculiar doctrines could find ready converts in the Territory of Hawaii.

Southern Baptists shone as a success story in this era, placing about forty-seven missionaries and investing close to four million dollars in the Islands by 1952. Such actions helped make them the fastest growing denomination in Hawai'i in this period, with an increase of over 1,000 percent, from 364 to 3950 communicants between 1943 and 1959.

Southern Baptists also benefited from the war's apparent acceleration of the movement toward inter-ethnic congregations. With no tradition of language churches in the Islands, the Baptists were able to plan their churches with Hawai'i's upcoming generation in mind.
The matter of the broader context in which the Protestant Church pursued its activities is another key aspect worthy of further investigation.

Shortly after World War II, J. Leslie Dunstan, then HEA General Secretary, characterized Hawai‘i's social and church situation in the following manner:

There is much of turmoil and confusion in the churches of Hawaii now. . . . The growth of labor unions, the increase in the number of independent operators in various fields of endeavor, the appearance of new centers of wealth, and the disturbances in the economy caused by the state of the world are both symptoms and causes of a widespread social upheaval . . . that appears in the churches.80

A few years later, Dunstan provided his perspective on the churches' response to the issues at hand when he concluded that the Protestant Church no longer had much of a voice in Hawai‘i's society. He thought

the churches as such play little or no part in dealing with the problems that arise in the life of the territory. Many things are happening to us as a people, in our social organization, our political structure and the economic order which makes it possible for us to live. . . . Yet the churches themselves are in the main silent and inactive as though the faith they held was meaningless for the world in which they stand.81

Dunstan's appraisal needs to be weighed against others' analysis of the churches' role in Island life. Pertinent in this regard is Hormann's conclusion, at the end of the territorial period, that secular, rather than religious, forces were at work integrating Hawai‘i's society.82 To the extent these appraisals are valid, they would present
a sharp contrast to the efforts of the dominant group within the Protestant Church in the new missionary era to exert its influence on a number of social, moral, and political issues.

In conclusion, a number of avenues for further investigation are suggested by this study. During the period 1898-1919, there still remains a real need for more insight into the backgrounds, personalities, and activities of the clergy and lay people who helped shape Protestantism in this era. Information needs to be gleaned for gaining a better assessment of communicants who did not write in church publications or file annual reports. For now there is at least the consolation that Protestant Church leaders were not distanced from the great majority of their constituency by either geography, bureaucratic layering, or theological divergencies.

Then, in the post-1919 periods, selected themes were merely highlighted as being touchstones for further research and analysis. Finally, the ambitious task remains of broadening the picture by integrating the history of Protestant Christianity with that of other religious bodies in the Islands in order to provide a more comprehensive perspective of Hawai'i's religious history.
Table 6
Ethnic Stock: 1900 to 1960, Hawai'i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Stock</th>
<th>1900^a</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154,001</td>
<td>191,909</td>
<td>255,912</td>
<td>368,336</td>
<td>423,330</td>
<td>499,769</td>
<td>632,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>29,799</td>
<td>26,041</td>
<td>23,723</td>
<td>22,636</td>
<td>14,375</td>
<td>12,245</td>
<td>11,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Hawaiin</td>
<td>7,857</td>
<td>12,506</td>
<td>18,027</td>
<td>28,224</td>
<td>49,935</td>
<td>73,845</td>
<td>91,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>28,819</td>
<td>44,048</td>
<td>54,742</td>
<td>80,373</td>
<td>112,087</td>
<td>124,344</td>
<td>202,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>5,602</td>
<td>6,671</td>
<td>8,296</td>
<td>9,551</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>2,430</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>18,000^b</td>
<td>22,301</td>
<td>27,002</td>
<td>27,588</td>
<td>103,791</td>
<td>114,793</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10,819</td>
<td>14,867</td>
<td>19,708</td>
<td>44,895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>25,767</td>
<td>21,674</td>
<td>23,507</td>
<td>27,179</td>
<td>28,774</td>
<td>32,376</td>
<td>38,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>21,031</td>
<td>63,052</td>
<td>52,569</td>
<td>61,062</td>
<td>69,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4,533</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>6,461</td>
<td>6,851</td>
<td>7,030</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>61,111</td>
<td>79,675</td>
<td>109,274</td>
<td>139,631</td>
<td>157,905</td>
<td>184,598</td>
<td>203,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>2,651</td>
<td>4,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Groups</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>12,474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


^a The 1900 Census apparently misclassified many part-Hawaiians and used ethnic categories not entirely consistent with those of the 1910-1930 enumerations.

^b 1896 figure from Schmitt, Demographic, Table 17, extrapolated to obtain 1900 estimate. This corresponds to Kuykendall and Day's Hawaii, p. 210, "About 18,000."
Table 7
Protestant Church\textsuperscript{a} in Hawai'i
Communicant Totals, 1900-1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>6,933</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>12,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7,168</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>13,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>7,029</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>14,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>7,412</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>14,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>7,233</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>14,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>7,326</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>15,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>7,843</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>15,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>8,151</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>16,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>8,541</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>16,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>8,970</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>17,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>9,488</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>18,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>10,042</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>18,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>10,627</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>19,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>10,800</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>18,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>10,740</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>19,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>11,541</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>19,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>12,053</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>19,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>12,071</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>19,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>12,053</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>20,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>12,437</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>21,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>12,260</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>23,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>12,404</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>27,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>12,949</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>27,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>12,669</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>32,898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}For the purpose of this study the Protestant Church consists of the Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran and Southern Baptist Churches. The presence of increasing numbers of Protestant groups after 1940 meant that these denominations could no longer be treated as numerically reflecting the Protestant presence in Hawai'i but figures for 1941-1959 (computed on a three year average) are provided for purposes of comparison with previous totals.
Table 8

The Protestant Church in Hawai'i – By Language Groups, 1900, 1910, 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Group</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Ethnic Ministers</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>% of Communicants</th>
<th>% of Language Group</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>% of Comm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3,966</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English/German</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6,933</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4,604</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English/German</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2,441</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10</td>
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Table 8 (continued)
The Protestant Church in Hawai'i - By Language Groups, 1900, 1910, 1920

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<th>% of Language Group</th>
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SOURCES: Tables 6, 9.

\(^a\)Defined as a congregation with at least ten communicants.


\(^c\)Includes Spanish and Puerto Rican.
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### Table 9 (continued)
The Protestant Church in Hawai'i

Language Group Statistics by Denomination, 1900, 1910, 1920

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Table 9 (continued)
The Protestant Church in Hawai'i
Language Group Statistics by Denomination, 1900, 1910, 1920

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<th>Communicants &lt;br&gt;Number</th>
<th>% Denom.</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms &lt;br&gt;Number</th>
<th>% of Comm.</th>
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Table 9 (continued)
The Protestant Church in Hawai'i
Language Group Statistics by Denomination, 1900, 1910, 1920

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>% Denom.</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms Number</th>
<th>% of Comm.</th>
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\(^a\)Defined as a congregation with at least ten communicants.

\(^b\)Estimated.

\(^c\)1902 statistics used for 1900.

\(^d\)1904 statistics used for 1900; 1913 statistics used for 1910.

\(^e\)Utilized 1906 First Christian Church Directory. Copy in author's file. Estimated according to known totals for 1900, 1910, 1920 and historical accounts of work.
Table 10

The Congregational Church in Hawai‘i, 1900-1959

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Table 10 (continued)
The Congregational Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1959

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SOURCE: HEA 1900-1960

\(^a\)Defined as a congregation with at least ten communicants.

\(^b\)Computed from total membership figures by using communicant:total member ratio 1905-1910 of .86.

\(^c\)Estimated.

\(^d\)1906 "Absent" figures utilized when blank in 1905.

\(^e\)Adult baptisms not listed after 1927.

\(^f\)1940-1955 computed from total membership figures by using 1938, 1939, 1956, 1957 communicant:total membership ratio of .85.

\(^g\)Extrapolated.
Table 11

The Episcopal Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Churches (^a)</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms as % of Communicants</th>
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<td>7(^b)</td>
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<td>11(^b)</td>
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Table 11 (continued)
The Episcopal Church in Hawai‘i, 1900-1959

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<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms as % of Communicants</th>
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<sup>a</sup>A congregation with at least ten communicants.

<sup>b</sup>Estimated.

<sup>c</sup>1948-1959 figures are based upon a 79.2% factor of the reported figures. The 79.2% factor is based upon the percentage difference between 1962 and 1963 reported figures which indicated that previous figures had been more reflective of "confirmed" than "communicant" totals.

<sup>d</sup>Commencing 1950, there is no breakdown of "Adult/Children" baptism.
Table 12

The Methodist Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1959

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms as % of Communicants</th>
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Table 12 (continued)

The Methodist Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1959

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<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms as % of Communicants</th>
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<sup>a</sup>Tabulated as being a congregation with at least ten communicants.

<sup>b</sup>Estimated.

<sup>c</sup>Extrapolated.
Table 13

The Disciples of Christ Churches in Hawai'i

1900-1959

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms</th>
<th>Adult Baptisms as % of Communicants</th>
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<td>10&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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Table 13 (continued)
The Disciples of Christ Churches in Hawai‘i
1900-1959

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a A congregation with at least ten communicants.
b Estimated.
c Extrapolated.

NOTE: Baptismal figures were very incomplete. For statistical purposes, baptisms were estimated for 1900, 1910, 1920.
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Table 14 (continued)

The Lutheran Church in Hawai'i, 1900-1959

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**SOURCES:** 1900-1948 estimated, based on telephone interview with Edna Beck, May 1, 1983; Lihue total membership statistics listed in HEA Annual Report, 1901; Hormann, Fourscore Years; Hormann interview, Honolulu, October 1983.

<sup>a</sup>Defined as a congregation with at least ten communicants.

<sup>b</sup>Estimated for Lihue, Pearl Harbor, and St. John's.

**NOTE:** Baptismal figures were very incomplete. For statistical purposes, it was assumed there were no "Adult Baptisms" in 1900, 1910, 1920.
Table 15

The Southern Baptist Church in Hawai'i, 1926-1959

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>364d</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,586</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,108</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,322</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,319</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,690</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3,292</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3,176e</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3,399</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Southern Baptist Church in Hawai'i, 1926-1959

\(^a\) The Southern Baptist Convention did not formally organize in Hawaii until 1943. There may have been other "churches" prior to 1943 but the record is incomplete.

\(^b\) Defined as a congregation with at least ten communicants.

\(^c\) Most of the figures 1927-1942 are extrapolated or estimated.

\(^d\) 1943-1956 figures based on corrective factor of .76 of total membership.

\(^e\) First Baptist Church, which reported 330 communicants in 1956, dropped affiliation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843–1884</td>
<td>Samuel Chenery Damon, HEA pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885–1887</td>
<td>E. C. Oggel and J. A. Cruzan, HEA pastors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887–1902</td>
<td>Sereno E. Bishop, HEA pastor and principal, surveyor, writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902–1904</td>
<td>John Leadingham, HEA pastor, principal of North Pacific Missionary Institute and Mills School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904–1916</td>
<td>Doremus Scudder, pastor, Central Union Church and Secretary of the HEA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917–1919</td>
<td>Frank Scudder, HEA pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920, Jan.–May</td>
<td>Doremus Scudder, director of HEA Centennial celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920, June–Nov.</td>
<td>Albert Palmer, pastor, Central Union Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920, Nov.–1927</td>
<td>A Board of editors served as Publications Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927–Dec.–1929</td>
<td>Philip Allen Swartz, pastor, Central Union Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930, Aug.–1935</td>
<td>Henry P. Judd, Secretary of the HEA, University of Hawai'i professor of Hawaiian language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935, Sept.–1938</td>
<td>Horace Leavitt, pastor, Central Union Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938–1943</td>
<td>J. Leslie Dunstan, pastor, Central Union Church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Editorial Board of The Friend, 1902-1924

Board Members 1902-1916

Sereno Bishop, past Friend editor; missionary son; officer of Central Union Church
John Cowan, pastor, Kohala Union Church; editor, young people's events
Francis Damon, founder of Mills School (which became part of Mid-Pacific Institute)
Amos Ebersole, assistant pastor, Central Union Church
Oliver Emerson, secretary of HEA; missionary son
John Gilmore, president of College of Hawai'i
Orramel Gulick, HEA Board member; editor of Ka Hoaloha; missionary son
Perley Horne, president of Kamehameha Schools; trustee, Central Union Church
Vaughan MacCaughey, superintendent of Public Instruction; HEA Board member; Executive Committee, Anti-Saloon League
William Oleson, secretary, HEA; organized Kamehameha Schools
Ernest Reece, head librarian, Punahou; editor, "Library Alcove" section of The Friend
Theodore Richards, treasurer, HEA; business manager of The Friend; publisher of Korean, Filipino and Hawaiian periodicals for Hawaiian Board
Frank Scudder, superintendent of Japanese Department for HEA
Paul Super, administrator, Y.M.C.A.; HEA Board member; officer, Central Union Church
Edward Thwing, involved in Japanese and Chinese Departments of HEA
Edwin Turner, missionary; HEA Board member
William Westervelt, HEA Board member; Central Union Church member
William Whitney, Punahou graduate; Honolulu judge
Robert Williams, president, Mid-Pacific Institute
John Woolley, superintendent, Anti-Saloon League; editor, temperance column of The Friend
Board Members 1917-1924

Akaiko Akana, pastor, Kawaiahao Church
Amos Ebersole*
John Erdman, pastor-worker; HEA Board member
Walter Frear, member of commission which drafted Organic Act; Governor of Hawai‘i; trustee, Central Union Church
Orramel Gulick*
Lloyd Killam, director, Y.M.C.A. Oriental work
Vaughan MacCaughey*
Theodore Richards*
Norman Schenck, secretary, Chinese & Filipino Departments of HEA
Frank Scudder*
William Westervelt*
Robert Williams*

*Indicates person was also on Board during 1902-1916.
## APPENDIX C

### Denominational Leadership, 1898–1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Consecrated</td>
<td>O. P. Emerson</td>
<td>1889–1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Corresponding Secretary</td>
<td>Doremus Scudder</td>
<td>1904–1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Oleson</td>
<td>1908–1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry P. Judd</td>
<td>1915–1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>Alfred Willis</td>
<td>1872–1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Restarick</td>
<td>1902–1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>John Wadman</td>
<td>1905–1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>R. E. Smith</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Fry</td>
<td>1914–1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of</td>
<td>Minister,</td>
<td>T. D. Garvin</td>
<td>1897–1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>William Gardner</td>
<td>1898–1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>John Hay</td>
<td>1900– ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>E. S. Muckley</td>
<td>? – ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G. D. Edwards</td>
<td>1905–1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. C. McKeever</td>
<td>1907– ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Slayton</td>
<td>? – ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. C. Peters</td>
<td>1911–1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. G. Buxton</td>
<td>1919–1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>Minister,</td>
<td>Hans Isenberg</td>
<td>Organizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Lutheran Church of</td>
<td>Willibald Felmy</td>
<td>1901–1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>Emil Engelhardt</td>
<td>1912–1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arthur Hormann</td>
<td>1916–1946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

Notes for Chapter I


2Ibid., p. 63.


4The three most notable of these studies are: Robert Schoofs, Pioneers of the Faith: History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii 1827-1940 (Honolulu: Louis Boeynaems, 1978), a study of the Catholic Church up to 1940 (hereafter cited as Schoofs, Pioneers); Comfort Bock, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1941); Louise Hunter, Buddhism in Hawaii: Its Impact on a Yankee Community (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1971) (hereafter cited as Hunter, Buddhism) is based on a University of Hawai'i M.A. thesis written in 1966.


9 Central Union Church, Honolulu, "Yearbook, Central Union Church," 1907, p. 14, Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.


15 Ibid.

16 "Salutatory," The Friend, April 1902, p. 3 (hereafter periodical cited in notes as Friend).

17 See Appendix A for a list of Friend's editorial board members, 1902-1924.

18 See Appendix B for a list of Friend's editors, 1843-1943.


Notes for Chapter II


2 For example, little is known about the function of Kaneloa, even though he was one of the four major Hawaiian gods.


6 Ellis, Narrative Tour, p. 95.


11 Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities*, Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Series, no. 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981). Sahlins builds the case that those severing the cultural tie with the past symbolized by the kapu system would be among the first to adopt a new religious system and a new set of kapu.


15 The Protestant missionaries in Hawai‘i from 1820 to 1863 operated under the sponsorship of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This board will be referred to as the ABCFM.
16 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Prudential Committee, Instructions of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission (Lahainaluna, Hawai‘i: Press of the Mission Seminary, 1838), pp. 27, 28 (hereafter cited as ABCFM, Instructions of the Prudential Committee).


18 Bingham, Residence, p. 278; see also p. 282.

19 Ibid.


Kingdom, vol. 1; William Ellis, A Vindication of the South Seas Missions from the Misrepresentations of Otto von Kotzebue, Captain in the Russian Navy (London: F. Westley & A. H. Davis, 1831); Gast, Contentious Counsel, pp. 7-10.


26 Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1:104.


28 Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1:122-126. Kuykendall notes that there is little doubt that the missionaries approved of the implementation of these laws.


32 Report of ABCFM, 1834, p. 86.

33 ABCFM, Instructions of the Prudential Committee, pp. 27, 28.


Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 324-25. It is interesting to note that Hawai'i's situation at this time can be compared with Winthrop Hudson's assessment of the United States: "Protestantism ... by the middle of the nineteenth century had established undisputed sway over almost all aspects of the national life. It was a Protestant America that had been fashioned by the churches." Winthrop Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 109-110.

Centennial Book). The Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which was synonymous with the Congregational Church in Hawai'i, will hereafter be referred to as the HEA.


48 Anderson, Hawaiian Islands, pp. 321-22. This was clearly a reference to physical descendants: "The children of the missionaries are nearly all hopefully pious; four are already in the pastoral office. . . . The missionaries believe that a sufficient number of their children will be prepared, through grace, to fill the places of their fathers, when those places need to be thus filled."

49 Ibid., p. 378.


51 Cheever, Sandwich Islands, p. 216, quoting Harvey Hitchcock. No source given.


53 See, for example, R. C. Wriston, Hawaii Today (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), p. 97; Cheever, Sandwich Islands, pp. 77, 76; Anderson, Hawaiian Islands, p. 281. The lack of respect for native preachers as leaders perhaps reflects the broader changes Hawaiian society was experiencing. Whereas, for example, the ali'i had governed pre-western contact Hawai'i with undisputed authority, reliance on foreign advisors within the Hawaiian government had been increasing since the 1780s.


57 Cheever, Sandwich Islands, p. 214.


60 Henry Hyde, Charles McEwen Hyde (Ware, Mass.: Eddy Press, 1901), pp. 31-33, 42 (hereafter cited as Hyde, Hyde).

61 See "Darwinism," Friend, Apr. 1874, p. 32; "The Thanksgiving Day Sermon," ibid., Dec. 1878, p. 100 for indications that Friend was on the lookout for these concepts.


63 Ibid., p. 41.

64 Ibid., p. 37.
65 Anderson, Hawaiian Islands, p. 281.


67 Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Annual Report (Honolulu: Hawai'i Conference of the Congregational Church), 1880, 1900, statistical reports (hereafter annual report cited as HEA).


69 Gavan Daws, "The Decline of Puritanism at Honolulu in the Nineteenth Century," HJH 1 (1967):32. A feel for the relationship between Liholiho and the missionaries is found in Elias Bond's 1859 journal entry: "If the enemy [Liholiho] in his spite has called me 'King of Kohala' God knows that never an iota of the influence he has given me has been used for selfish purposes." Ethel Damon, Father Bond of Kohala (Honolulu: Friend Publishing Co., 1927), pp. 160, 186.

70 Ibid., p. 167. See also p. 207.

71 Although he cites no source, Edwin Burrows, Hawaiian Americans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 153, quotes Kalākaua as stating after his world tour in 1881 that "I have seen the Christian nations, and observed that they are turning away from Jehovah. He represents a waning cause. Shall we Hawaiians take up the work of a god whom the foreigners are discarding? The old gods of Hawaii are good enough for us." See also Oliver Emerson, "Address of the Retiring President," HMCS, Annual Report.


73 Donald Johnson, "The United States in the Pacific: Special Interests and Public Policies," Honolulu [1977], ch. 8, pp. 4, 33, Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i (hereafter cited as Johnson, "United States"); Lecture by Donald Johnson at the University of Hawai'i, Feb. 11, 1982.


76 Ramsour, "Entrance," p. 171.

77 Erdman, "Historical Sketch," pp. 77, 78.

78 Kuykendall and Day, Hawaii, pp. 134-35.

79 Anderson, Hawaiian Islands, p. 375.

80 Kuykendall notes that more than 50 percent of the able bodied Hawaiian males living in Hawai'i in 1873 were plantation employees. Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 2:178.

81 Schmitt, Demographic, p. 75.

82 Bingham, Residence, p. 102. See also Dibble, History, p. 207.

83 Yzendoorn, History is an early account of the history of the establishment of the Catholic church in Hawai'i that has been supplemented by Schoofs, Pioneers.

84 Cited by Schoofs, Pioneers, p. 35.


86 King, Diaries, pp. 74, 75.

87 Schoofs, Pioneers, p. 118. Schoofs did not name the paper.


89 "Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission," May, June 1851, p. 12, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, Hawaiian Missionary Children's Society Library, Honolulu.
See Bock, "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands," for an account of the Mormon Church in Hawai‘i, 1850 to 1865.


More information on the Protestant work among the Chinese in Hawai‘i will be provided in Chapter 4.


Schmitt, Demographic, pp. 74, 120.

For a description of the events of the closing year of the Hawaiian monarchy see Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 3.


Frear, "Century of Achievement," p. 13. See also Friend, Sept. 1894, p. 73.


Johnson, "United States," ch. 10, p. 11.

Shall Hawaii be Japanese or American," Friend, June 1897, p. 45.


118 See Restarick, *Hawaii, 1778-1920*, pp. 63-204 for an account of the Episcopal Church's fortunes in the 1800s in Hawai'i.


121 Ibid., pp. 202, 204.


124 HEA, statistical report, 1901.


130 Table 1, however, makes it clear that the picture was not as bleak as Gavan Daws portrays it when, citing the Hawaiian Gazette, he states that at the beginning of the 1890s "the Protestant Church had fewer than three thousand members." Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 292.
Notes for Chapter III


8As stated in chapter I, the collective term "Protestant Church" in the period 1898-1919 will refer specifically to the Congregational Church (HEA), the Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, the Disciples of Christ, and the Lutheran Church. These groups comprised over 98 percent of Protestants in Hawai'i in this era.

9In fact, within a few years Protestant Church leaders would be seeking to recruit Filipino Protestant ministers out of the Philippines to help with the work in Hawai'i.


See figure 1. It can also be noted that Gulick's optimism was not based on the situation in Japan where he was an ABCFM missionary. Protestantism in general, and the Congregational Church in particular, experienced a distinct setback in Japan in the 1890s. See Yamamori, *Church Growth*, p. 73.

See tables 1, 6, and 7. Since the 1896 figure was calculated from census statistics while the figures for 1900 on are based on church-supplied statistics, they are not strictly comparable. The 1896 figure is probably somewhat too high. These figures, however, accurately reflect a continued downward trend.

See tables 8 and 9.

*Friend*, Sept. 1890, p. 66. Bishop referred in this article to the elite as "the more intelligent and capable portion of the people."

"Mr. Dole to Be Governor," ibid., June 1900, p. 45.


*Home Rule Republican*, Nov. 2, 1901, p. 4.

It is unclear who was meant by "the later arrivals."
22 Ibid., Nov. 6, 1901, p. 4.

23 Ibid., Feb. 25, 1902, p. 4. There is no evidence at hand that such a history was commissioned.

24 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Sept. 1, 1900, p. 11. See also, "Firing the Missionaries," ibid., Nov. 15, 1900, for reference to "anti-missionary program."


28 Rennie Mau, "History of Kaumakapili Church," 1975 University of Hawai'i term paper, University of Hawai'i History Department, Hawaiian History Room.

29 Restarick, Hawaii, 1778-1920, p. 201.

30 Ibid., pp. 284, 286.

31 Interview with Kenneth Perkins, historiographer of the Episcopal Church in Hawai'i, Honolulu, Oct. 1983.

32 HEA, 1901, pp. 14, 15.


34 HEA, 1903, p. 21; Lydecker, Roster, p. 267.

35 See table 9.
36 HEA, 1899, p. 11. See also ibid., 1903, pp. 21-22; ibid., 1905, pp. 13-14.

37 Ibid., 1903, pp. 16, 38.

38 Ibid., 1904, p. 17.


42 There were nine Republicans, five Independents, one Democrat, and no Home Rulers in the 1903 Senate; twenty Republicans, nine Home Rulers, one Independent, and no Democrats in the House. Lydecker, Roster, p. 267.

43 HEA, 1899, p. 10.


45 HEA, 1903, p. 17.


48 Ibid. As late as 1911 the church reported that the charge of being the "English Church" was used against it to its disadvantage. See Episcopal Journal, 1911, p. 54.


51 Restarick, Hawaii, 1778-1920, p. 404. The church’s difficulties had been compounded by the fact that after annexation in 1898, no more funds were forthcoming from England. Ibid., p. 179.


54 Ibid.

55 Butterworth, Methodist Church, p. 3.

56 Bernard Hormann, Fourscore Years ([Honolulu]: n.p., 1980), p. i.

57 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

58 HEA, 1903, p. 18; ibid., 1904, pp. 17-18.


60 HEA, 1903, p. 18; ibid., 1904, pp. 17-18; "Change In the Board," Friend, Oct. 1903, p. 5.

61 Loomis, To All People, pp. 104, 140. See pages 53-178 for an account of this venture by the Hawaiian churches.
Notes for Chapter IV


5Butterworth, Methodist Church, p. 4.


7HEA, 1905, p. 13. The delegation consisted of P. C. Jones, W. D. Westervelt, Doremus Scudder, and Hiram Bingham II. Loomis To All People, p. 355.

8Anderson, Hawaiian Islands, pp. 324-325.


10Ibid., p. 15.


12HEA, 1905, p. 12; ibid., 1904, Financial Reports.

13Ibid., 1905, p. 12.


16 Gwenfread Allen, Bridge Builders. The Story of Theodore and Mary Atherton Richards (Honolulu: Hawai'i Conference Foundation, 1970), p. 134 (hereafter cited as Allen, Bridge Builders), citing Theodore Richards. Statistics can be cited that indicate support for this opinion. Protestant figures as a percent of the population were approximately as follows: Chinese: China, 1914, 0.1, Hawai'i, 1920, 4.6; Japanese, 1920: Japan, 0.1, Hawai'i, 2.0; Koreans: Korea, 1914, 1.0, Hawai'i, 1920, 11.2; Filipinos, 1920: Philippines 1.4, Hawai'i, 3.4; Sources: Yamamori, Church Growth, Appendices A and G; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937-45), vol. 6: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914, pp. 356,428; Dwight Stevenson, Christianity in the Philippines (Lexington: College of the Bible, 1956), p. 25; World Almanac and Encyclopedia (New York: Press Publishing Co., 1914, 1920); Table 8. These percentages do not take into account such relevant factors as the relative number of personnel in the respective fields.

17 For Hawai'i's population growth, see table 6.


21 Episcopal Journal, 1907, p. 43.


24. Episcopal Journal, 1907, p. 44.


32. Episcopal Journal, 1907, p. 43.


35. HEA, "Minutes of the Hawaiian Board," Nov. 11, 1905.


41 "After the War," ibid., Nov. 1918, p. 247.

42 Episcopal Journal, 1907, p. 45. See also ibid., 1911, p. 55.

43 "Annual Convocation," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, June 1921, p. 3.

44 Journal ... Methodist, 1908, p. 29. See also ibid., 1913, p. 13.


46 Journal ... Methodist, 1919, pp. 34, 35.

47 "Basis of Church Membership," Friend, June 1909, p. 4. No indication was found as to why these two Maui churches were the first in the Islands openly to espouse liberalism.

48 "Drift of the Union Churches," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, Feb. 1912, p. 3.

50 Ibid. See also Vaughan MacCaughey, "The Spiritual World and the Biologist," ibid., Oct. 1918, p. 228.

51 "Seventy Years Young," ibid., Dec. 1913, p. 271.


57 Schmitt, Demographic, p. 115.

58 Ibid., p. 116.


60 Table 8.

61 Hudson, Religion in America, p. 322.


63 HEA, 1911, p. 20.

64 Ibid., 1910, pp. 76-77.

65 Ibid., 1909, p. 81.

66 Ibid., 1917, p. 26. See also ibid., 1911, p. 20.


70 Ibid., 1910, pp. 20, appendix.

71 Ibid., 1914, p. 15.

72 HEA, 1912, p. 47.

73 Ibid., 1906, p. 50.


75 HEA, 1907, pp. 104-11.

76 Takie Okumura, Seventy Years of Divine Blessings (n.p., [1939]), p. 37 (hereafter cited as Okumura, Seventy Years).


78 Okumura, Seventy Years, p. 65.

79 Loomis, To All People, p. 308.

80 Ibid., pp 268-278.


82 Ibid., p. 12.


86 Ibid.


88 Protestant Episcopal Church, *Threshold*, p. 21; Debra Abb1ey, "St. Mary's: A History," 1975 University Of Hawai'i term paper, University of Hawai'i History Dept., Hawaiian History Room.

89 Protestant Episcopal Church, *Threshold*, p. 24. George Cluett, a New York businessman, provided the money for this house, which remained open until the 1950s and usually housed thirty to forty women. Interview with Kenneth Perkins, Honolulu, Oct. 1983.


91 HEA, 1904, p. 21.


93 Ibid., Apr. 11, 1915.


One of Umetero Okumura's primary responsibilities with the HSPA was to act as translator for his father, Takie, in the Americanization campaigns on the plantations.


102 *HEA*, 1908, p. 9. The schools listed were high schools.

103 Connor Stroupe, "Significant Factors in the Influx to Private Schools on Oahu Since 1900," (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1955), p. 78 (hereafter cited as Stroupe, "Influx to Private Schools").

104 Allen, *Bridge Builders*, p. 129.


106 Loomis, *To All People*, p. 380.


108 Quoted in Allen, *Bridge Builders*, p. 130.


Ibid.; Stroupe, "Influx to Private Schools," p. 35.

Elton Cathcart, "Role of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the History and Development of Education in Hawaii" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1951), pp. 6, 7 (hereafter cited as Cathcart, "Episcopal Church in Education"); Ernest Villers, "A History of Iolani School" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1940), pp. 2, 3, 73; Stroupe, "Influx to Private Schools," p. 78.


Stroupe, "Influx to Private Schools," p. 78.


Notes for Chapter V

1 See table 6 for population statistics by ethnic background, 1900-1960.


6 The term "English Church" was a Congregational Church designation for an English-language church that will be utilized for all the denominations to refer to predominantly Caucasian congregations.

7 Table 8.


14 Ibid., pp. 59, 60, 66-72.
First Christian Church Treasurer, Honolulu.
Letter to C. W. Plopper, Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 26, 1911, First Christian Church, Honolulu.

D. C. Peters, "Hawaii," Christian Standard, Nov. 25, 1911, p. 1965; Mrs. Oren Wilson, "Early History, First Christian Church, 1894-1939," First Christian Church, Honolulu; Table 9. Disciples in Hawaii were very likely surprised to read the 1919 statement by Archibald McLean, Disciples Missionary Society president, that: "The church [in Hawai'i] is prosperous and is able to oversee the work that has been started by the Society." McLean, History of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, p. 111.


Schmitt, Demographic, pp. 120, 121.

See table 9.


Table 8.


Ibid., p. 286.


Friend, June 1906, p. 3.

29 HEA, 1912, p. 16.

30 Ibid.


32 HEA, 1906, pp. 28-29.

33 Ibid., 1907, p. 26; ibid., 1912, p. 17; Friend, Nov. 1904, p. 4; HEA, 1917, p. 20; ibid., 1918, pp. 19-21.

34 Table 8.

35 [Albertine Loomis], Haili Church; ua laa no I'ehova—150 years, 1824-1974 (Hilo, Hawaii: n.p., 1974) (hereafter cited as [Loomis], Haili).


37 [Loomis], Haili.

38 Loomis, To All People, pp. 362, 363.


41 Loomis, To All People, p. 372.

42 Table 8. These percentages based on an average of totals for 1900, 1910 and 1920.


44 Central Union Church, Honolulu, "Central Union Handbook," 1908, Central Union Church, Honolulu.
45 HEA, 1900, p. 63.

46 Friend, Nov. 1916, p. 249.

47 Central Union, "Yearbook Central Union Church," 1908, p. 12.

48 Episcopal Journal, 1907, p. 36.

49 "Address of the Dean," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, June 1917, p. 5.

50 John Jones, Letter to board of First Methodist Church, Honolulu, ca. 1910 or 1911, First Methodist Church, Honolulu.

51 First Christian Church, "Report, Annual Meeting," Honolulu, Jan. 9, 1907, First Christian Church, Honolulu.


55 Ibid., p. 127.

56 Ibid., p. 128.

57 Appendix B.

58 HEA, 1904, p. 44.

59 Ibid., 1906, p. 29; "Not All Smooth Sailing with Portuguese Work," Friend, June 1908, p. 11.


62 Hormann, Fourscore Years, p. i.

63 Ibid., Appendix at front of booklet.

64 Ibid., p. 9.

65 Ibid., pp. 9-10.


68 Hormann, Fourscore Years, pp. 13-14.

69 Table 6.


71 Table 9.

72 Table 8.


75 Drummond, A History of Christianity in Japan, p. 201; Yamamori, Church Growth, pp. 64-85.110
76 HEA, 1904, p. 41.

77 Umetaro Okumura, My Father (Honolulu, n.p., [1919]), pp. 9, 12.

78 [Okumura], Collection of Sermons, pp. 160-161.


80 [Okumura], Collection of Sermons, pp. 171-172.

81 Okumura, Seventy Years, pp. 17-85. The Japanese YMCA became a department of the Honolulu YMCA in 1912.


83 Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 122-123.


85 HEA, 1909, p. 23.


87 Cowan, You-Ought-to-Buy, p. 127.


89 HEA, 1899, p. 3.

90 Ibid., 1909, p. 23; ibid., 1906, p. 32.

91 [Okumura], Collection of Sermons, p. 179.

92 HEA, 1910, p. 69. See also ibid., 1914, p. 18.

Makiki again seemed to do more than its share. In 1919, Umetaro Okumura listed the following as evangelists and Christian workers from Makiki: K. Maeda, Ewa; R. Okamoto, Līhu'e, S. Aoki, Kona; Umetaro Okumura; T. Kawasaki,
YMCA Secretary; two others in seminary. Okumura, My Father, p. 13.

93 Episcopal Journal, 1908, p. 47; Protestant Episcopal Church, Threshold, p. 22.


99 Ibid., 1921, p. 26; ibid., 1919, p. 32.


101 Ibid., 1916, p. 23.


103 Ibid., 1908, p. 58; see also "The Outlook Again," Friend, Mar. 1911, p. 5.


108 Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 3:119; Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 304.

109 Table 6.

110 Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 51.

111 Ibid.


113 Gina Bacon, "The Development of the Chinese Christian Community in Honolulu," 1975 University of Hawai'i term paper, University of Hawai'i History Dept., Hawaiian History Room.

114 "Address at the Chinese Church," Friend, Jan. 4, 1881 (Supplement); Friend, Nov. 1882, p. 118; HEA, 1886, p. 12. The Basel (Switzerland), Rhenish, and Berlin missions were all German Lutheran missionary organizations.


117 Susan Chau, "The History of the Chinese Protestant Churches in Hawaii," 1975 University of Hawai'i term paper, University of Hawai'i History Dept., Hawaiian History Room.

118 Table 8.

119 Table 9.

"Chinese Young People in Hawaii," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, Oct. 1919, pp. 6, 7. For a conflicting contemporary evaluation, see the Episcopal Church's education committee report that Chinese "parental prejudice, which is very strong, prevents many young people from attending Sunday School and receiving Baptism." Episcopal Journal, 1918, p. 19.


Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 93.

Episcopal Journal, 1904, p. 33.

Loomis, To All People, pp. 210-11.


Ibid., 1901, p. 30.

Ibid., 1905, pp. 29-30; ibid., 1908, p. 25.

Ibid., 1912, p. 18.

Ibid., 1913, p. 19.

Ibid., 1911, p. 18.

Loomis, To All People, pp. 198-204.


137 Ibid., 1919, pp. 28-30.


143 Table 9.


146 Ibid., pp. 137, 138.

147 Ibid., p. 138.

148 Robin Kaleiopu, "The Anglican Church in Hawaii," 1976 University of Hawai'i term paper, University of Hawai'i History Dept.; Hawaiian History Room.


Ibid., 1917, p. 22.


Our President (n.p.: International Publicity League of Korea, 1955), p. 89.

One graduate of the school later became South Korea's Consul General under Rhee and another became Rhee's ambassador to Washington. Bimson, Hawaii Mission of the Methodist Church, p. 14.

Our President, p. 89; Journal . . . Methodist, 1919, p. 27.


Ibid., 1917, 1921, statistical reports.

Table 6.

Table 9.


HBA, 1914, p. 16; ibid., 1915, p. 21.


Stevenson, Christianity in the Philippines, pp. 22, 25.

Journal ..., Methodist, 1913, p. 21; ibid., 1914, pp. 18-19.

Loomis, To All People, p. 319.

Ibid., pp. 314-315.

Ibid., p. 317.

Ibid., pp. 315-316, 319, 324.

Journal ..., Methodist, 1913, p. 20.

Bimson, Hawaii Mission of the Methodist Church, p. 15.

Loomis, To All People, p. 317.


Journal ..., Methodist, 1921, p. 27.

Friend, June 1909, p. 4.


Loomis, To All People, pp. 367, 371, 372.
184 Abbley, "St. Mary's: A History."


186 Episcopal Journal, 1917, p. 12; ibid., 1918, p. 17; ibid., 1911, p. 54.


Notes for Chapter VI


15. *Episcopal Journal*, 1907, p. 44.


18 "Fruitage," Friend, Sept. 1904, p. 3.


22 See Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, pp. 245, 319 for a discussion of these concerns.

23 Ibid., p. 319.

24 Episcopal Journal, 1906, p. 32.

25 Daws, Shoal of Time, pp. 311, 312; Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 242-248. These agencies were Alexander and Baldwin, C. Brewer and Company, Castle and Cook, American Factors (formerly Hackfeld and Company), and Theo. H. Davies. The expression Merchant Street derives from the street by that name in the heart of Honolulu's financial district. It designated in this period the Big Five and other closely aligned powerful business interests, such as Dillingham Corporation.

26 Johnson, "United States," Ch. 11, p. 29. See also Daws, Shoal of Time, pp. 312-314.


29 Episcopal Journal, 1913, p. 43.
30 See Chapter 5, page 137 for a sampling of Big Five related members of Central Union Church; Hormann, Fourscore Years.


33 "Sugar Looking Up," ibid., Nov. 1902, p. 3.


35 Hormann, Fourscore Years, p. 7.


40 Ibid., 1913-1919, statistical reports in appendices.

41 Ibid., 1917, p. 25.


43 Journal . . . Methodist, 1908, p. 27.


47. Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 311.


49. Daws, Shoal of Time, p. 304.

50. Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 52.

51. Kuykendall and Day, Hawaii, pp. 211, 212.


61 Reinecke, Labor Disturbances, pp. 13-16.

62 Ibid., p. 13.

63 Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 118, 212; Reinecke, Labor Disturbances, p. 13.

64 Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 212.


68 Ibid.

69 Shoemaker, Labor in the Territory of Hawaii, 1939, p. 79.

70 Okumura, Seventy Years, pp. 55-56.


74 See for example, Journal . . . Methodist, 1912, p. 22; "Who is to Blame?", Friend, Apr. 1910, p. 4, in which the periodical cited "the impossibility of securing missionary support in the legislature. There were members related to the elder missionaries by blood, but they scoffed at Puritan blue laws."; Episcopal Journal, 1919, p. 56.


Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 218.


"Strikes Again," Friend, Aug. 1904, p. 3. See also Frank Scudder, "Notes from the Field," ibid., Feb. 1908, p. 11.

Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 221-222.


See Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1957).

Ahlstrom, Religious History 2:199.
92 Episcopal Journal, 1908, pp. 49-50. See also Restarick, Hawaii, 1778-1920, p. 239.

93 "Amusement and Sin," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, July 1915, p. 3.


95 This committee's membership between 1911 and 1919 included: George C. Potter—Administrator at Queen's Hospital; Alexander Lindsay, Jr.—Honolulu judge; William Ault—Dean of St. Andrews Cathedral, 1910-1939; Leopold Kroll—Rector of St. Andrews Hawaiian Congregation, 1910-1920; James Wakefield—Honolulu businessman from England; Honolulu businessman Thomas Sharp; Phillip Fukao—Pastor of Trinity Church; W. L. Moore—Honolulu doctor. Interview with Kenneth Perkins, Honolulu, Oct. 1983; Episcopal Journal, 1911, p. 44; ibid., 1916, p. 39.

96 Ibid., 1911, p. 42; ibid., 1914, p. 21; ibid., 1916, p. 39; ibid., 1919, pp. 13-14.


99 Friend, Apr. 1902, p. 3.

100 HEA, 1909, p. 4.

101 Journal ... Methodist, 1916, p. 23.

102 Cowan, You-Ought-to-Buy, p. 129.

103 First Christian Church, "Report, Annual Meeting," Honolulu, Jan. 9, 1907. First Christian Church, Honolulu.


107 "Is Prohibition a Failure?", *ibid.*, Feb. 1901, p. 15.

108 "The Local Option Bill," *ibid.*, Apr. 1903, p. 3.


110 "Why Was It?", *ibid.*, Aug. 1910, p. 4.


113 "Candidates and the Saloon," *ibid.*, Sept. 1904, p. 11; see also "Long Wine Bait," *ibid.*, Nov. 1904, p. 3.


Ibid., 1910, p. 26; ibid., 1914, p. 13.

*Episcopal Journal*, 1916, p. 39; ibid., 1917, p. 9; ibid., 1918, p. 16.


*Journal . . . Methodist*, 1919, p. 45. It is not known if figures cited are accurate.


Hormann, *Fourscore Years*, p. 9.


Okumura, *Seventy Years*, pp. 28-29.


133 "Amusement and Sin," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, July 1915, p. 3.


1917 Legislature," ibid., Apr. 1917, p. 75; David
Withington, "Legislature in Special Session," ibid.,
June 1918, p. 126.

139"The Good Humored Legislature," ibid., May 1915,
p. 100.

140D. L. Withington, "The 1919 Legislature," ibid.,
May 1919, p. 99.

141See for example, Robert Wiebe, The Search for
Order 1877-1920 (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967); Martin
Schiesl, The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Adminis-
tration and Reform in America 1880-1920 (Berkeley:

142"The County Scheme," Friend, Feb. 1905, p. 5;
Theodore Richards, "Republicanism in Hawaii," ibid.,
May 1905, p. 14. For similar views on earlier, invalid-
dated acts see "Ignotious Legislative Failure," ibid.,
May 1901, p. 89; "Why the County Bill Failed," ibid.,
June 1901, p. 98; "Legislature Adjourned," ibid.,
Aug. 1901, p. 119; "General Comment," ibid., Feb. 1904,
pp. 8-9; ibid., Mar. 1904, p. 9.

143"The Political Muddle," ibid., Sept. 1908,
pp. 4-5; "Forward for a City of God," ibid., Dec. 1912,
p. 283; "The 1917 Legislature," ibid., Apr. 1917, p. 75;

144"Report of the Committee on Moral and Social
Conditions," Episcopal Journal, 1911, pp. 43-44.

145"Splendid," Friend, Aug. 1912, p. 188.

1913, p. 199.

147"The Legislature of 1913," ibid., May 1913,
p. 103.


149"The State of Hawaii," ibid., June 1908, p. 6;
"The State of Hawaii Again," ibid., July 1908, p. 3;
"The State of Hawaii," ibid., Jan. 1911, p. 5; "Statehood

150 Johnson, "United States," Ch. 9, p. 3.


152 "War," Friend, Apr. 1898, p. 33; Friend, Apr. 1899, p. 25.


154 "This War a Needed Preparation," ibid., Aug. 1898, p. 61.


157 "Dean Castle's Letter," ibid., Feb. 1916, p. 27.

158 Johnson, "United States," Ch. 9, p. 16.


161 Ibid., Sept. 1914, p. 4. Most likely the plantations referred to were Hackfeld and Company operations.


164 "Church Papers Criticized," ibid., Sept. 1918, p. 3.

165 Journal . . . Methodist, 1918, p. 76.


184. See, for example, "Annual Convocation," Hawaiian Church Chronicle, June 1921, p. 4.


187. Irene Myers, "East is East and West is West," Christian Evangelist, Mar. 27, 1913, p. 438. See also Calla Harrison, "Honolulu Letter," Christian Standard, Sept. 27, 1919, p. 1296: "Christian teachers find large opportunity to work for Americanizing this people, and some, but not a great field, for Christianizing them."


190 Journal ... Methodist, 1918, p. 71; ibid., 1908, pp. 24, 28, 29; ibid., 1913, p. 13; ibid., 1916, p. 22.


192 Hunter, Buddhism, pp. 95-96.


194 Higham, Strangers in the Land, p. 247.


198 Okumura, Seventy Years, p. 45.


202 Roderick Matheson, letter to the Honolulu Advertiser, Dec. 29, 1919, p. 3.


209 Hormann, Fourscore Years, pp. 10-11.

Notes for Chapter VII

1Tables 6, 7, 10-15.


3Friend, Feb. 1920, pp. 33, 34.


6Ibid., 1938, p. 12.

7Inter-Church Federation of Honolulu, "Filipino Life in Honolulu," 1936, Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i, Ch. 7, p. 3.


11Interview with Harry Komuro, Honolulu, Aug. 1975.


16 HEA, 1930, p. 18.


18 Ibid., 1932, p. 17. See also ibid., 1931, p. 31.

19 Lutheran Church of Honolulu, Council Meeting Minutes, Honolulu, 1932, 1934, Lutheran Church of Honolulu. Hormann was still receiving $225 a month as late as 1942.


21 First Christian Church, Minutes of the Board, Honolulu, Dec. 18, 1934, First Christian Church, Honolulu.


In 1935, 32.2 percent of the Big Five directors and officers were still direct missionary descendants or related by marriage. Lind, Island Community, p. 216.

Journal . . . Methodist, 1920; p. 27.

Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, pp. 215-218.


Bimson, Hawaii Mission of the Methodist Church, p. 17.

Fry, for example, was a member of the exclusive O'ahu Country Club, the Rotary Club, and had a daughter marry a Maui plantation manager by the name of Bush. Interview with Harry Komuro, Honolulu, Oct. 1983.

N. C. Dizon, letter to editor, Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Feb. 11, 1920, p. 4. An interesting sidenote revealed in Dizon's letter was that many of the evicted Filipino strikers were housed in Japanese churches in Honolulu.

HEA, "Hawaiian Board Minutes," Sept. 12, 1924.


54 Ibid., Dec. 12, 1924.


57 Gulick, Mixing the Races in Hawaii, pp. 167-169; see also Journal . . . Methodist, 1920, p. 46.


59 Hunter, Buddhism, pp. 147-148.


66 Gulick, Mixing the Races in Hawaii, p. 136.


68 Trent, "The Methodist Church in Hawaii," Centennial Book, p. 73.

69 Robert Moore, "Location Factors Affecting Churches and Church Membership in Honolulu" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1967), pp. 70-79.

70 Gulick, Mixing the Races in Hawaii, p. 162.

71 "Christmas Gift List," Friend, 1927, p. 4; Loomis, To All People, p. 236.

72 Tables 6, 10-15.

73 Journal ... Methodist, 1943, p. 11.


78 Table 15.


82 Hormann, "Toward a Sociology," p. 62.
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