

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
University of Hawaii

Sociology of Religion In Hawaii

Religion in Higher Education on the Mainland and in Hawaii	Harley H. Zeigler	1
Religious Diversity in Hawaii	Andrew W. Lind	11
The Religion of Pre-European Hawaii	William H. Davenport	20
Kahuna and Kohen: A Study in Comparative Religion	Francis Hevesi	30
The Churches in Hawaii	Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan	34
A Protestant Church in Honolulu	John Giltner	40
C'owado	Evelyn Yama and Agnes Niyekawa	48
A Religious and Cultural Calendar for Hawaii	Harley H. Zeigler and Bernhard Hormann	59

VOLUME 16

1952

HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIOLOGY CLUB
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

EDITOR
Dick Nagata

Associate Editor
Edward Misaki

Assistant Editor
Grace Ikijiri

Circulation Managers
Masaru Oshiro
Mitsuru Fujimoto

Business Manager
Nellie Young

STAFF

Harriet Fujioka
Rose Hamada
Charles Nishimura
David Kaleikau
Hartwell Leeloy

Robert Yamamoto
Tatsue Hamamoto
Agnes Niyekawa
Leroy Punua
Gilbert Choi

Ruth Palk
Grace Uejio
Amy Hamai
Sachiko Kuwaye
Carol Sakuragi

ADVISORS

Dr. Andrew W. Lind
Dr. Clarence Glick
Dr. Bernhard Hormann
Mr. Kiyoshi Ikeda

Copyright, 1952
All rights reserved—no part of this publication may be
produced in any form without permission
in writing from publishers.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII is published annually by the
Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Articles in SOCIAL PROC-
ESS do not necessarily represent the views of either the editorial staff
or the advisers and they do not share the authors' responsibility for fact
or opinion.

INTRODUCTION

The theological definition of religion is the service and adoration of God. Our emphasis in this volume on "Religion in Hawaii," however, is not theological. Instead, our purpose is to bring out the sociological significance of religion in the multi-racial setting of Hawaii. There are many more organized religious groups than there are ethnic groups in Hawaii. There are healing and success cults; quietistic and revivalistic sects; the great historic churches and separate shrines run almost like private business enterprises. There are tradition-bound other-worldly institutions and secularized this-worldly denominations. There are cathedrals, churches, chapels, and tabernacles; temples, shrines, household altars, and sites of ancient Hawaiian heiaus. There are individual worship, family worship, and congregational worship led by priests and ministers, prophets and mediums, lay spokesmen and untutored temple-keepers.

Upon making a careful study, one would find that in the past, and to a considerable extent still in the present, each ethnic group tends to be identified with a particular religion. Thus, generally speaking, he will find that Japanese are predominantly in Buddhism and Shintoism, Filipinos in the Catholic Church, Koreans in the Protestant churches, and so on. Increasingly however, our researcher will find people of many ethnic groups in denominations formerly thought of as "belonging" to a certain ethnic group. In this phenomenon, our researcher can ascertain the process of assimilation going on in Hawaii.

We find that religion, like any other institution of society, meets basic human needs. The giving of security, status, and recognition to individuals and groups makes religion a potent force of socialization. In the following articles there is much material to indicate how religion operates in the life of the individual and the community.

The relation of religion to assimilation and the manner in which it meets psychological needs make the study of religion in Hawaii sociologically significant. It is this social significance that we would like to bring out in this volume, rather than invade the field of theology and discuss the function of religion as the service and adoration of God.

We have tried to accomplish this end by presenting a series of articles ranging from the religion of pre-European Hawaii to the place of religion in higher education in colleges and universities today. We only regret that time and space have made it necessary for us to review only a small number of the many denominations existing in Hawaii today. The following are the articles in this volume:

(1) Religion in Higher Education by Dr. Harley H. Zeigler. The author (Ph. D., Boston University) is present director of the Hawaii School of Religion and professor of Religion at the University of Hawaii. His field of concentration is in metaphysics. His article calls attention to the increasing place given to religion in state supported colleges and universities across the U. S. It calls attention to the necessity for intelligent study of religion for anyone who is to have genuine religious freedom. Finally it explains the breadth of the role played by the Hawaii School of Religion.

(2) Religion of Pre-European Hawaii by William H. Davenport. The author was born in California in 1920 and came to Hawaii in 1940. He is a member of the 1952 graduating class at the University of Hawaii, having

Dedicated to the Memory of

ROMANZO ADAMS

Pioneer Sociologist in Hawaii

Professor at the University of Hawaii, 1920-1936

Professor Emeritus, 1936 until his death in 1942.

majored in Anthropology and has been accepted by the Yale Graduate School. His article is a reconstruction of the basic concepts and practices of the Hawaiian religion before the advent of Christianity.

(3) *Chowado* by Evelyn Yama and Agnes Niyekawa. The authors of this article have made a careful study of one of the minor Buddhist sects, Chowado, an offshoot of the Shingon sect. The sect is of particular interest because since the war the founder has established its headquarters in Hawaii. Miss Yama, a member of the graduating class of 1951, majoring in sociology, is now research assistant in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory. Miss Niyekawa, a student from Japan, expects to complete her undergraduate major in sociology this June.

(4) *A Protestant Church in Honolulu* by John Giltner. The author made his sociological study of Central Union Church while a graduate assistant in the department of sociology in 1948-49. He is now completing his studies for the ministry.

(5) *Religious Calendar* by Drs. Harley H. Zeigler and Bernhard Hormann. The kaleidoscopic nature of Hawaii's religious life comes out very clearly in the many different religious holidays that come and go every year. Dr. Zeigler and Dr. Hormann, with the assistance of several competent people, has compiled a list and brief description of the holiday and festivals which are of significance in Hawaii today.

(6) *The Churches in Hawaii* by Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan. As professor of religion at the University of Hawaii from 1938 to 1944 and as General Secretary of the largest group of Protestant churches in Hawaii since 1944, Dr. Dunstan has been ideally situated to observe and analyze the problems of the Protestant church. Utilizing the statistics available from the larger church bodies in Hawaii, Dr. Dunstan comes to the conclusion that the Protestant church has lost its one-time position of dominance in the religious life of the Islands and that it now presents the problems of a religious minority.

(7) *Kahuna and Kohen: A Study in Comparative Religion* by Dr. Francis Hevesi. A resident of Hawaii for less than a year at the time of his death in April, 1952, Dr. Hevesi, in his dual capacity as Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El and as a graduate student in sociology, had acquired a surprising insight into life and culture of the Islands. In this article he calls attention to certain striking similarities in the form and the functions of the priesthood among the Hebrews and the ancient Hawaiians, although disclaiming any belief in the theory of historical connection between them. Dr. Hevesi brought to this study of comparative religion his rich background of nearly thirty years as a Rabbi and as a professor of philosophy and homiletics in both Hungary and the United States.

(8) *Religious Diversity in Hawaii* by Dr. Andrew W. Lind. Students of the Island social scene have frequently been impressed by the color and variety of religious groups which almost rivals that of its ethnic stocks and racial combinations. Dr. Lind brings to bear upon this problem some of the insights acquired from nearly twenty-five years of experience in Hawaii as a sociologist at the University of Hawaii.

The editorial staff acknowledges with gratitude the help of Miss Peggy Kainuma, Dr. Douglas S. Yamamura, Dr. Ch'eng-K'un Cheng, Mr. Jimmy Akamine, Mr. Harold A. Jambor, Mr. Harry V. Ball, and Mrs. Lee Fern.

DICK NAGATA, Editor

RELIGION IN HIGHER EDUCATION ON THE MAINLAND AND IN HAWAII

Harley H. Zeigler

Private institutions of Higher Learning, intended primarily to preserve a religious heritage prized by the colonial fathers, preceded the founding of state-supported colleges and universities in the United States by many years. Dr. Blakeman points out that Harvard College was one hundred fifty years old when the first state university, the University of North Carolina, opened its doors at Chapel Hill.⁽¹⁾ In Hawaii, however, the territorial university came first, and no significant attempt has been made yet to organize a comparable institution on a private and religious basis.

The missionaries who came to Hawaii early established private schools on an elementary level, and across the years church related schools have come to hold a privileged position in the educational pattern in Hawaii. These have never ventured beyond the high school years, however. Their leaders and benefactors apparently expected their graduates to attend the great private colleges and universities on the mainland where they would still be surrounded by strong religious interests while developing their keener insights and while choosing their life-vocation.

In recent years, it has become increasingly evident that this assumption is no longer realistic. Many of the children from church families attend the public schools either because of economy or preference. Since the decade of the twenties a significant number of Hawaii's leaders have taken their university work in the islands, and since World War II, the great majority of them are being trained in "Green Manoa." In 1951 while 81% of Punahou's graduates went on to the mainland for higher training, only 20 of Mid Pacific's 80 graduates and 30 of Iolani's 85 graduates did so. During the same year, only 24% of St. Louis's 240 graduates applied for admission to mainland universities.⁽²⁾

Foreseeing this development as early as 1930, a few of Hawaii's foresighted leaders such as Frank C. Atherton, Bishop Alencastre, Robbins Anderson, Judge Perry, Oren E. Long and others, organized the Hawaii School of Religion in order that courses in religion could be offered on a University level. This effort was recognized by the University in 1932, and the School was accepted by the University as an affiliated institution, although it was left under private direction and dependent on private support since it was commonly believed that a tax-supported institution could not use tax money for the teaching of religion, however elective and non-sectarian it might be.

The churches in Hawaii also began to realize the strategic importance of the University after World War II, and started to organize, or began seriously to strengthen, church-related student groups on the campus. These took their place alongside the University Young Women's Christian Association, and also alongside the University Young Men's Christian As-

¹Lotz (ed.) *Orientation in Religious Education*, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950, p. 365.

²St. Louis College is a Catholic high school. The number who actually went is not known.

sociation which was reorganized after the war under the leadership of Bernard Yim as student leader, Lorne Bell as associate secretary for the Honolulu Y, and Harley Zeigler as director of the Hawaii School of Religion. This multiplication of student groups in the religious field caused various problems, and in the fall of 1949 the director of the School of Religion spoke to the Y.W. and Y.M. secretaries and then to the church-related groups and meetings began to be held looking toward the formation of a university inter-faith or inter-religious council which could coordinate and strengthen the individual religious organizations.

By the end of the spring of 1950 interest had increased to the extent that the interfaith representatives from the various clubs wanted to know what mainland universities and colleges were themselves doing in terms of a coordinated religious program. Since these students had neither the time nor the resources to conduct a complete survey they decided to fall back upon the sampling method and wrote to 88 schools of higher education on the mainland. Sixty-three of these colleges and universities were state institutions scattered from Maine to California. Twenty-five were private.

An unusually high number of replies was received in answer to the questionnaire that was mailed out only once. The students received answers from fifty of the state schools and from seventeen of the private schools. To the surprise of every one concerned, the percentage of replies was higher from the state supported institutions than it was from the supposedly more concerned private schools.

The students planned to analyze the results of the correspondence in the fall, but on account of the illness of the director of the School of Religion, this was not done until the spring of 1951. Then the analysis was carried through carefully under his direction by a committee of students consisting of Richard Collier, Kamlin Young, Keichi Ikeda, Evelyn Kim, and Florence Tong.

The committee found that the common notion that state institutions cannot use state funds for the teaching of religion and for the supervision of religious activities is apparently not well grounded. Dr. Clarence Shedd of Yale University wrote the director of the School of Religion in May, 1946, that he was being called in increasingly by state institutions to aid in the organization of a department of religion, and now the correspondence of University of Hawaii students tends to indicate that a wholesome regard for sympathetic attention to religion is more present than absent on university campuses across the country. The results of the research break down as follows:

In the fifty state schools sampled at random it was found:

(a) In regard to chapels:

Fourteen state supported schools had a chapel on the campus, and 2 were building chapels at the time of the inquiry, and expected to have them completed by the end of 1951. Now 16 of the schools have a chapel on the campus as compared to 27 who do not, and 7 who have a chapel nearby.

(b) In regard to a building on the campus set aside for religious functions:

Sixteen schools have such a building as compared to 32 who do not.

On the two remaining campuses part of a campus building is given to the religious organizations to use as a base.

Many of the larger state universities themselves employ a coordinator of religious activities to make up for the lack of such a building. However, a coordinator is also often employed where a religious building is present. In fact coordinators are used by 27 institutions in contrast to 23 who do not.

(c) In regard to a religious council:

All of the private schools and all of the state schools with the exception of three have a religious council of some kind.

The state schools tend to favor inter-Christian councils among schools of 3000 students or less. They tend to favor inter-faith councils in schools of 6000 or more.

The type of council seemed to be influenced by the religious character of the area served by the university. In a few areas rather exclusively Protestant, only an inter-Protestant council was present. In larger areas the inter-faith council was used. Yet only the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish influences were significant. No university on the mainland faces the diversity of religious heritage that is present in Hawaii.

(d) In regard to courses taught with university credit:

Among state schools from 3000 to 6000 enrollment, 83.3% offer credit courses in religion, and 66% pay for them from state funds. Among state schools from 6000 to 10000, 81.8% provide credit courses in religion and 54.5% pay for them from state funds. Among schools from 10,000 to 20,000 83.3% provide credit courses in religion and 75% pay for them out of state funds. Among schools above 20,000, 66.7% provide credit courses in religion and 50% pay for them.

In the light of this research it is evident that a fundamental change has taken place in the attitude of state institutions of higher learning toward the teaching of religion; a change of which many people even in the educational field are often not aware.

It is the function of this article to state facts gleaned from actual research rather than to interpret them. However, it may be valuable to call attention to a possible explanation of this sharp transition in this phase of the social process. In the early years as state institutions of higher learning came into being, they took their places alongside of church related educational units which had forerun them. The primary need, it was felt, was for schools where students could gain the necessary breadth and skills that were essential in a culture which was becoming increasingly technical and professional. In such a climate philosophy as well as religion suffered under the hot sun of practical concerns. It is little wonder that in this period America's best known philosophers such as William James, Josiah Royce, Charles Peirce, and Borden Parker Bowne were located in private universities. This seemingly was quite adequate in a period when the country was growing and expanding rapidly, and the democratic way of life had an allure and appeal for the oppressed peoples of the world.

As state universities proved their worth, however, and came to play an increasing role in the entire life of the state, they came to recognize a

growing responsibility to bear the torch of knowledge in every phase of human experience. And as rival philosophies of value arose interpreting, and at times radically challenging, the accepted American "Way", state institutions as well as private schools saw the necessity of producing intelligent citizens as well as proficient technicians.

As this has happened, state institutions of higher learning have come to value the study of the highly intricate and interactive dynamic society of the modern world as they had long valued critical studies of the individual sciences. They have thus come once more to the interest in the total social process that the founding fathers of the Republic had which caused them to emphasize in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that since "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge" are "necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

In view of the Supreme Court decision in the McCollom case,⁽¹⁾ it is difficult to say what effect this trend in higher education will have on the educational pattern in general. Colleges and Universities have elective courses which enable them to rise above the McCollom decision. However, there seems to be a growing realization that the meaningful exercise of any freedom is inescapably tied to knowledge. Only the man who understands the business world is free to make a meaningful use of his economic freedom. Only the man who understands the problems of government can make a wise use of his political freedom. And only the man who understands, without prejudice, the role religion plays and has played in history can make a meaningful use of his religious freedom. The American tradition has had the great faith embedded in its public school system that the common man can be trusted to study all the fundamental issues of life, to examine all proposed answers, and choose the one which is most productive and most fertile in personal and social living. The child of an atheist family who is guarded from all knowledge of religion is never free to choose either atheism or religion. He has no true religious liberty.

The experiences of the colleges and universities have tended to show that religion - like government - can be taught without sectarian or party indoctrination. Such teaching cannot take the place of the churches. Nor will it necessarily produce church members. But it can provide, in an age of crisis, for religious tolerance, and it can provide a basic intelligence which will enable people to use faith to carry them beyond knowledge instead of wasting their faith in vain struggles with the tested and considered knowledge of their day.

Religious liberty cannot be protected by creating a religious vacuum. Ignorance in this field leaves a human hunger unsatisfied and in time of need causes additional sects to arise making an already confused picture more confusing. The organization of over 250 sects in the Christian faith in America alone is a picture unparalleled in any other country in nearly two thousand years. In the Melting Pot of America, churches which differ only in terms of historical accidents and national origin, and not in basic belief, should have blended with one another as their people have done. But this has not happened.

In the McCollom decision handed down in March, 1947, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that religious education classes held in school buildings during school time were unconstitutional and violated the first amendment to the Constitution and the principle of separation of church and state. This ruling does not affect elective courses in state universities. Nor would it affect classes in religion which are independent of denominational direction and influence.

Ignorance of the human needs which religion meets, and ignorance of the role religion can play in life leaves a vacuum in American life in which the narrowest conviction can find a determined following. Amid the endless diversity that follows, it is little wonder that many Americans turn away in despair and make a religion of their irrationality.

In such a vacuum four difficulties arise:

(a) People appear who take advantage of unsatisfied religious needs. Since the Korean war, a surprising practice has recurred in Hawaii. One of the students at the University was asked by a friend to attend a "religious" service in his home. The student comments on the service as follows:

"The circumstances under which the service was held were: H. Y.'s mother had a son in service in Korea and she was anxious to learn of his well-being because she had not had word from him for some time. The object of the service was to learn if he was still living or had died in battle. The 'priest or seer' professed to have a psychic mind through which he could see and visit the boy and thus ascertain his status.

"Including the 'priest' and myself, there were 12 in attendance. The family, all but the mother, were openly hostile to the 'service', and were attending just to please their mother. We all gathered in a circle, sitting on the floor in typical Japanese style; the 'priest' sat in the center of the circle. The 'priest' began to intone a prayer suspiciously like the Buddhist 'Namu dabutsu'. He repeatedly intoned the prayer until he went into a trance after which his intonations were incoherent. He remained in this state for approximately fifteen minutes. After he came out of this trance he seemed unaware of his surroundings for a moment. After coming to, H. Y.'s mother began plying the 'priest' with questions as to her son's well-being. The 'priest' immediately assured her that he had visited her son in Korea and that all was well with her son. Thereupon, the rest of the family, H. being the most vehement, scoffed at the 'priest's' revelation. The 'priest' then rose to leave muttering something about having to go to another home to conduct a similar service. I was informed that the 'donation' for the 'service' was twenty-five dollars.

"After noticing the look on the mother's face after she had been assured of her son's well-being, I begged off my promise to H. Y. of speaking to his mother. On a later date I had a long talk with her and came away with the feeling that I had at least planted a doubt in her mind as to the authenticity of the 'priest's' message.

"People like this 'priest', who have taken advantage of the present crisis and the gullibility of the Japanese people are nothing but fleecers, criminals who should be arrested. I have been informed of others who use this same dodge to solicit money from the unsuspecting and gullible."⁽¹⁾

¹Some "priests" probably are "fleecers" as H. Y. believes. But some persons undoubtedly believe they have such "powers." Believers in the seance and in the power of the "medium" are to be found in Orient and Occident alike.

(b) A second difficulty is that sects multiply as individuals unversed in the historic development of their religion find their lives transformed by a "new" insight into some aspect of the Christian faith and excitedly demand that every other person shall accept their mystical experience as valid, and alone valid. The neglect of religion in the educational pattern permits the frenzied groups on the fringe of Christianity to multiply while the great principles of religious insight which can minister to the spiritual heart of the people are neglected and the problems of mental health with their allergies and neuroses increase on every hand.

Sects have multiplied rapidly in Hawaii since World War II and the neglect of religion in the schools has done little to increase either unity or amity among the religious groups.

(c) A third difficulty arises because people often marry across religious lines without realizing that deep seated cultural traditions are often involved which will later play havoc with family harmony. Mixed marriages are not necessarily an evil. But if they are to be guided over the problems that arise, the parties concerned should be fully aware of the religious and cultural complications that must be faced in order that they can have, before marriage, some reasonable knowledge of how they can be adjusted.

Ministers in Hawaii can cite many cases where marriages which were otherwise quite successful have ended in divorce because of a basic conflict in deep-seated cultural traditions.

(d) A fourth difficulty is that people send their children to different denominational schools on the theory that any private school is necessarily better than the public schools, without stopping to realize that the children will probably end up with different religious positions. This breaks down the spiritual unity of the family so extensively that a family often comes to be at war with itself, or becomes indifferent to religion. Thus one student at the University wrote:

"My background in religion has been negligible, and members of my family have shown varied religious interests. My father was grounded in Catholicism at St. Louis College, but does not follow any religion. My mother is a Buddhist from China. She burns incense and kowtows. Of my sisters and brothers-in-law, F and G are Quakers; H and I are Quakers; J and K are Congregationalists; L and M are Catholics; and N and O are Seventh-Day Adventists. As for my brothers, P has no religion, although his wife is a Mormon; and Q has no religion. What I am, I yet do not know."

A preference for private schools in Hawaii often overshadows the actual significance of the public schools and helps to create false conclusions. Many who see Hawaii as the meeting place of East and West assume that everyone in Hawaii has a sound understanding of the spiritual heritage of the West, and that all emphasis should be placed on the spiritual heritage of the East. This is far from the actual situation.

A leisure time survey made by the Youth Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, and of the Honolulu Council of Churches and conducted in four of the leading high schools in Honolulu in 1946 found that only 24% of the students attended church; 12.4% attended Sunday School, and only 4.2% attended any church youth fellowship, Buddhist or Christian, Catholic or Protestant. Very little social engineering is being done to provide a tolerant understanding of the religious heritage of either the Occident or the

Orient. As a result religious liberty exists in America like a slumbering child easily aroused by neighborhood noises, instead of as a mature mind guiding the craft of individual and social life through the troubled seas of our time.

The Hawaii School of Religion affiliated with the University of Hawaii, accordingly labors in a fascinating and challenging field. As Hawaii moves toward statehood, the Hawaii School of Religion attempts to develop a sound understanding of the Christian thought and institutions of the West at the same time it attempts to develop a sound and fair understanding and appreciation of the religious thought and institutions of the East. It deals with young people who are choosing their life vocation. It deals with many as they are asking whether they shall remain loyal to the training of their churches or whether they shall live selfishly as in a ruthless world. It deals with many others who have had no religious background and are beginning to awaken to the more sensitive areas of "value" and creative living.

The surprising number of students with no religious background who elect courses in the School indicates that the growing religious consciousness reported on the mainland is present in Hawaii too. For example in one class of 68 students, 18 had no religious affiliation at all, and the percentage is often higher. In this same class, 15 were Congregationalists, 8 Episcopalians, 8 Methodists, 10 Roman Catholics, 1 Christian Scientist, 2 Latter Day Saints, and 1 Church of Christ. Student comments often indicate the attitude with which students elect courses in religion. They also indicate the work the School is doing.

One student wrote in the course, Rel. 151:

"As a child I had attended a Buddhist Sunday School, but later because the sermons did not seem to affect me in particular and with the lessening of my mother's urgent requests for me to attend it, I gradually grew into the habit of staying away from churches in general.

Religion, it did not seem to me, played an important role in life. All around me I saw many people who did not attend church or adhere to any religious faith, living in what seemed to me a state of contentment and happiness.

But now, however, I have begun to wonder more and more if a religious faith is not a necessity to everyone. Thinking back and seeing examples of people possessing an abiding faith, I feel that they have found some truth, some inner sense of security that seemed to carry them through in their daily living."

Another student in the same course wrote:

"My view of God has been very hazy until recently. However, about two years ago, I started becoming more and more religiously conscious and this course in religious thought has helped me immeasurably."

After struggling with the problem of evil and suffering, a Sophomore decided:

"After reading through half a dozen books on the problem of suffering and evil in the world, one cannot deny that our God is a

good and kind one. I have drawn not only that conclusion, but something else deeper and finer has been added despite the evil and catastrophes here on earth. My faith in God has been strengthened. I have come to see a broader view, to be more tolerant, and above all, believe in God. This God of ours is a wonderful God, a God of love. He does not force us, or want to force us to conform to whatever He may wish. Therefore he has given us free choice. Free choice to live our own lives in whatever manner we may choose to do. Some have chosen the right path, but others - the evil and sinful life. But that is the risk we must take when free will is given to us."

A student from the mainland brought a biographical note into his paper, and told how he had given up his religious faith when he came into contact with science courses in high school, because he thought one had to choose one or the other. Now, he says, the idea one can hold on to the findings of science and religion alike is enabling him to refashion his whole relation to life.

A local student states a similar problem quite frankly:

"My own views on death at the present time are very confused. Up to this time I was a complete agnostic, but my listening to Dr. Zeigler's lectures, my attending different churches and my reading of books on religion has affected my outlook on life. Being a science major, I could not see what death would mean other than just the disintegration of the body into atomic particles. However, my fate after death, I feel, is now beginning to be of concern. If I could be sure, or have faith in, or believe that part of me - my soul - will actually live on somewhere, I would live a more secure life right now in this time of great insecurity. To be able to be unafraid at death, to have something beyond to look forward to, to be secure in some Greater Power, I think, is one of the greatest concepts which man can believe."

Another local student who found it more difficult to adjust new discoveries to ancient truths and said he is still a skeptic, but is "all out in searching for a God," comments on his difficulty thus:

"Whether or not the majority of students have become more skeptical as to the existence of God with an increase of knowledge and education as it has happened to me, I know not. I remember as a child I was a God fearing lad, afraid to swear vulgar words and also susceptible to horrible superstitions. Just when, during my education, I got skeptical, I cannot say, - perhaps it came about from a belief in scientific knowledge . . ."

A G. I. from Honolulu who is now considering the ministry for his life work reported on a book he was asked to read:

"I have read lots of books, but I have found no book more important and timely than this. During my freshman year, I had taken a course in Sociology and Anthropology, and after these courses I had considered myself as an animal only; not a being with a soul or feeling, due to the course's emphasis on man as the product of his environment. Since I had no religious belief, I did everything to satisfy myself materially and in doing this I found more unhappiness"

Since my return from Okinawa, I had been a self-centered person. I had seen the miseries of war in Okinawa and I had lost faith in mankind. I looked forward to the day when I might work for mankind, but I had a conflict within myself. Asking myself, 'Can I work for mankind yet have a feeling of dependence on something beyond myself? Can I be a good worker yet have a temper at times? Since I did not know whether there was a God, I did not know to whom to turn but my inner self. But my inner self could not answer my questions. I became depressed. About a year and a half passed and I had still not found my answers. I was unhappy and at times brought unhappiness to my family due to my depressed condition. Then I read this book and I said to myself, 'that's right! How can a centipede move if it is conscious of its every move?' So I said to myself I didn't make myself, so why should I try to explain my human nature. I should not rely on myself alone for aid for my weakness and confusion, but on God. And I can say with honesty since I have turned my inner confusion to God, I have found a lightness in my head and body."

One of the most interesting and revealing accounts comes from a G. I. student who is unusually sensitive in spite of a hale and brusque exterior.

"Perhaps exploring my early life would explain my rebellious attitude toward religion. I was brought up in a Buddhist home, being indoctrinated with the principles at an early age. I accepted the Buddhist doctrine just as I would accept any regulations in my home. But while a freshman at St. Louis College, I was converted to Catholicism. My conversion was directly due to the strong environmental factor, and also, I felt the need of a God whom I could love and serve. At that time I wanted to join the ministry Then it happened, Dec. 7, 1941.

On that fatal Sunday morning I was one of the few in church worshipping God. But the following Sunday, I had to stand on the steps of the chapel, for it was "jammed; packed." Then everytime I entered the church, the people looked at me with sharp, piercing eyes. I began to ask myself, 'Wasn't I one of them?' I had one body and one soul. I then knew that I was not like them"

I went into the Army. I grappled with those questions, but I did not find the answers"

I came to college and once again grappled with those questions. Then suddenly I found that I was on the negative side on religious arguments. My friends began to question my standing as a Catholic. I told them that I had quit being a Catholic. Wasn't that brave and asinine of me? -for I didn't practice what was preached to me"

At present my whole outlook is changing; deep inside of me I have a craving or longing for God. My sub-conscious mind is telling me to pray and forget all about my discussions on religious issues -- forget that I had once condemned God. To pray and ask Him to make me well again -- to make my soul well again. To forget about my wounded pride, for it had led me to

defy and mistrust God. If I can successfully hurdle this obstacle, I can once more love Him

Thus I am progressing from doubt to certainty. Experiences such as the foregoing will aid me greatly in my search for a religion which will spring from the heart instead of the will. My past experiences, augmented with the knowledge I gained in class this semester shall be my basis for further search. I have learned to accept and to tolerate religious views. Finally I must learn to accept God, not by reading or by teaching, but by feeling God inside of me”

No attempt has been made to change these remarks. They can be duplicated many times from other sets of papers, from student interviews, and from group discussions. They do seem to indicate that if higher education is to provide stable citizens as well as efficient technicians, the study of religion needs to be available to those who feel the need for it and who voluntarily elect it. Otherwise at a time when war and waste seem to challenge altruistic values on every hand, education will fail at a most crucial point.

RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN HAWAII

By Andrew N. Lind

No adequate religious census of Hawaii has been conducted for the past fifty years. It is not to be assumed, however, that this lack of official recognition of religion in the census reflects the total eclipse of religious interest in the population. 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, but even the most casual acquaintance with the social situation in Hawaii today reveals a variety and a range of religious experience which was totally lacking a half century ago.

On three different occasions during the second half of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to obtain accurate data on the religious affiliations of the population of the Islands, but on each occasion account was taken of only three major religious divisions, viz., Protestants, Catholics and Mormons. The censuses of 1853, 1884 and 1896, all provide some data on religion, although the comment in the report for 1896 regarding the inadequacies of the information probably apply with equal force to the earlier reports.

In a matter of this kind a large number of people decline to state what their religion is, and with our large Asiatic population . . . Buddhists, followers of Confucius, . . . and their many varying sects, the statistics had nothing to do.¹

The statistics on religion in 1853 imply that the entire Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian population was affiliated with one or another of the three major divisions of the Christian church represented in the Islands -- 80.1 per cent as Protestants, 16.0 per cent Catholics, and 3.9 per cent as Mormons. Considering the active state of the several missions in Hawaii at that time, such a distribution of the religious influences seems quite probable. By 1884, the composition of the population had so changed through immigration and life had become so secularized as to reduce the proportion of those reporting any religious affiliation to 61.7 per cent of the total population, with the Protestants constituting 36.9 per cent² and the Catholics, 24.8 per cent.

Toward the close of the last century, the 1896 census reported just half of the population as being at least nominally Christians, with 21.4 per cent Protestants, 24.2 per cent Catholics, and 5.5 per cent Mormons. It was recognized that the Japanese and Chinese, who by this time constituted 42.2 per cent of the entire population of Hawaii, “must be Buddhists (or followers of) other Eastern creeds” but no attempt was made to take account of them in the religious enumeration. While recognizing their inadequacy, the figures reported in 1896 are of considerable interest as indicating the overwhelming concentration of Christians in Hawaii among the Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians, and Caucasians.

¹Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, 1896, p. 107.

²Presumably, this figure includes 3,576 persons or 4.4 per cent of the entire population who were reported as Latter Day Saints or Mormons and 1,050 Anglicans. The same report states that “a special census taken of the Jews in the kingdom gives their number at 84. -- (Census of the Hawaiian Islands, 1884, p. 5.)

TABLE I. Percentage of Total Population Reported as Christian by Three Major Divisions and by Ethnic Groups, Hawaiian Kingdom, 1896.

Ethnic Group	Protestants		Catholics		Mormons		No Christian Religion or Not Reported	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hawaiian	12842	41.4	8427	27.2	4368	14.1	5382	17.4
Part Hawaiian	3242	38.2	2633	31.0	396	4.7	2214	26.1
Portuguese*	146	1.0	14434	95.0	1	-	610	4.0
Haole*	5141	71.0	540	7.5	58	.8	1508	20.8
Japanese	711	2.9	49	.2	4	-	23643	96.9
Chinese	837	3.9	67	.3	49	.2	20663	95.6
All Others	354	33.6	213	20.2	7	.7	481	45.6
TOTAL	23273	21.4	26363	24.2	4883	4.5	54501	49.9

*A slight element of estimate is involved in the figures for these two groups.

In view of the fact that the Hawaiians had been reported as completely Christianized forty years earlier, the proportions reporting no Christian religion among both the mixed and pure-blooded groups are significant. The drop in the proportion affiliated with the Protestant church from 80 per cent in 1853 to 41 per cent in 1896 tells graphically the story of "back-sliding" and of proselyting by Catholics and Mormons during the last half of the century. The Mormon faith, with its emphasis upon the Polynesians as one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, had begun to appeal especially to the pure Hawaiians. The sharp contrast between the Portuguese as a predominantly Catholic group and the Haoles as a strongly Protestant, but somewhat secularized group, undoubtedly had much to do with the sharp racial distinction which was maintained between them.

The period since Annexation has been marked by a striking increase in the number and variety of religious sects and denominations in Hawaii. At the beginning of the century, the program of the Christians in the Islands was divided among the Catholics, Congregationalists, Disciples, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Mormons. As recently as 1930, the major activities of the so-called Christian churches in Hawaii were confined to the following denominations and sects: Catholics, Congregational, Disciples, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Methodist, Pentecostal, the Salvation Army, Christ Scientist, Latter Day Saints, Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, and Seventh Day Adventists.

The period during and since World War II has witnessed the greatest expansion in the number of different Christian sects in Hawaii, and a full listing of all the different types now represented in the Islands would be

many times what it was in 1930. The following tabulation of the different types of churches on Oahu prepared by the Honolulu Council of Churches in January, 1951, is admittedly incomplete, but it reminds one of the church page of a Los Angeles newspaper.

- Apostolic Faith -- 1³
- Assembly of God -- 4
- Baha'i -- 1
- Baptist (Northern) -- 1
- Baptist (Southern) -- 11
- Bible Church -- 2
- Catholic (Roman) -- 31
- Christian Scientist -- 3
- Church of Christ -- 3
- Church of God -- 1
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints -- 15
- Church of the Living God (Ka Makua Mau Loa) -- 1
- Church of the Nazarene -- 3
- Church of the Oldtime Gospel -- 1
- Community (Independent) -- 4
- Congregational -- 24
- Disciples of Christ -- 2
- Divine Church of God -- 1
- Episcopal -- 15
- Evangelical -- 2
- Friends Meeting -- 1
- Full Gospel Bible Mission Church of God, Inc. -- 1
- Full Gospel Missions, Inc. -- 2
- Gospel Hall -- 1
- Hawaiian Pentecostal Full Gospel -- 1
- Holiness Church -- 2
- House of Prayer -- 1
- Independent Missions -- 3
- International Christian Church -- 1
- Jewish -- 1
- Jehovah's Witnesses -- 1
- Korean Christian -- 2
- Lutheran (United) -- 3
- Lutheran (Missouri Synod) -- 2
- Methodist -- 15
- Pentecost Holiness -- 3
- Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints -- 4
- Salvation Army -- 6
- Science of Mind -- 1
- Seventh Day Adventist -- 6
- True Jesus Mission -- 1
- United Church of Truth -- 1

One of the most striking developments within the Christian religion in Hawaii during the past twenty years has been the appearance of some of

³The number attached to each name indicates the different congregations or churches which are listed as belonging to that sect or denomination, although in the case of the independent missions and community churches, there is probably no denominational tie between them. It is also possible that some of the churches listed separately in the tabulation are actually associated with the same sect or denomination.

the evangelical denominations and of the pietistic and faith-healing cults from continental United States. Coincidents with the closing of foreign mission outlets in Asia prior to World War II, the evangelizing zeal of some churches was directed to the American possessions and dependencies where large portions of the population were still outside the Christian fold. 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 uncovered 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.

To tell the entire story of the sudden expansion of the cult religions in Hawaii would require more space than this brief article will permit. The social situation existing prior to and during the recent war, however, created a type of religious and spiritual vacuum in the Islands which the "other-worldly" and faith-healing sects were peculiarly qualified to fill. The assimilative influence of the public schools, radio, movies, and the press had undermined the confidence of the Island-born generations in the religious institutions and practices of their parents without, however, providing an adequate substitute in the Christian religion as expressed in the churches already functioning in Hawaii. The war itself created a further vacuum by denying the first generation Japanese the solace of their traditional religious practices, at a time when the personal and group crises were at a maximum. The situation was therefore ripe for new prophets to proclaim their new truths.

The emergence or renewed expression of several faith-healing sects of Oriental origin affords further confirmation of this hypothesis. One of the most striking of these cults, Seicho-No-Ie (The House of Growth), is a pre-war importation from Japan, but it achieved its greatest following during and after the war when the first generation Japanese experienced the most severe attacks upon their self-confidence and group pride. Under such critical conditions, the novelty of Seicho-No-Ie, with its emphasis upon the mental healing of Christian Science along with the familiar moral values of Buddhism and Shinto, attracted many of the immigrant generation.

Father chanced upon the book, "Seicho-No-Ie" (House of Growth), one day and was strongly impressed by the message it contained. I can say for one thing that religious message has made quite an impression on my father. Indeed, his mind had become so enlightened that he is now able to point out faults and weaknesses in my own philosophy and religion.

As Father gained greater insight into life and an appreciation for spiritual values, he became gentler, kinder, more understanding, and more lovable in our eyes. As Father developed in character, our family life decidedly improved.

Today, I am proud of Father. He has so developed within the past year and a half that from a clumsy handler of human personalities, he has emerged to be a constructor of integrity, of goodness, of strength in other personalities.

And our family today is one of companionship and peace and mutual support.

--Japanese female student.⁴

Some of the faith-healing sects of Buddhism and Shintoism, including Shingon, Tenrikyo, and Konkokyo, were able to reestablish themselves in Hawaii more quickly after the close of the war than the other and larger traditional branches.

An interesting correlate of the growing religious diversity in Hawaii has been the curious and unpredictable effects upon personality and family patterns. Under the conditions of rapid change in the religious fare which is available in the community and as a consequence of the major personal and family crises occasioned by the war, many individuals have been encouraged to assume a pragmatic and experimental attitude toward religion, much as they would toward a car or washing machine. They have tried out one type of religious nostrum after another in accordance with their changing moods and inclinations. Similarly one is likely to find within the same family a striking diversity of religious practices observed by the different members of the family.

I never could understand the Buddhist priests well because their vocabulary was much too difficult for me. Formal religion never really played a significant part in my life. Father was baptized in an Episcopal Church, attended a Catholic high school and was graduated from a Methodist University. Mother was a Buddhist because her mother was of that faith. I attended an Episcopal church for a while when I was in the fourth grade at English school, but I soon lost interest. It was a sort of a Sunday school. For several years after, I did not think seriously about attending church. When I was senior in high school, I decided to go to a Catholic church with my next door neighbor. I was disappointed because I found the Catholic church to be too ritualistic. The ritual meant nothing to me and I was convinced that a person must be brought up in a Catholic family before he can appreciate that religion. I do believe in God but I still have not found the church in which I would like to worship Him.

--Japanese female student.

Mother was a devout Buddhist, but did not compel us to go to the temple with her. My sisters were Congregationalist, but I followed Mother to her temple. When I started grade school, I changed to the Congregational Church. I attended it faithfully until a new pastor was transferred to our Church. A year after his coming in 1939, there began to filter into our community a new religion called Mormonism. We first watched them as strange beings who walked and walked and always in pairs.

When the children were won over first -- then the older boys and girls -- I was, too. Since their services were held in the evening, it did not conflict with our going to the Congregational Church. One day, the pastor in his sermon preached against the Mormons and tried to put to shame the church mem-

⁴The brief descriptive accounts were obtained from introductory students in sociology as part of a discussion of their own family situation. Identifying designations have been eliminated.

bers who came to him in the morning and in the evenings went to the Mormons. I did not like him. I felt he had no right to criticize any religion. There was only one God and it was the same God all the different religions prayed to. Going to his church became disagreeable and I began to attend the Mormon services. I was not looking for a religion to suit me, but rather to study it as objectively as I could. After two months of Mormonism, I satisfied my curiosity and returned to the Congregational Church.

--Japanese female student.

Apparent in this and other accounts is a tolerance of deviant religious faiths on the part of the immigrants from the Orient which the members of Western religions sometimes find difficult to comprehend. Some of the second generation converts to Christianity are far less tolerant and generous with respect to the religious practices of their parents.

Back in the 1930's when all the children were still very young, they (we) all attended the Japanese language school. This school also taught and held Sunday school classes in Buddhism which we also attended (in fact all the regular students of the school were forced to attend the Sunday class). We followed the customs of our parents at home by praying to our ancestors before the "family" altar. We continued this practice for several years. When my brother attended Farrington High School, he had a subject in "Christian Learning"⁵ and he used to tell my mother about it because it was something very different from what he had formerly learned. He was in a state of conflict -- which was he to believe? Christianity? Buddhism? Or Ancestral praying? My mother was in doubt. Then the war came and my parents tore down the family altar and we didn't do any more praying before it for some time. At this time, I was sent to St. Louis College, a Catholic school. I too, like my brother, told my mother what I was learning, only I didn't receive any counter-arguments. Here the change begins. Now there were in a more or less degree, believers in Catholicism, Christianity, Buddhism, ancestral praying and doubters. Then prior to my graduation from St. Louis in 1949, I was converted to Catholicism and my brother and sisters became more and more atheistic-like because they didn't know what to believe and my father struck firmly to the "old faith". However, it was my mother who went through many radical changes -- first she broke away from ancestral praying and Buddhism, became a Seventh Day Adventist, then a Methodist, then a Christian, then a Mormon and finally, a Catholic which she still is and a very fervent one at that. All this happened within three years.

At the present time, my third eldest sister is now taking instructions in Catholicism while the others still remain or maintain their same status as before. Thus there is great diversity as to the type of religious values stressed. My mother and I stress Church attendance every Sunday, but the other members of the family with the exception of my other sister, see no sense in it.

--Japanese male student.

A strange combination of religious liberalism, practical experimentalism, and simple superstition appears in the following account. Here the driving force of worry and fear, accentuated by the stresses of war and of serious illness, undoubtedly contribute in the diversity of religious practices within the household.

Our family has no religious prejudice. "Freedom of Religion" is our motto. Mother and Brother G are members of the Episcopalian Church and Sister Y is a member of the Congregational Church. The rest of the family are non-member of any particular religion. We believe that everyone has a freedom to choose any religion he wants to worship. He can be a Mormon, Buddhist, Episcopalian or anyone of the numerous religious sects. Our belief is that as long as you follow the Ten Commandments, you are a person that has the character of a good person.

Mother was not a religious person until my brother B was inducted into the Army during World War II. She worried about him and therefore attended the church to pray for her son's safety. He came home safely and ever since, Mother became an important and an active member of the S Episcopal Church in my hometown. She has influenced many of her friends to attend the Church services. She believes in God for B came home safe and sound again, and this time from the terrible war in Korea.

I attended the H Christian Church but since I am away from home now, I occasionally go the C Church here in Honolulu.

Just for curiosity sake, I have attended services at the Episcopalian Church several times. There isn't any difference in their principles for they both stress the Ten Commandments.

My family do not follow many of the Japanese customs except to have a shrine for my dead grandfather. Before an incident happened, Mother never set any food on the little shrine but every since my sister A became ill, she has done it.

It all began when A became very ill. She couldn't eat, drink or sleep. Because of this, she became thinner each day. She was brought to the doctor and the doctor couldn't find anything the matter with her. He believed that she was imagining things. Days went by and she still felt weak and sick.

A's mother-in-law is a very strong Buddhist and therefore she believed that A should be brought to a lady who can tell the cause of her illness by praying. A was flown to Honolulu with her mother-in-law to visit the lady. The lady told my sister our family history without getting the information from anyone except Buddha himself. She said my sister's illness was caused by my grandfather, Father's father. Because my sister was the weakest in the family it was brought on her. You see, she had just given birth to a baby girl just two months ago.

The reasons for my grandfather's curse was because my mother was not putting any food on the shrine. My sister couldn't eat because no food was on the shrine; she couldn't drink because there wasn't any water. In other words, my sister's body is my grandfather's soul. When the lady gave an orange to A to eat, she could eat the fruit.

After listening to my sister's story, my mother immediately followed the lady's instructions. The funny thing about the lady's story is that before my grandfather died, he didn't be-

⁵This was undoubtedly a part of the program of released time for religious education then in practice under the Territorial Department of Public Instruction.

lieve about cursing people. He used to say that it was not nice for the dead to do such a thing as that. And, he told my mother that when he died, she shouldn't bother to put food on his shrine everyday because he does not believe in this custom.

Therefore, we are not definite whether to believe the lady or not, but Mother has followed the lady's instructions ever since the illness of my sister.

After a month or so, my sister became healthy again. It is a debatable question whether she was cursed upon by my grandfather or her childbirth made her ill. That is a question to be answered by an individual only. My brothers, sisters, father, and brother-in-law don't believe in the lady.

The boundary between religion and magic is frequently of a tenuous and shifting character, and among a people who are less than a generation removed from a folk culture, it is to be expected that their "religious acts" should often combine medicine, magic, and religion.

One of the additional consequences of a variety of religious experiences on the part of a single individual is a certain lack of depth and stability. As in the case of the individual who having become inured to a succession of wives, finds it more difficult to become permanently attached to the one most recently acquired, so also in the case of religious affiliations, the habit of change tends to become chronic.

I attended the E Church for eight years. No conventional religion of any sort has ever played a part in our family life. To be sure we have always had a small Buddhist altar in the middle bedroom, but we were never disciplined to pray before it. The little "kami dana" was taken down and burned when this war started and wild rumors started circulating.

For no reason I quit attending E Church. Attendance in church meant very little to me. No one else in the family went to church. The only religious services that my parents attended once in a while were funerals. The only Buddhist temple I have been in is the one located on upper Fort Street, because I attended the Japanese High School there.

I was not out of E Church six months when I was invited to attend the services at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This church was just reopening what it called the Japanese Mission. I was very active in the church program. I was faithful as I ever could be. I was baptized to become a member. I served as president of the Sunday School class and of the social club which used to meet one evening each week. However, I hated testimony meetings when members who wished to stand before the congregation and testified their belief in the truthfulness of the church. I have seen adult men cry at these meetings. I avoided attending these meetings as much as possible. I attended church regularly between the age of 13 and 17. Then I gradually started losing interest in the church. Sunday school started getting boring. Since the Blitz, I have been to church only about five times. Today attending the campus worship services once in a while satisfies me.

--Japanese female student.

Frequently, Japanese parents, particularly, have encouraged their Island-born children to embrace one of the so-called American religions on the theory that as American citizens their religion should also be American.

In general, the parents of Chinese ancestry appear to have been somewhat less tolerant of deviations from the ancestral religious practices, or perhaps it is merely that the children have been somewhat less averse to the perpetuation of the traditional rites. It is significant, at any rate, that Chinese children of the fourth generation participate in ceremonials which even they regard as outlandish.

Grandmother believed in ancestor worship and kept a little altar on which she burned incense every morning in the kitchen. On certain feast days when special food was prepared and placed before the altar, Grandmother made us kneel before the altar and bow our heads to the floor three times. I remember the time I questioned Grandmother as to the reason for our doing this. Wasn't it against our Christian teachings to bow before idols or graven images? Why should we do something contrary to that which we are taught? Grandmother was indignant and wouldn't speak to me. Mother came to the rescue and explained that this bowing was Grandmother's way of showing respect to her gods which was comparable to our kneeling before our beds at bedtime while saying our prayers; and that although I was taught differently in Sunday school, I should show some respect to grandmother and was thus made to apologize. The Chinese people teach their youngsters to always respect their elders, and although I couldn't quite see things Grandmother's ways, I abided by this custom and respected her.

--Third generation Chinese.

THE RELIGION OF PRE-EUROPEAN HAWAII

By William H. Davenport

No detailed account of the pre-European religion of Hawaii was ever recorded by or from any informant who was an actual worshipper in that religion and who was not trying to reinterpret it in light of Christian concepts which were early introduced into the Islands. The present reconstruction, based on the mythology and a few fragmentary records from a variety of sources and dates, is only an attempt to get at the main concepts which were functioning at the time Captain Cook arrived in 1778. To fit these concepts into a logical whole and then to place this into the context of the culture would be dangerous indeed, on the basis of existing records. However, in some instances this has been done where a direct relationship seemed obvious.

Cosmogony

"At the time when the earth became hot
At the time when the heavens turned about
At the time when the sun was darkened
To cause the moon to shine
The time of the rise of the Pleiades
The slime, this was the source of the earth
The source of the darkness that made darkness
The source of the night that made night
The intense darkness, the deep darkness
Darkness of the sun, darkness of the night
Nothing but night" (3, p. 58).

So begins The Kumulipo, one of the genealogical prayer chants which linked the last ruling kings of Hawaii to the primary gods (3, p. 7). This chant lists successively the appearance of plant and animal life as they came into being in a dark, pre-human period of the world called Po, night. Following Po, the birth of the gods and humans ushers in the period of light called Ao. The remainder of The Kumulipo recounts the lives of ancestral gods and demi-gods and completes the genealogical line of the royal family (1, p. 290).

So rich in connotation is The Kumulipo that exact meaning is impossible to determine. One interpretation suggests it is to be interpreted as literally as possible as an account of evolutionary development. Another suggests a poetic analogy to the processes of conception and birth, and since it is known that the whole poem was composed as a "name song" in honor of the birth of a young chief this ontological interpretation seems plausible. Other similar genealogies containing cosmogonic explanations concur with the general idea of an initial period of deep, intense night, Po, during which only the gods existed and from them all others issued (13, pp. 8-9).

The major deities were four: Ku, Kane, Lono and Kanaloa. In actuality these four gods, akua, are personifications of great natural forces, and are rarely referred to without an epithet attached to the name, describing the particular aspect which was being invoked (5). Varying myths link these deities with the creation of the world as we know it. One account describes an initial era in which Kane dwells alone in continual darkness, followed by a second era of light during which Ku, Kane, and Lono make the earth and the things of the earth. In a third era, Kumuhonua, the earth-beginning, and Lalohonua, the earth-below, are created and from them all

things animate and inanimate descend. During a fourth era, Kane ascends to the upper heaven leaving man on earth subject to death (2, pp. 42-4). Kanaloa, the least important of the four, is sometimes represented as opposing Kane and is associated with a lesser deity, Milu, who rules the underworld (2, p. 45). In other accounts, probably influenced by the Christian myth (5), Ku, Kane, and Lono are pictured as a ruling triad or trinity, with Kanaloa the perfect replica of Satan (13, pp. 8-10). Still other versions have Ku and Hina as ruling god and goddess before the others, with Kane and Kanaloa coming from a mythical island to land at Keemoku on Lanai. Lono arrived still later, landing probably on Maui (2, p. 11).

Despite the different versions of creation, the names of Papa and Wakea nearly always appear significantly as the progenitors of all Hawaiians (14, p. 52; 2, p. 293). In one, Papa gives birth to these islands, in another the islands were shaped by the hand of Wakea (14, p. 3); and in The Kumulipo Papa and Wakea are spoken of as the divine parents (3, p. 125). At least in historic times, Papa and Wakea were accepted as the official first-ancestors of the Hawaiian people, both chiefs and commoners alike (3, pp. 118-9; 14, p. 52).

This latter concept becomes the "charter" for the Hawaiian social structure, for the chiefly class, the ali'i, were the ones who by tracing descent through the male line were closest to the deities, and hence their preoccupation with genealogies which were the proof of this divine relationship. To a subject, the ruling chief was the living incarnation of a deity and was accorded the same respect. Lesser ali'i were graded in hierarchical arrangement depending on their relationship to the akua. A ruling chief, however, was not necessarily the most divine, for though the sacredness of a chief was never disputed, political power depended upon success in war.

The extreme sanctity of a high chief also demanded that the blood never be contaminated and permitted the famous sibling marriages which frequently occurred. Closely associated with the chiefs, particularly the ruling chiefs, were the priests, the kahunas, or professional group. The kahunas were graded in the same way as the ali'i, depending on their descent and what particular rites or services they performed (12, p. 41). Each facet or cult of the religion was presided over by a distinct group of kahunas. Although the chiefs were closer in descent to the gods, the kahunas were in direct contact with the gods and hence were best able to determine ways in which to gain or perpetuate the power which was inherited from the major gods.

The numerous class of commoners, the makaainana, were held in complete subservience to the ali'i by a rigid system of control which also found its sanction in the religious concepts. Yet there was some fluidity between the common and chiefly classes, for both sexes of the ali'i could exercise sex privileges over any below them and if the resulting offspring was not killed, he would have some claim to the ali'i (14, p. 56).

At the bottom were the slaves, the kauwa, or pariahs. Even the word "kauwa" was a deprecatory one signifying disdain and contempt. Members of this caste were segregated from all others and were marked by characteristic tattooing on their faces (14, pp. 68-71). Presumably this group could not trace their ancestry to any acceptable Hawaiian progenitor.

MANA

Basic also to the religious system was the concept of supernatural power or mana. As one writer has interpreted it, mana was "psychic dynamism" (9, p. 26) which is exhibited in persons as power, strength, prestige, reputation, skill, luck, and all kinds of accomplishments. These evidences were not the mana itself, but the manifestations of mana. It is not clear whether the mana was divine power imparted by the gods, or whether it was generated by prayer and ritual, or both. Whatever the origin, mana could be imparted to an inanimate object, a person, or a spirit, thus rendering the entity capable of accomplishing any end (9, pp. 26-34). In a person, mana was stored in the head (6, p. 80), but a fish hook, an adze, a spear, or a piece of land was also just as capable of displaying the evidence of the power.

Whether any distinction was made between mana and sacredness is not obvious, but generally the more divine the person the more mana he inherited and the more he could wield. Conversely, a commoner or slave was not capable or fit to possess much mana, and generally, regardless of class, women were less capable of retaining mana than men. This also gave support to the rigid class distinctions, for if an ali'i or any of his possessions came into physical contact with a person of lower rank, not only would the ali'i lose some of his power, but the supernatural power gained by the lower ranking person would probably injure him (9, p. 28).

Mana was the central concept underlying the very much elaborated kapu system of Hawaii. The kapu was the major social control perpetuating the rigid class distinctions as well as conserving natural resources. The wielding of mana was also associated with magic and sorcery, and here, just as in Christianity, worship and magic became so intimately associated they cannot be separately discussed.

SPIRIT WORSHIP

To the Hawaiian, the soul was conceived as separate from the body, and capable of leading an independent life. It could leave the body through the inner angle of the eye (2, p. 144), to wander off and assume any shape it wished (2, p. 177) leaving the original owner either dead or in a very debilitated condition. After death, the soul entered a spirit world. This soul was free to wander the spirit world or return to the real world, which was the case when a relative died, or when a chief's spirit came back on sacred nights (2, p. 164). A wandering soul, however, was a bad thing and considered malicious and certain desolate parts of each island were believed to be areas frequented by these wandering souls and hence to be avoided (2, p. 154; 16, pp. 2-3). In the spirit world also dwelt all the ancestral spirits, and the reception of a particular soul into their midst depended on how well these ancestors had been venerated by this descendant.

The spirit world was conceived in different ways. Sometimes it was a beautiful world with regions of sky, land, and water. The particular region where the spirit dwelt was the appropriate environment for the form it assumed (2, p. 161). It also was thought to be a layered sky, each ascending region being inhabited by spirits according to their relative ranks on earth; or it was thought of as a similarly structured underworld, which was reached by a jumping-off place marked by a tree. The tree itself was either the passage to, or provided the method of attaining, the underworld. A friendly spirit had to be on hand to conduct a newly arrived soul to the

proper branches or else the spirit would sink into the abysmal depths of darkness -- Po (2, p. 156).

These concepts were the bases for the very important aumakua worship, or veneration of ancestral protective spirits. An illustrious ancestor would be singled out as the particular spirit which was to be sought as the family benefactor. Persistent prayers and offerings might induce it to enter an object, a carved image, or an animal and thus the spirit became a patron. Very common in aumakua worship was the association of the aumakua with an individual animal or class of animals. A shark, an owl, or a lizard might be the sign indicating the presence of the aumakua, and would appear in time of danger or stress to aid or warn the worshipper.

Worship of this type was a family affair, and each family carried its own myths concerning the original association between the spirit and the particular animal (2, p. 129). The mana derived from this aumakua was retained and passed on by the family to which it belonged. On the other hand, this aumakua could become vindictive should the proper rites and observances not be carried out (2, p. 106).

A common practice which reinforced the tie between the family and the aumakua was the practice of dedicating a deceased person, particularly a child, to the aumakua, or deifying him as a protector. Dedication ceremonies were performed by a special kahuna who actually made the body and the spirit of the deceased become one with its new form. If a specific animal were selected for the new aumakua, the priest would induce the spirit of the deceased to enter the animal's body, whereupon it would immediately show outward markings similar to those of the deceased's body or the clothes he was wearing. From this time on this animal would be fed and cared for by the family as a pet (2, pp. 123-4). The same process could be done with a bone or other personal object of the dead person making it a fetish, suitable for worship. This form of worshipping ancestral spirits, incarnated into animate and inanimate forms, was not strictly totemism, for the Hawaiians did not believe that the group had actually descended from the incarnation itself (5).

The Hawaiian universe was literally filled with an infinite number of gods, spirits, and aumakuas. No matter what the occupation, the activity, or the situation there was an appropriate personification or spirit which could be called upon. In cases of extreme urgency, such as sickness, all the akua could be appealed to. One such appeal begins "Invoke we now the 40,000 gods, the 400,000 gods, the 4,000 gods . . ." (14, p. 83). Women, as a rule, had their own gods, but not exclusively so. They were forbidden to worship with the men, however, just as the kapu system forbade their eating with the men or having any contact with men's food.

Since each chief claimed descent from a major god, any worship of that god was in a way aumakua worship. Great chiefs would be deified after their death, their bones would be removed from the corpse and a fibre image made to encase them, which became the object of worship (14, pp. 104-7). In time the legendary exploits of a chief and a god would become confused and all the lore was incorporated into the mythology of the major deity (2, p. 17).

WORSHIP OF KU

The worship of one of the major gods is only to be distinguished from aumakua worship by its more formal and institutionalized character.

26
Chiefs descending from Kane were of many ranks, but ruling chiefs had the same kapu as the gods themselves. Under the kapu of Kane during a certain ceremony on the luakini (for Ku) the eye of the human victim or an aku fish is symbolically swallowed by a priest impersonating a deity of Kane (2, p. 49).

On the special heiau for the Kane class of kahunas, prayers were offered before a motionless audience. As the head kahuna approached the oracle tower, forty-seven aspects of Kane were recited before the spell was released. In the prayer before the assembly of gods, more aspects of Kane were invoked for help. At the altar, Kane was asked to grant life. At the steps near the altar, Kane was again invoked, along with Ku here referred to as the offspring of Kane, to give life and produce sacredness. In a tapa covered oracle tower constructed at one end of the heiau there were three levels which were ascended by the priest in order to receive direct word from Kane. The last two stages, the lani (heavenly) and the mamao (far off), were so sacred that no one but a high priest of Kane or the ruling chief could enter them. It was here that the god spoke directly to the living manifestation of his godliness, the ruling chief (2, pp. 51-9). Although the Kane and Ku sects were separate, we can see each admitted the existence of the other god.

Although carved images adorned the Kane and Ku heiaus, and were thought of as very sacred, the idols merely represented the invisible god and were perhaps receptacles for the godly spirit to enter when it was invoked (11, p. 157), and according to description were even allowed to fall into disrepair between important ceremonies. However, the ruling chief himself while participating in a ceremony seemed to be viewed as the god himself as long as the kapu or spell lasted. Supporting this idea is an account which describes the chief and the kahuna standing near the entrance of the heiau facing the assemblage which was on its knees. When the priest shouted the word for prayer all raised their right hands toward the sky, and called on the god to help them. During the most sacred part of the prayer, heads were lowered while short words were chanted, the mispronunciation of which would break the spell. Hands were not allowed to drop until the spell was proclaimed finished.

The kapu placed around an ali'i seems in keeping with the ideas concerning the chief's direct descent from a god. The fact that the ruling chief was able to personify the god on the heiau is still further reinforced by the custom demanding that a commoner prostrate himself before a high ali'i or bare his chest before a lesser chief and that he avoid contact with the person, possessions, or shadow of any chief (10, p. 61).

Family worship of Kane can be to an associated aumakua or to an occupational aspect which is part of the "greater" Kane. Women as well as men worshipped Kane and all Kane worshippers formed a brotherhood (2, pp. 47-8). The most common image of Kane was a large upright stone wrapped in tapa (2, p. 88), the place of which was revealed in a dream, and to which one prayed as to his aumakua for protection against a broken kapu. Even such small manifestations of Kane as Kane-holo-pali, or god of precipices, were sought when making a journey over such a pass (14, p. 83).

WORSHIP OF LONO

The worship of Lono was very mild in comparison to that of Ku and Kane, yet in prayers offered to Lono, the other gods are invoked as well.

The deities Ku, Kane, and Lono each had their own society of kahunas to supervise the rituals and offerings which were performed on permanently constructed temples or heiaus. Only an ali'i could command the resources to construct a heiau and maintain the associated priests and sacrifices. The temple was also the oracle for the chief, and to it he went for advice on every important occasion. In general the heiau was so sacred it was kapu for commoners and women alike.

The worship of Ku was particularly connected with the Umi-Kamehameha line of kings; hence we know more about it. At the time of Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands this worship was the most rigorous and stringent. The heiau constructed in honor of Ku and built to receive oracles from him was called the luakini, here human sacrifice was common. The first of the luakinis was believed to have been built by the gods on Oahu and dedicated to Ku-nui-akea (2, p. 26). Hawaiian tradition ascribes the introduction of human sacrifices to Paaoa, a chief who probably came from Tahiti (5). The first Ku god to demand it was Ku-waha-ilo, Ku the maggot mouth, during Umi's reign. Later this god became a famous sorcery god and was linked with Pele, the vindictive goddess of fire (2, pp. 29-30).

Kamehameha's famous war god was Ku-ka-ili-moku, Ku the snatcher of land, and to him several luakini were constructed on which the first slain in battle were always offered. During the course of construction, each stage was sanctified by offering great quantities of pigs and other foods. Human sacrifices of kapu violators preceded the cutting of a lehua tree for a central image as well as for the setting up of the image on the temple terrace. Both during construction and during later ceremonies long kapu periods of silence were demanded of all in the vicinity. The crying of a baby, the barking of a dog, an awkward step or false word by a kahuna would break the spell of the kapu and was considered an evil omen and punishable by death on the luakini. Here again magic is intimately enmeshed with the religious approach to the deity.

The animism of the religion can best be illustrated by a few of the epithets used for this god: Ku of the undergrowth; of the deep forest; adzing out the canoe; of the mountains; of the ohia-lehua tree; of the pandanus vine; of the digging stick; of dry farming; of wet farming; of the abundance of the sea; the supreme one; the supporter; etc. (2, p. 15). Thus Ku reigns over forest, husbandry, fishing and war. Laka the male deity of the hula is linked to Ku by the symbol of the red blossom of the lehua tree, the source of wood for the Ku images (2, p. 16; 14, pp. 159-87). Also associated with the lehua tree is Hina who symbolizes the passive aspect of nature. Ku and Hina together are opposites which personify the two great procreative forces, and could be epithetized into any desired aspect and also symbolized by upright phallic stones and round flat stones (2, pp. 12-3).

One form of human sacrifice necessitated cooking the corpse before placing it on the altar. An early Hawaiian writer vividly writes the following: "Thousands of people saw with their own eyes the god descend from heaven within the volume of clouds which floated through the air, accompanied by thunder and lightning and . . . (a) shining black cloud, and the tongue of the god from heaven was seen trembling on the altar (to) collect together all the burning offerings, which were placed thereon. But, it was said that the god was not seen, for he was still above in heaven, and his tongue was . . . (all that) was trembling below like lightning, and in this way the burning sacrifice was transformed into a volume of smoke and (it) ascended . . . (into) the sky and finally disappeared" (11, p. 154).

25
When consulted for advice, Ku was addressed in the form of the wooden image around which was twisted white tapa, vines, and red leaves. Red was a magic color to the Hawaiians. "On the head was a waving feather . . . The feather would twist and stand erect as if electrified, and when it flew from its place and landed on the head of this or that person . . . then these were signs indicating the acceptance of the petitions that the god would assist for good fortune . . ." (11, p. 155).

A war god such as Ku-ka-ili-moku was also a sorcery god, for the object obviously in the worship was to gain power over one's enemy, and protection from his sorcery. It is stated that Kamehameha was very careful to obtain the Ku gods of his defeated enemies so as to protect himself from sorcery (2, p. 29). In historic time during Liholiho's reign, when the kapu system was overthrown, it is said that the keeper of Ku-ka-ili-moku in Kohala, Hawaii put this god into a canoe and sent him back to Kahiki, the ancestral homeland (2, p. 29).

The worship of Pele, goddess of fire, who lived in the volcano of Kilauea is related to the Ku worship through her sister Hi'iaka who is associated with Laka, god of the hula, mentioned above. Worship of Pele and Hi'iaka was restricted to descendants from the original Pele family. Their aumakuas manifested themselves in the flames of a lava flow. Heiaus were constructed for this unique worship of this important sorcery goddess (2, pp. 167, 180, 192-3).

WORSHIP OF KANE

The worship of Kane was much less rigorous than that of Ku, and at the time of the arrival of the first missionaries he was the major deity of the people (2, p. 42). No human sacrifice was offered, for life to Kane was sacred (2, p. 46). Both the Ku and Kane worship had specific days of the month which were sacred, and during which heavy kapus were enforced. A famous hula song called "The Waters of Kane" suggests Kane as the source of all life (2, p. 65).

Kane and Kanaloa are associated together. In myth, Kane and Kanaloa are described as living in a mythical group of islands, the lost islands or islands hidden by the gods. These are located in the clouds or beneath the sea and can sometimes be seen at sunset, but they must never be pointed at. All of the descendants of these two gods live in an earthly paradise in this middle land between heaven and earth. Even today, reports come from people who see these islands drift by in the darkness with the happy spirits moving about and the fires flickering on the shores (2, pp. 67-8). Paliuli is the name of one of these hidden islands often referred to in the romantic oral literature of Hawaii:

"O Paliuli, hidden land of Kane,
Land in Kalanai Hauola,
In Kahiki-ku, in Kapakapaua of Kane,
Land with springs of water, fat and moist,
Land greatly enjoyed by the god." (2, p. 72).

The manifestations of Kane were as numerous as those of Ku. In dreams, Kane's human form was seen standing with his head in the clouds, one side of his body was white, the other black. Thunder was a divine sign of Kane and was worshipped as Kane-hekili (2, p. 48; 16, p. 1).

23
Lono revealed himself in cloud signs, in storms and rain. It was he who fructified the world, and in the heiaus set up to him the priests prayed for abundant crops and escape from sickness and trouble. Red fish, black coconuts, white fish and growing awa were the most common offerings to him (2, pp. 31-2).

One legend has it that Lono descended to earth on a rainbow, and married Kaikilani whom he made the goddess Kaikilani-ali'i-o-puna. After an earthly chief made love to his wife, Lono beat her to death despite her proof of fidelity. Lono, sad and dejected over his actions, traveled about the island quarreling and wrestling with everyone he met. He built a canoe and set forth alone, saying he would return someday on a floating island shaded with trees which abounded with fowl and swine (9, p. 112). Many of the exploits of Lono are confused with those of the chief Lono-i-ka-makahiki, grandson of Umi, about whose existence much is known (2, p. 38).

This is the mythical beginning of the Makahiki festival which lasted for four months and during which time the more rigid religious ceremonies and the kapus of Kane and Ku were suspended. The kahunas of the other cults, however, kept up their prayers and ceremonies throughout the year (14, p. 25).

The Makahiki was the rainy part of the year and growing season. It was the time for collection of the king's share of the produce, and there was leisure for sports and games. The Makahiki was also a period when war was kapu. Thus Lono is a god for peace as well. Arriving during the Makahiki, on ships which resembled islands, Capt. Cook was taken for the reincarnation of Lono who was fulfilling the "I shall return" promise of the great akua.

Nearly every householder had a place of worship, usually located in the men's eating house, the mua, where Lono was prayed to. A gourd, slung in a net and hung from a notched pole, was a container for food offered to Lono. Attached to the handle was a piece of dry awa, also symbolic of the god. Twice a day the man of the household ate a little from this offering and sucked the awa while praying for his family (2, p. 33).

When a boy was weaned and placed under the eating kapu, which forbade both sexes eating together, Lono was called upon by the father to aid in the transition. At the same time the goddess Kea would be called on to stop the flow of milk from the mother and to look after the child's welfare. Lono's sign of approval could be observed in cloud movements (2, p. 33). At a later date, the boy would be sub-incised while a Lono kahuna supervised the rites and sacrifices (14, pp. 87-95). An interesting prayer used at a ceremony in the mua reflects the attitude of the worshippers in relation to the priesthood and human sacrifice of the Ku worship: ". . . It has been calm and free from disturbances into the night, O Lono, free from the turbulent enmities and bickerings of the kahuna, hunters after men" (14, p. 89).

SORCERY

Whether or not sorcery was always as important as it was during the early days of the Christian missionaries is not easily determined. However, the concepts of mana and control over an unseen spirit gave the basis for this much practiced art. A fetish in the form of an image, a bone, a chip of wood, or a stone could be used so long as it could be charged with mana of the right sort, and a spirit could be controlled which could carry out the

wishes of the fetisher or sorcerer. It is doubtful if the spirit and the mana were thought of as separate.

Nearly all sickness and death was attributed to the work of a sorcerer. The kahuna anaana was one who prayed someone to death and the kahuna ho'ounauna was one who sent sickness and trouble (2, p. 105). Equally important were counter sorcerers such as the kahuna lapaau and the kahuna kuni. The former was a healer and was a member of the Lono kahunas who presided over healing temples where the sick and infirm were taken to be cured (2, p. 116). A kahuna kuni performed rites over a dead body in order to determine who had been the cause of the death (14, pp. 96-100). Some kahunas were believed to have the power of restoring life by inducing the departed spirit to reenter the corpse. An aumakua could also persuade the departed soul to come back to a dead body (2, p. 145, p. 155).

When a chief died, very elaborate kuni services were held during which a kite was sent into the air to invoke the god Lolupe who ruled the spirit world. Lolupe could punish the person responsible for the sorcery and also could conduct the soul of the chief to a special place for deities (14, pp. 104-7). Extreme care was practiced in burying or hiding the bones of an ali'i to prevent them from becoming sorcery fetishes. The corpse was considered to be a very kapu object, and anyone in contact with it was defiled until regular purification ceremonies could be conducted.

Several sorcery gods have already been mentioned, but Kalaipahoa of Molokai seems to have been one of the most dangerous in the latter days of the religion. Kalaipahoa was an image which had been cut from a very poisonous tree. This tree was one of a group which had been rendered extremely dangerous by one of the Kane gods who had sent a flash of lightning into it making it poisonous. All of the wood, save that of the original image, had been thrown into the sea, but the image had power to send a streak of light or a white bird in the night bringing death to a victim (2, pp. 111-13).

An effective aumakua was the best protection against sorcery and such a protector could be represented by an amulet carried by a worshipper. Belief in sorcery was a very persistent concept with the Hawaiian, and early missionaries complained about his reliance upon sorcery as the most effective weapon against sickness, even after his having been converted to Christianity (2).

One can well imagine why the ancient religion of Hawaii disappeared so rapidly after contact with European culture. The newcomers displayed more mana; their religion, which boasted of a similar supernatural power, even in its strictest form, was never as oppressive as the old kapus and sacrifices. However, many concepts such as the aumakua, or guardian spirit, and the fear of sorcery persist even until today.

REFERENCES CITED

1. Beckwith, Martha W., "The Function and Meaning of the Kumulipo Birth Chant in Ancient Hawaii," Journal of American Folklore vol. 62, no. 245, 1949.
2. Beckwith, Martha W., Hawaiian Mythology, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1940.

3. Beckwith, Martha W., The Kumulipo, Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951.
4. Bicknell, James, Hoomanamana--Idolatry, Honolulu, -----
5. Buck, Peter H., "Polynesian Religion," The Hawaiian Annual, 1933, Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, 1932.
6. Curtis, Matoon M., "Ancient Hawaiian Theories as to the Nature and Origin of Things," The Hawaiian Annual, 1919, Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, 1918.
7. Emory, Kenneth P., "The Hawaiian God Io," The Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 51, no. 3, 1942.
8. Handy, E. S. Craighill, "The Hawaiian Cult of Io," The Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 50, no. 1, 1941.
9. Handy, E. S. Craighill, Polynesian Religion, B. P. Bishop Museum Bull. 34, Honolulu, 1927.
10. H, John, "Ancient Idolotrous Customs and Kapus of the Hawaiian People," The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, 1889, Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, 1888.
11. Kamakau, S. M., "Ancient Hawaiian Religious Beliefs and Ceremonies," The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, 1911, Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, 1910.
12. Kalakaua, David, The Legends and Myths of Hawaii, Honolulu, ----
13. Kepelino, Traditions of Hawaii, ed. Martha W. Beckwith, B. P. Bishop Museum Bull. 95, Honolulu, 1932.
14. Malo, David, Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii), Trans. Dr. N. B. Emerson, B. P. Bishop Mus. Spec. Pub. 2, 2nd ed., Honolulu, 1951.
15. Morris, Penrose, "The Mana Concept in Polynesian Thought. . ." The Hawaiian Annual, 1930, Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, 1929.
16. Pukui, Mary Kawena, "Hawaiian Religion," Lecture delivered to the Kamehameha School Senior Class, mimeo., -----

KAHUNA AND KOHEN: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION*

By Francis Hevesi

An interesting coincidence provides the incentive for this comparative study of the kahuna-system in Hawaii and the system of priests in ancient Israel. This similarity appears strikingly in the terms applied to the priest in the two languages -- kahuna in Hawaiian and Kohen in Hebrew. (In the Arab language the appropriate term is: kahin, which shows an even closer similarity.) This fact could give rise to the fantastic notion that the Hawaiian system of priesthood was derived from the Hebrew and that there ought to be some historical connection between the Polynesian tribes and the ancient Hebrews, lost in the haze of bygone ages. Yet it seems that there can be no grain of truth in such a belief. The similarity of the words must be purely coincidental, the more so as the Hawaiian word refers to the mysteries connected with the functions of priesthood, whereas the Hebrew expression means the service of God. Kahuna in all probability means "the keeper of the secret" (huna, secret, mystery), whereas the Hebrew verb, from which the noun kohen is derived is Kahen, and its literal translation is "to perform service."

Such coincidences in two different languages are not uncommon and the conclusions which are sometimes derived from them must be viewed with considerable caution. Thus we would not accept the assumption that the Polynesians are a group of the ten lost tribes of Israel, as claimed by some Mormon missionaries, who have tried to find a basis of justification for the admission of the Polynesians to the fold and even to the priesthood in Mormonism.

Although we cannot accept any theory so far-fetched and improbable, very interesting similarities in the institutions of the priesthood of the Hebrew people and of the Polynesians do exist. These similarities do not indicate any connection between these ethnic entities; they prove neither blood relationship nor any historical contacts. They only serve as evidence that institutions grow out of the needs of people and that similar natural factors bring about similar effects, and that these effects, always psychologically motivated, take similar forms.

The need for the administration of religious functions arises from the different crises that occur in the life of a people. There are communal crises, crises in the family and crises in the life of the individual. War, famine, epidemics, natural cataclysms, such as earthquakes or volcanic eruptions; childbirth, marriage, death; the building of a house, the transitions of adolescence, the dangers of individual and community life -- all these different crises, in which the people feel their weakness against the power of nature, or against the enmity of the environment, or against the forces of the social surrounding -- all these eventualities and critical events in human life and in human endeavors, evoke the feeling of a need for supernatural help. And the priesthood, representing the supernatural, gives the solace, the help and the strengthening needed by the people. Accordingly,

*This is part of a considerably longer study entitled, "Kahuna, Kohen, and Priest: Comparative Studies in Priesthood and in Missionary Achievements," of which Rabbi Hevesi had completed only the first draft prior to his untimely death on April sixth, 1952.

it does not seem too surprising that even the priestly forms are similar in very distant and different communities.

In the Hawaiian language we find a classification of the priests according to their functions. In David Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities twelve classes of kahunas are listed, whereas in Nils P. Larsen's article, "Medicine in Hawaii",² nine more classes are enumerated. It is true that many of these classes represent some form of expert secular technical knowledge, especially in the fields of boatbuilding, medicine, architecture, yet it is also true that all these professional tasks were performed by priests. These functions were connected with important events in the life of the people, crises of different degree, and thus they demanded religious dedication before, during and after the professional work. These numerous classes of priests show the universal influence of religion in the life of the people.

The Old Testament gives only three classes of priests: Kohen Gadol, the High Priest; Kohen Mashuach Milchama, the chief military chaplain; and the third category is simply kohen, the common priest. But many of the functions of the different classes of the Hawaiian priests were performed by the Hebrew kohanim (plural of kohen).

The Kohen Gadol was the highest spiritual functionary in the kingdoms of Israel and Juda. Many of his duties concurred with those of the Kahuna-kii, who was in charge of the temple (heiau) services and offerings, the distribution of the goods paid by the people as a form of tax to the priests, the control of the lower priests and the duty of the counseling the king, whether to enter into war, or to refrain from it. They all, except the last one mentioned, were duties of the Hebrew High-Priest too. The offering of prayers before battle was the duty of the Kohen Mashuach Milchama, according to the Biblical law (Deuteronomy, ch. XX).

The lower Hebrew priesthood was not classified according to different functions. Nevertheless their duties were divergent and multifarious. They also had medical duties and had to know the pathology of different diseases, especially that of leprosy, gonorrhoea and other exanthemic diseases. Their duty was to separate the contagiously ill from the bulk of the population and to treat and cure them according to the knowledge and practices of the era. (Leviticus ch. XIV.) In Hawaii, there were more specialized priest-practitioners: the kahuna ha'i iwi was the bone-setter, the kahuna lapaau lau was a herb doctor; the kahuna lomilomi was a masseur-doctor; the diagnostician was called kahuna ha ha and the obstetrician kahuna hoohanau. (Larsen).

Among the duties of the Hebrew priests belonged the purification of the unclean. An elaborate system of impurities was established and at this point we shall find very remarkable similarities between the functions of Hebrew and Hawaiian priesthood. The females were regarded unclean during the menses and during and after child-birth according to the Mosaic law. During menstruation this impurity lasted for seven days. After the birth of a boy the mother was unclean for seven days and a continuous purification period of thirty-three days was added. After the birth of a girl the impurity lasted for two weeks and the purification period for thirty-six days. In Hawaii the rule was to keep a purification period of ten days after any birth according to the orders of the kahuna akui kaai, and marriage

²Ancient Hawaiian Civilization, 1933.

could be consummated only after a purification ceremony following menstruation. In both cases, and in both the Hebrew and the Hawaiian custom, the purification was a religious ceremony conducted by the priest.

According to the Jewish law the touching of the body of a dead person and being present at a funeral caused impurity and a special ceremony to be conducted by the priest was prescribed. This special ceremony strangely resembles the ceremony performed by the kahuna pule heiau, as described in Malo (p. 97). "The kahuna brought with him a dish filled with sea water, which also contained a sea moss called limu-kala and turmeric." After saying a prayer he "sprinkled the water mixed with turmeric on all the people and the purification was accomplished." In the Biblical law (Numeri ch. XIX) the priest burned a red heifer, diluted its ashes in water, put into it hyssop and cedar ash and scarlet wotm and sprinkled it on those who were made unclean by proximity to the dead and then declared them pure again. This is a remarkable coincidence, because the difference between the two procedures can be accounted for by the differences in the natural environment; here seawater, there regular water, here seaweed, there cedar and hyssop were used, yet even in details the rituals are very similar to each other.

Another remarkable similarity must also be mentioned, namely that, just as in the Hebrew law only close relatives were permitted to be present at the funeral, in Hawaii: "on the death of a person in a house . . . those who were not blood relatives of the deceased were driven out, but relatives were allowed to remain with the body." (Malo).

Beside these normal and usual functions of priesthood, which are essentially the same in every religion, I have found one among the duties of the kahuna, which has a peculiar form and is to be found also among the ceremonies of the Jews. The origin of the Jewish custom is lost in the mists of the past. It has no root in the Bible. Still the Jews perform it scrupulously year after year at the festival of the Great Hosannah, i.e., the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles. In the morning they bring willow-sprigs into the synagogue and at the end of the services they beat them on the top of their pews until all the twigs are broken into pieces and the leaves are scattered all over the floor. This symbolic act means that the Jews wish to break up their sins and to scatter them to the four winds. It is an expression of remorse and an act intended as atonement. In Hawaii the kahuna pule hui, when performing the kuni ceremony (the rite of reverting the curse of the anaana to the performer of the curse) brings a cluster of kukui nuts and gourds, breaks them into pieces by beating them on the top of the table and then scatters the bits in all directions (Malo). In both cases it seems that the ceremonies symbolically express the wish to break up the power of evil forces, here that of sin, there that of the curse. It would be interesting to find out the origin of this symbolism, which probably has its roots in the common psychology of the religious man.

This kuni ceremony is an example of official magic, used for destroying the unofficial and therefore unpermitted form of sorcery. The kahuna anaana's curse causes the death of the person whom the priest of evil wants to destroy, but the official priest turns it back upon the sorcerer. This is white versus black magic. Although in the Bible every form of sorcery and magic fortune-telling is prohibited, nevertheless we often see how the magic of the sorcerers has been counteracted, e.g., when Moses defeats the Magi of Egypt by his more powerful sorcery or when Elia defeats the pagan priests and prophets on Mount Karmel.

It seems that throughout the history of the human race there has been a constant struggle between the two forms of magic, the one performed by those who represented official religion, the other practiced by those outside the pale. The history of the Church also shows this bifurcation of magic. The priests practice exorcism, whereas the sorcerers and witches bring the demons into the bodies of their victims, thus giving an opportunity for the priests to perform exorcism. It would take us far to thoroughly explore this interesting area. Nevertheless, at this point the hypothesis seems to be justified that everywhere we may find a revolution of individuals against officialdom. The rebels against the power of official priesthood resort to the performance of acts that belong to the official sphere of the priests. The resulting antagonism breaks out in open conflict and the prohibition by those in authority of what is challenging their authority and which they stamp with the name of black magic as opposed to their own white magic or religion.

The mushrooming of sects also indicates such a tendency. It is not always ideological differences that account for sectarianism. Quite often it is the spirit of rebellion against the power of the official priesthood, and occasionally the individual lust for power and thirst for a lucrative business that bring about sectarian movements.³

That the kahunas were able to perform seemingly miraculous healings is probable. The power of suggestion, a still unexplored field of existing phenomena, is able to bring about the healing of so-called functional or psychogenic diseases, and where the people live in an atmosphere of deep religious and superstitious beliefs, this power is most certainly heightened to the very extreme. In the Bible we find numerous such healings performed by religious leaders, priests and prophets, and in one case this power is used to discover the sin of the adulteress. (Numeri ch. V).

But all such phenomena are common in every form of priesthood, and even though there are some conspicuous and specific similarities between the functions of the Kohanim and the Kahunas, we have no right to draw any far-fetched conclusions. The fact of these similarities may be very interesting but we must not base improbable hypotheses on them.

³In this connection, it is interesting to mention that a new sect has arisen in Los Angeles, which claims to originate from the practices of the Polynesian kahuna anaana. This sect is called Huna, the Mystery. (Max Freedom Long: Huna, the Workable Psycho-Religious System of the Polynesians, 1945, Los Angeles.) This pamphlet claims that by the help of the aumakua, man is able to work unscathed in fire, to bring about instant healings, to cause death, and to resurrect from it. Aumakua, according to the author, means the highest form of human sub-conscious Ego. But in the sources of the Hawaiian religion it simply means spirit, the spirit or the ghost of an ancestor.

THE CHURCHES IN HAWAII*

By Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan

The task set before us in the assigned subject is to make some observations about the state of the Christian churches in Hawaii. We must at once delimit that task in a number of ways lest we be openly guilty of egotistical presumption. We cannot speak of the Catholic churches for about them we are, generally speaking, ignorant. In like fashion we must leave out of our thinking the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Christian Scientists, not only because our knowledge of these is practically nil, but also because they are, in one way or another outside the rather broad road within which the Christian churches move. There remain then the so called free churches of Protestantism.

Even in respect to these churches one must claim a considerable degree of ignorance. Some facts and figures are available, but these do not mean very much as they stand. They require interpretation, which of necessity is done with the outlook and the standards of judgment one possesses. So that while we undertake the task assigned to us, we do so in the realization that the result will be coloured by our own individual position and will be of value only as we use it as a foil for our own thinking.

It is a matter of deep regret that there are a number of the free churches about which we can say nothing. This is unfortunate because they have come to occupy a significant place among our people. We refer to the so called "sect or cult groups." During recent years representatives of these movements have come to Hawaii, have enlisted followers, built buildings, and are conducting active programs. We do not know how many of these churches there are, nor how many people are drawn to them. That they are here, we are sure, for it is hardly possible to drive along any of our main thoroughfares without passing one or more of their centres. Through observation we might come to certain conclusions about them, but we could not be certain of those conclusions since they would be so inadequately grounded. However, if the churches of this type in our Territory are similar in character to those found on the Mainland, we can suggest that their existence here shows a trend in the make-up of our population and the inability of the denominational churches to meet the needs arising through this trend. In the statistics which follow, we have included esti-

*This article was prepared and presented first in the spring of 1951 to a group of Protestant ministers, whose interest and concern it immediately evoked. Some churchmen are convinced that it presents far too pessimistic a picture of the role of the Protestant church, whose strength and influences, they insist, can never be measured in mere statistics of membership. Others, however, have been startled by the implications of Dr. Dunstan's study and urge a broader dissemination of its findings among Protestants. It, perhaps more than anything else, is responsible for stimulating the Honolulu Council of Churches to initiate late in 1951 an Island-wide study of religious trends. The editors of *Social Process in Hawaii* are happy to be able to make Dr. Dunstan's provocative and unrevised statement available to a wider audience, not as a means of stirring a lethargic Protestant church to action, but as a contribution to the growing body of factual information in the field of the sociology of religion. When Dr. Dunstan uses the title, "The Churches in Hawaii," he has in mind only the Protestant church as becomes clear in his opening paragraph.

mates to cover those involved in these churches, but that is as far as we can go. They deserve our attention, if for no other reason, than that they are centres of religious life in Hawaii.

As nearly as can be discovered, taking the figures reported by the denominations established in the territory and adding estimates for the sects and independent churches now existing, there are approximately thirty thousand Protestants. Our total population is now about 485,000, so that the Protestants are less than 6 per cent of the people; or to say this in another way, one out of every seventeen persons in Hawaii is a Protestant church-member. In the United States as a whole, according to the latest figures 32 per cent of the population are Protestants, or approximately one out of three people. Clearly, our churches are a minority group in the Islands.

Of interest in this connection, although a subject which we cannot follow out, is the percentage of Protestants in Hawaii's population over the years of the last century. According to fairly reliable figures cited by Professor Kuykendall in his history of the territory, in 1850 25 per cent of the population were Protestant. Many things have happened during the past one hundred years that have affected the Protestant churches: a sizeable influx of people from the Oriental countries has taken place; the Roman Catholic church has expanded its work; and other non-Christian, non-Protestant religions have won adherents. These developments may serve to explain the change that has taken place in the relative position Protestants have in respect to the total population, but they do not alter the present fact. We are but a very small group in our Islands. And if we would have this fact further emphasized in our minds we need to remember that in 1836 Dr. W. S. Rushenberger reported that the Hawaiian people were a Christian nation and that three years later Mrs. Gerritt P. Judd could write, with ample justification, that only a few persons could be found in the Hawaiian kingdom who did not regard themselves as Christians. Whereas, Protestants were once the majority group in the population they are now very much in the minority.

Moreover, the thirty thousand Protestants are divided into nearly two hundred different churches. That is an average of 150 persons per church. It is agreed by fairly competent students of church life that in our western economy there ought to be a minimum of three hundred members if a church is to function as an effective organization. Our average is half that, but the average is deceiving. Two churches have over one thousand members each, nine churches have from five hundred to one thousand members, and eight more have between three and five hundred members. Only nineteen of the churches have the required minimum membership and together they account for nearly twelve thousand members; this leaves eighteen thousand members for the remaining 181 churches, or an average of one hundred members. And those figures are for the listed membership, which as you well know, is usually quite in excess of the number who are really active church people. So that while as a whole we Protestants are a minority group, we are also organized into churches, the majority of which are in size far below the level of a possible effective program.

Then further, most of our churches were organized either during the early years of mission work in Hawaii or during the years when new peoples were brought here from the Orient. It is difficult to determine exact numbers here for choice must be made somewhat arbitrarily. But it would appear that scarcely more than seventeen or at most twenty churches have, what we might call, a modern origin. The significance of this lies in the character of the churches when they began and the difficulties they have had

to face through the years because of their origin. Our churches were racial churches, and as such the life within them was molded by the traditions and the culture of their members. It is not proper to speak of Hawaiian Christianity, or Japanese Christianity, or Haole Christianity, but it is in order to say that Hawaiian patterns of life were taken into the churches by the people, and likewise Japanese and Haole patterns of life and all the rest. But through the years tremendous changes have taken place among the population of our Islands. You may call the changes the process of Americanization or use any other term you like. In essence, the ways of American life have been taught and practised, and these have, at many points, cut across the older ways of life which had been incorporated in our churches and to a certain degree made sacred.

Take, as an illustration, the Hawaiian churches. Basically, those churches were family affairs. And this does not mean just father, mother and the children; it means all who have descended from a single ancestor. A man told me, not long ago, that he had been to his family reunion the week-end before. When I asked how many were present he said he did not know, but it took four large H.R.T. busses to transport the crowd. He spoke, not only of a single family, but also of his church. We have never tried to discover how many different families there are in our churches, but one suspects that if all relationships were acknowledged and all family trees drawn the number would be relatively small. So we picture churches that are built not only through faith in Jesus Christ but also on the ties of blood connection that form a family. But one of things that the new life in our territory has done is to cut across such relationships and to make them of little importance. The individual, as such, has become the significant entity, instead of the individual as a unit in a living group. And as the Hawaiian churches have faced this change, their unity has been broken, their program lessened in effectiveness, and their membership made smaller.

Then these same churches have been forced to meet another element in the change. When the churches were family groups they were controlled, as were all tightly knit family groups, by the head of the family and his counsellors. The head was assumed to know the needs of the group and to be able to guide action so that those needs could be met. Members of the group followed the direction of the leader and deferred to his planning. And the head assumed full responsibility for the welfare of the group. But the changes that have taken place in Hawaii have taught people, and especially the younger people to think for themselves and to choose the leaders they desire. What we commonly call the democratic process has been made a usable and desirable tool for the group life of many. And that has profoundly upset the churches, their order and the individual members.

These two conditions, which have existed not only in the Hawaiian churches but in the others as well, are but illustrative of a number of confusions produced in the churches because of their origin and the history through which they have had to live. They had in their beginnings characteristics and ways that have been challenged and called in question by the development of the territory. This has meant that the churches have been groups of people that have known uniquely the strains and the stresses that have moved through the entire population.

In this we have been dealing with the majority of the churches. There is a minority, we estimated their number at a maximum of twenty, which have been organized in more recent years. They tend to confirm the observations we have just made. They are made up of younger people for whom American ways and the American outlook are traditional. They do not have within them an older nucleus of people who were the church a ge-

neration or more ago and thus they have been free to accept such patterns of organization and program as they have been taught by their organizers. They represent a new strand in the Protestant life of the territory.

Then we must go one step further. Not only are the people who are Protestants separated into two hundred different units, but those units are separated from each other by denominational affiliations. The denominations each bring the units belonging to them together so that they have a sense of unity. But this only means that among Protestants there are a number of unities. So that instead of thirty thousand people feeling their ties one with another in their religious faith, smaller numbers of them feel themselves united as over against the others. This separation is accentuated because many of the churches are still dependent upon mission support and thus must sense their denominational connection, and because there are those churches which emphasize their separateness and thus bring the idea to the attention of all the people. Over against this, the very fact that the churches exist within a circumscribed geographical area and a fairly static population tends to mitigate this dividedness. And of recent years there have been some efforts made in getting the churches to work together and feel themselves within a single fellowship. Yet the divisions among the churches remains.

These, then, are the Protestant churches. Two hundred organizations, scattered across the territory, many of them with small memberships, separated from each other by race, tradition, status, experience, and affiliation. Altogether their numbers are but a minority of the population, and those numbers, divided as they are, can hardly have the force even of a minority.

If that is the objective picture the churches present, what of their inner life? It is indeed difficult to measure that or to judge it with any degree of accuracy. There are certain evidences which may appear to be indicative but these are in no sense decisive. However, we may mention them. Of the ministerial leadership now active in the churches twenty-three men were born in Hawaii. In this figure the leaders of the Hawaiian churches are not counted, for they would of necessity have to be indigenous if they are of the Hawaiian race. Presumably, churches should produce their own leaders if they have strong life, yet such has not happened to any great extent through two and three generations.

There are no figures available to show how many new members the churches have been adding each year. Every evidence would show that the new members are joining the churches although not in very large numbers. And it would appear that the accessions are only slightly greater than the losses. New churches have been organized, but when one deals with the Protestant population as a whole, it seem as though these churches have come into existence largely at the expense of those earlier established. The denominations have been emphasizing the work of evangelism for the past few years, some of them using the slogan, 'each member win one'. but the results have not been noticeable. Such growth as has taken place has been small indeed. It may be made up of scarcely more than Mainland newcomers transferring their church membership and the children of church members who have reached membership age. Yet the winning of new members is a sign of the vitality of a church.

A considerable number of the churches, and here we speak of those which maintain a pattern of organization typical of our country, are not yet self-supporting. It is obvious, in view of their size, that they could not be.

The cost of operating a church with a full time pastor is too great for the churches to carry. So each year sums of money are made available through mission sources for the aid of churches that cannot pay their own way. What effect this has upon the members of the churches is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. It may be that they think of religion as something which is paid for by others, or it maybe that they see in the outside help a temporary necessity from which they strive to escape. But again, a church that is a vital organization takes the responsibility for its own support.

Most of the churches conduct Sunday Schools in which children and young people are trained. The enrollment in these schools is slightly under twenty thousand or two thirds the size of the churches themselves, and enrollment figures for these activities are notoriously greater than attendance figures. It has sometimes been said that Protestant churches ought to have church schools with enrollments larger than their membership if they are to maintain themselves. This is not the case in Hawaii.

The churches give to missions. According to the latest figures available this giving totalled nearly sixty thousand dollars in one year or two dollars per members. This, of course, was over and above the contributions which church members made to the support of their own organizations. This giving is less than Mainland congregations, and whether it represents the result of promotional work or is the product of an understanding of the world-wide church we do not know.

These evidences, the raising up of indigenous leadership, the recruiting of new members, the willingness to assume the financial load of the churches, and the contributions to benevolences are indicative of the life of the churches. If they were definite indices we should have to conclude that the churches are relatively weak. But they are not definite for they have to be taken together with other factors in the condition of the churches. In light of the relative smallness of a majority of the churches and the many problems with which they have to deal the wonder may be that they do so much.

Now we may venture one or two observations about the churches which are not tied to any recorded data. Admittedly these observations are completely personal and are open to criticism. It may be that they are quite inaccurate, but for better or worse here they are. First, the Protestant church people, in the main, know very little about the faith they profess. Members can repeat parts of the Bible, the creeds, the prayers, but that ability means very little. The grasp that most have upon the living realities of the faith, so that they feel its impact upon them and respond, is most elementary and perfunctory. It is next to impossible to arouse much interest among the people in a consideration of their religious belief, and anyone with a fair knowledge of Christianity can readily hear heretical statements put forth as true doctrine. And yet the Protestant churches rest upon an understanding people, those who are able to be their own priests.

Second, the program of the churches is sparse, disorganized and traditional. Sunday services of worship, the celebration of the sacraments, the mid-week prayer meeting and occasional social gatherings are the general rule. Here and there other features have been added, and here and there other features, holdovers from past days, remain. The former have not yet taken substantial or wide spread root and the latter are slowly dying. The churches excuse the paucity of their programs on the ground that the members are involved in so many other community activities that they have little time for the church. And if the members knew whereof they stood this

would be quite in order. But that the churches take up so little time of their members and that in activities which are only an accepted church pattern appears somewhat serious.

Then, third, 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. The churches are part of the scene and they should bring their influence to bear upon the events that occur. Perhaps they do through their members in ways we cannot see and to degrees we cannot measure. That we should expect. 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.

Enough. After all that we have said we need to be reminded that the churches exist. They are in our midst and it may be that in them God's Word is being spoken and perchance being heard. We may take our description as a point of departure if we will, a point of departure from which to search out the way we should go and the work we should do. The Protestant churches are here for a purpose, of that we can be certain. So that even if we be small in numbers and weak in life we can learn the purpose for which God has put us here and serve it to the best of our strength.

A PROTESTANT CHURCH IN HONOLULU

By John H. Giltner

Editorial Preface. The Protestant congregations of Hawaii have historically been composed primarily according to ancestry. The reason for this is clear, namely, that at the time of the founding of these churches the most effective ministry was in the language of the native Hawaiians and of each immigrant group. In the case of the Hawaiians, the congregations cut across class lines and still today a church like Kawaiiahao has members from all walks of life.

On the other hand, the churches of the immigrant groups were established originally for people of the lower-income brackets, while the English-speaking churches were attended by people mainly of the middle-and-upper-income brackets.

Thus very many of the Protestant congregations early became somewhat distinct ethnic and class organizations, each tending to continue along its original lines.

However, the traditional lines have been increasingly undermined by the assimilation of the immigrant groups and their consequent increasing use of the English language, by the rise of many persons of immigrant ancestry into the middle and upper classes and by the increasingly large number of Haoles no longer identified with the upper-income brackets and the social class of greatest prestige.

Consequently many churches with an immigrant heritage have abandoned their ethnic name and attempted to broaden their membership. At the same time congregations historically upper class and Caucasian are also becoming involved in the same process of making their appeal more inclusive. These two trends, both working in the direction of the inter-racial and interclass church, are resisted by conservative elements within the congregations loth to give up the old order of things and are slowed up by the difficulty with which the general public relinquishes the symbolic role which has been traditionally assigned to each church.

The present study is of one of the traditionally middle-to-upper-class Haole congregations and was done three years ago by a graduate student in sociology, now studying for the ministry.

Introduction. Central Union Church has long been one of the best known religious institutions in the city of Honolulu. Unfortunately not all of its fame has come from its succession of distinguished ministers, its large and extensive religious program, and its imposing edifice.

Central Union has, however, also been thought of, at least in the minds of some, as the church home of the upper-class Haole, the rich man's congregation, or the religious branch of the "Big Five". For instance, a sociology student of Oriental ancestry who visited Central Union Church in connection with a field trip in 1945 reported:

I have heard a great deal of the exclusive Central Union Church and have been passing the church practically every day but have never seen the interior, nor have heard about the activities until the day of our excursion . . . Undoubtedly, because

of the large group of upper-class Haoles, membership in this church lends prestige and higher social status. . . . In this respect, a larger group of Orientals will not be accepted, nor will they fit in such a congregation.

It was interesting to me that such an opinion would exist concerning any church in Hawaii and particularly a church of a liberal denomination whose tradition is rooted in the early missionary enterprise in these Islands.

Subsequent conversations with responsible members of the community as well as with members of the staff of the church itself show that Central Union is not racially exclusive nor does it, at least as reflected in the attitude of its leaders, desire to be so. However, such negative assumptions as are present in the community cannot exist without some reason, a reason which in this case might stem from the actual class and racial structure of the church. The purpose of this study then will be to determine statistically something of these important aspects of the composition of the church and to explore further the meanings of the statistical results by conducting a series of interviews among representatives of some of the racial groups involved.

Racial Composition. Before considering the racial composition as such it seems wise first to consider some general statistics relative to the membership as a whole. Of the 1394 church members considered¹ 61 per cent were women (850) and 39 per cent (544) were men. (Though this is clearly an over-proportion of women it is fairly typical of middle-class and upper-class Protestant churches and need not be elaborated upon at this time.) The average number of children per family, with both parents members, was 1.8. This made the average family size slightly under four.

The following table gives the statistical picture of the racial composition of the church both in 1934, when a survey was made by Walter Kring, and in 1949.

Race	1934		1949	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Caucasian	914	95.00	1,175	85.02
Portuguese	12	1.30	125	9.04
Hawaiian & P. H.	16	1.70	30	2.17
Japanese	16	1.70	28	2.03
Chinese	3	.30	17	1.23
All Others	1	.10	7	.51

It is at once to be observed that in all cases except the Caucasian, or more strictly speaking Other-Caucasian, the percentages have increased, the most noticeable being that of the Portuguese group. That increase can be accounted for by the union of the Pilgrim church (Portuguese) with Central Union in 1940. Though the Haole percentage has gone down almost 10 per cent, that group is still far in the majority. When the two Caucasian groups are combined we find a white majority almost as large as it was before the Portuguese union. The combined Oriental groups (in 1934 this in-

¹This figure is less than the official church tally since I omitted associate members and those regular members living on the outer islands or on the Mainland. The grand membership total at the end of 1948 was 2161.

cludes a Filipino and in 1949 a Filipino and a Korean who in the present table are classified as "all others") show 2.10 per cent in 1934 as against 3.40 per cent in 1949. Considering the fifteen-year time span this would seem a relatively small increase. It is certainly safe to say the Central Union is still a "Haole" church.

However, it must again be noted that these figures include the church membership only. It could well be predicted that due to the liberal interracial policies of the Sunday school and pre-school at the present time, the fact that church membership is not urged until late adolescence and the continued economic and social advancement that non-Haole groups are experiencing in the Islands, the next fifteen years will show a much greater increase in the percentages of both Orientals and part Hawaiians. It is only fair to say that this is certainly the hope of the ministry of the church, particularly in reference to their concern over the fact that the present congregation is not a more inclusive interracial fellowship.

In keeping with the main problem of this study it is necessary to note before going on that since it is the common assumption in Hawaii that the Haoles occupy the highest economic and social status, these figures in themselves give us something of an answer to the question about the social class position of the membership of this church.

Occupations. The following represents the occupational breakdown of the membership in terms of the wider classifications.

<u>Occupational Status</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Membership</u>
Gainfully Employed	44.49
Housewives	33.36
Students	9.54
Unemployed	3.95
Unknown	8.68

Two things in particular stand out here, one the relatively low percentage of housewives in comparison to the total number of women members and the other, the fairly good showing of students. In the case of the former we find that only 55 per cent of the total number of women in the congregation are housewives. When we remember that 61 per cent of the congregation are women we realize that a good share of the other categories must be filled by women. This is particularly interesting in the case of the gainfully employed. Though no actual breakdown by sex was made it seems more than likely that many women would be found in this category. If a relatively high proportion of women are gainfully employed it would seem that the church, or at least a significant proportion of the church members could well be classified as middle class. This, however, is only a broad assumption. The following figures should shed more light on the class structure as determined by occupational status.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage of Gainfully Employed</u>
Professional	43.09
Managers, Officials, Proprietors	30.10
Clerks and Kindred Workers	18.75
Skilled Workers	3.45
Semi-skilled Workers	.82
Unskilled Workers	.50
Service Occupations	3.28

Here we see at once the striking contrast between the professional and managerial levels and those below. These two groups comprise over 70 per cent of those gainfully employed whereas the skilled, semi, and unskilled groups comprise less than 5 per cent of the total group. If the clerks and kindred workers groups can be considered middle class (it is probably at this level that most of the gainfully employed women will be found) and the managers and professionals middle and above, it must be concluded from this table that the majority of the congregation may be considered of at least the middle class occupationally speaking. Such a finding could be said to proceed as a direct corollary from the character of the racial structure with its high percentage of Haoles who have traditionally comprised the middle and upper classes of the Islands.

A special analysis of the occupational statistics of the Portuguese and Oriental members indicates that they are somewhat lower than the old-time Haole members. Nevertheless it is probably safe to assume that both groups in Central Union have a higher occupational and social status than do their groups in the community at large.

Residential Pattern. We may compare the 1934 map showing the distribution of members with the 1949 distribution. However, some differences in the construction of the two maps should first be noted. The 1949 map does not give the members of the Sunday school nor does it show the number living at each residence. The racial breakdown also differs in that only four groups are used in 1949, these being the Portuguese, Other Caucasian, Hawaiian and part Hawaiian, and Oriental, as against a more specific breakdown of the Oriental groups in 1934.

On the whole and particularly in the Haole and Hawaiian and part Hawaiian groups this present study shows much the same residential pattern as did the one in 1934. There are more members but in general they are in the same areas of town. Two minor exceptions occur in the Wilhelmina Rise and Kalaniana'ole Highway areas which were sparsely populated in 1934 but which show a fairly high concentration of Haoles now. The growth of members in these areas represents the expansion of the city as well as the expansion of the church.

Two areas; Kaimuki, and the general spaces south of Makiki Heights and Manoa Valley and ewa of Kapiolani Boulevard stand out as being fairly well mixed racially. These areas represent what might be considered the more middle-class sections of town. It is interesting to note that the vast majority of the non-Haole groups come from these localities.

In general then it may be said that the members of Central Union Church live in the upper-class and the middle-class areas. The areas of greatest concentration are those of highest land value or at least those which are exclusive and are populated most generally by Caucasians other than the Portuguese. The middle class areas are much more pronounced in their racial mixture. All in all, there has been little basic change in residential pattern since 1934. These findings tend to uphold those on class structure as deduced earlier in this study.

Contributed Church Income. The following figures serve to indicate something of the nature of the financial support of the church. However, it must first be said that it is difficult to get any one set of figures which are indicative of the church as a whole. At the risk then of being somewhat selective, but with the desire to be accurate, the average contribution per year per person (in many cases a person is said to be representative of a

family group) is calculated by dividing the amount paid in pledges during the year 1948 by the number of members pledging. The income from loose contributions is not considered in this calculation nor is the total membership of the church. However, 91 per cent of the contributed income of the church was pledged. The average paid-pledge amounted to \$68.63. The number of contributors by pledges was 873. In other words 873 members or family groups contributed 91 per cent of the church income for 1948. It is impossible to say what percentage these 873 are of the total membership since membership is a tally of individuals. The official membership at the end of 1948 was 2161. Of the 873 who pledge twenty-seven gave over \$5.00 per week or an average of \$642 per person or family group for the year. Thus 3 per cent of the members pledging gave slightly under 31 per cent of the total amount received in pledges. Just what these figures mean in reference to the class structure of the church is difficult to state without comparative figures from other churches. Even if we could safely say that 3 per cent of the membership is of the highest income bracket, comparative figures are still necessary to determine what this means in reference to the community at large.

Interviews. In order to make this study more complete, four interviews were conducted. The subjects were chosen as fair representatives of each of the four major ethnic or racial groups involved in the church -- Haole, Portuguese, Oriental, and part Hawaiian. In general the interviews revolved about the following questions: What are the important things you and your group are receiving from this church experience? What does your group feel toward the other ethnic groups in the church?

The first person to be interviewed was an elderly Haole woman, for fifty years a member of Central Union.

The question concerning the role of the Haole group in Central Union was not dwelt upon long. It was assumed by the interviewer and readily affirmed by the subject that the Haole group plays the major role in the life of the church. However, an interesting point was brought out concerning Haole newcomers. My informant stated that she has heard that new Haoles sometimes feel the church is cold and strange. She stated that though this might be true in some cases she knew that every effort was being made to overcome this, both from the ministry and the congregation. She felt that strangers who do feel this way are often themselves responsible and should attend specialized church functions and accept some definite responsibility in the life of the church. "If they would do this they would find Central Union not at all cold, but rather, very warm and friendly." As for her own experience in the church she stated, "I have always been happy in Central Union. It has been a great part of my life."

As far as she knew, there is no discrimination against any of the non-Haole groups. If such discrimination does exist on the part of some, she has not been aware of it nor has she noticed any such ill-feeling in all her years with the church.

According to her the role of the Orientals in church leadership is slight. With the exception of what she thought were about six Sunday school teachers, she knew of no others in positions of leadership responsibility. She knew of none on the board of trustees, standing committee, deaconesses, young married people's group, or the men's club. However, she stated that Orientals are active in the young peoples' groups and the choir. There are many Oriental children in Sunday school and in the pre-school.

The statements concerning the Portuguese group were very informative. According to her, the Pilgrim Church was founded over fifty years ago as a Central Union branch Sunday school. Its main purpose was to minister to the Portuguese in general but more specifically to a small nucleus of second-generation immigrants from Illinois. This special group then was different from the Portuguese community here in the Islands. They were further along in the process of Americanization, particularly with reference to their usage of English. The Sunday school grew and drew in children from the less Americanized groups. Gradually its own leadership developed and it became a full-fledged church independent of Central Union. In 1940 the Pilgrim church united with Central Union, the merger marking in a sense the completion of a cycle begun half a century before. According to my informant this Portuguese group is now very well integrated into the life of Central Union. There has been absolutely no discrimination against them as far as she knows. Several have been elected to important church positions and many more are active in specialized church organizations.

The second interview was made with a part Hawaiian girl in her early twenties. She has been a member of the church since 1947.

The most interesting thing about this interview was the informant's satisfaction with Central Union. She stated, "I think the people that go to Central Union are better than those in any other church I know. They are so friendly! It's the most comfortable church I have ever been in. I've gone to other churches in town but they were cold and unfriendly." She also stressed the unity she had found among all of the members. "I started going there when an Oriental-Haole girl friend of mine invited me to the Tower Club. I was really surprised to find Orientals in there and in the church. I had always heard that Central Union was exclusive, but it isn't at all."

She concluded by saying that she very definitely gets fellowship and spiritual uplift from Central Union. "When people ask me what church I belong to I am very proud to tell them 'Central Union'".

The third interview was held with a middle-aged man of Portuguese ancestry. He had been a member of Central Union since the merger with the Pilgrim church in 1940 and at present holds a responsible church office.

All in all my informant spoke very highly of the merger. A large share of the Portuguese have assumed positions of responsibility in the various specialized church groups. Many, though not all of these, are the ones who were leaders in the old church or who had community interests outside the church before coming to Central Union. My informant stated that most of them have appreciated being accepted by the "Anglo-Saxons" and have tried to prove themselves good church members. He knows that the majority of the Portuguese are carrying more than their share of the financial burden. This he feels is a result of a "natural piety" that many of the Portuguese in his group seem to have. He pointed to the significant number of Portuguese "Bible Women" in days past as a further illustration of this point.

However he also mentioned a small minority group that is not yet fully adjusted to the new church life. He feels there is still a little clannishness, yet those who are clannish seem to be happy in their church life. These come to church regularly and attend many of the special church functions, yet they are hesitant in taking roles of leadership. Others are self-conscious because they are not in a particularly high occupational

bracket. Many of these are of the laboring class. Some of the older members of this group do not speak English very well, yet the interviewer hastened to point out that they are exceptionally regular in church attendance in spite of this handicap.

In 1940 a merger was finally felt satisfactory and arrangements were then carried out for such a move. There were still some opposed but only two people requested their names to be taken from the Pilgrim Church roll. The main objection was the fear that "Central Union was too much the church of the aristocrats and the Portuguese would not be welcome". However when the actual merger took place the overwhelming majority--well over 90 per cent--of the former Pilgrim members actively affiliated with Central Union. The few who were undecided then have almost to the last member joined since. My informant feels that the results since then have been very much for the good. People who were losing interest in the old Pilgrim church as well as some of those most skeptical about the move gradually became interested and now have become some of the best workers. "Instead of losing members we actually gained back several of our old ones!"

My informant feels that his group has made a real contribution to the Portuguese community because they have shown that Portuguese can get along in a spirit of unity with other Caucasians, even those of the higher economic and social bracket.

My last interview was with a middle-aged Japanese man, a member of an important profession and a member of Central Union for about twenty years. In his youth he had attended a Japanese Christian church but became dissatisfied as he grew older because the church had no English services and seemed geared more to the older generation. At the suggestion of his pastor he sought membership in some other church and thus became interested in Central Union at the invitation of the minister there.

My informant stated that all of his children have gone through the Central Union Sunday school and have attended that function of the church quite regularly.

When asked about discrimination he stated that he had never felt anything of that kind and on the contrary had always been made to feel welcome. This was particularly true when he and his wife joined, though lately, due to the increase in membership and the fact that they do not attend regularly, there are many in the church whom they do not know. When asked if he knew of any reasons why more Orientals did not attend Central Union, he felt that strong Oriental churches and the Church of the Crossroads, plus the fact that Central Union did not actively seek out any new Oriental members, all could have a bearing upon the situation. He stated, however, that it was interesting to note what he felt was an increasing number of Oriental weddings being held at Central Union. He indicated agreement when I asked if he thought this might possibly indicate a warmer feeling on the part of Orientals to the church.

Conclusions from the Interviews. Several general things may be said relative to the findings of these interviews. All as individuals seemed to be happy in Central Union, and as representatives of their groups seemed to feel that their respective groups are satisfied with the church. No one had found or heard of any prejudice on the part of one race toward another. All felt that the church was friendly irrespective of class or racial distinctions. All but the last interviewee (and he did not know) felt that the Portuguese had become well integrated in the life of the church.

It seems significant here that the one member of the four interviewees who had come into the church after the union did not even realize that such a union had taken place, even though she is aware of individuals of Portuguese ancestry in the church. All upheld the fact that Orientals are not, by and large, in positions of leadership in the church. None of the four had much knowledge of the part Hawaiians, even though one is a member of the group.

If any one general conclusion can be drawn from all this, it would seem to be that though Central Union is 95 per cent Caucasian it is not racially exclusive in theory or practice. The high Caucasian membership and the high economic and social prestige that seem to accompany Caucasians in Hawaii are misleading factors to outsiders, who are not aware that such combinations need not always lead to exclusiveness and discrimination. Throughout most of its years, Central Union has met the religious needs of a group of people who were culturally different from many of the other groups around them. That it should continue to minister to this group is not surprising, nor is it any more surprising that other ethnic groups should find a church home here when they too have sufficiently acquired this culture. However as long as racial churches continue to exist in Hawaii's Protestantism, Central Union by the very nature of its ministry in the past, will be one of them, not necessarily by choice but by a series of factors which are beyond its power to control.

CHOWADO

By Evelyn K. Yama and Agnes M. Niyekawa

Chowado, a Japanese Buddhist sect in Honolulu, was chosen for study due to certain qualities which differentiate it markedly from other religious sects. Though founded in Japan, its headquarters are at present located in Honolulu with its founder and leader residing here. It had been transferred to Hawaii after World War II as a result of the burning of the headquarters in Japan. This, plus its completely individual transplantation to the community, made it seem feasible to undertake the study from the social process point of view. Even though unique, the growth trend revealed in the history of Chowado is typical enough to be applicable to other religious groups in Hawaii as well.

Through actual attendance and participation in its varied religious and social activities, we were able to get first-hand information about the sect, its rituals, its constituency, its problems, and other factors affecting the growth of the church.¹ Informal interviews with the priest as well as various members of the church gave us insight into some of the attitudes held by them regarding the church itself and the role they felt it played in the general community.

The following are sections of a longer, more detailed study of Chowado.² The study will attempt to explain the history of the church in Honolulu, its adjustment to the Hawaiian situation and to a secular world, the attitudes of its members toward this adaptation, and other problems at present confronting the church.

"Chowa" means harmony and "do," road or morals, being the same character as in Shinto and Taoism. Chowado may thus be translated as the road of harmony. It indicates the attempt by the founder to reconcile the utilitarian with the sacred by a system of physical exercises merged with religious or spiritual exercises. This sect, as will be apparent when the founder's background is given, is an outgrowth and variant of the important Shingon sect of Buddhism.

According to the Rev. Reisai Fujita, its founder, physical health is the basis of everything in this world. For any kind of physical activity as well as for religious and spiritual activity, health is an essential ingredient. Thus it is permissible for an individual to practice a set of physical exercises devised by him for health, which he calls Chowaho, without belonging to the church itself. On the other hand, no one may become a member of his church unless he has practiced and mastered the health engineering system, for according to him, a healthy body is an essential component of a truly religious individual.

Because the church and its activities revolve primarily around its leader, we felt it to be of some importance to touch briefly upon the per-

¹In Hawaii, the word church is so frequently applied to non-Christian religions and places of worship that we have decided to retain it. It is derived from a Greek word meaning Lord's house.

²The complete study is on file in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory.

sonality and biography of the founder. He is a vigorous man in the middle eighties, very impressive, though short in stature, with a long white beard. He speaks no English.

The following are excerpts of his autobiography translated into English from the book *Kokumin Shinshin Kaizo No Genri to Hoho* (Principles and Methods for the Improvement of the Nation's Body and Mind) by R. Fujita.

I was born in 1868 . . . When I was eighteen years of age, I became a disciple of Hoshō Funaoka, who was then the leading authority of Buddhism in Japan and accompanied him to Kyoto. Funaoka was not only a scholar but also a person of very respectable character. He had, however, one major weakness. He was a heavy drinker. He drank even while reading or studying. Therefore, I was forced to drink in his company and although I despised sake at the beginning, I too, became a heavy drinker.

In spite of the chronic intestinal catarrh that resulted from drinking, I managed to continue my study. When Funaoka was appointed head of the newly founded Daigakurin (The Academy) in Tokyo, I followed him and studied Buddhism there. Later I transferred to the Tetsugaku-kan (The Philosophical Institute), where I majored in Oriental philosophy.

At twenty-four, I returned to my home in the country. There I got a good position and felt very important especially after having studied so long in Kyoto and Tokyo. I soon became a very radical reformer and proposed the doing away of many traditions. I soon incurred the hostility of many people but it had no effect on me. I had some successes and some failures.

Several years later I was asked to aid Funaoka in a struggle for the position of chief abbot of Shingi Shingon Chizan (name of a Shingon sect). I undertook this task with no worldly ambition but merely to repay my "on" or spiritual debt to this teacher. When at last this problem was settled to the satisfaction of both myself and the teacher, I soon found myself promoted to a position of high authority at the age of twenty-seven or eight. How proud and triumphant I was then!

I look back today with shame at my worldly self, satisfied with little knowledge and ignoring faith and the training of the mind. I was greedy, always striving for power and recognition and greatly indulging in drinking. I was certainly unworthy to be placed in a position of authority over people. Whenever I was in conflict with myself or with others, I immediately turned to liquor.

One can well imagine the eventual fate of a person who was not only born weak and had a chronic stomach and intestinal disease but who led a life such as mine. I soon became neurotic and a victim of tuberculosis and light paralysis of one side of my body. My worries increased day by day and soon I was forced to give up everything I worked for and concentrated on overcoming these physical and mental illnesses.

It was then that I became familiar with a book written by Hakuin, the Zen priest, who had also been at one time a neurotic and a tubercular, but who had managed to cure himself. This book greatly impressed me and I decided to follow the methods he used to cure himself.

In 1898, I decided to start a new life and left my position. I traveled from one place to another practicing Hakuin's meth-

ods. But when I found my condition getting worse instead of improving, I stopped and turned to purely religious mental training. This too failed largely because I had led too sinful a life. I became desperate and lost all hope. Then it suddenly occurred to me that so far I had had only spiritual training. This must be the reason why a person both physically and mentally ill like me could not get well. I realized that I should take physical exercises as well as spiritual training in order to achieve my goal. This idea eventually led me to establish the Chowaho. From the hint of "breathing" in Hakuin's book, I became interested in a study of the methods of proper breathing as expounded in the Brahman and Buddhist literature as well as in Chinese Taoism and the classics of Japan. I practiced as well as studied them and with my own ideas and devices, I finally laid the foundation for Chowaho.

Meanwhile, all my illnesses gradually disappeared and I even lost my habit of drinking and smoking.

It occurred to me then that there must be countless others who must also be suffering as I once did and thus I felt a need for sharing my experiences with them. I resolved then to devote my entire life in helping sick people by spreading this method and embarked on this career in 1906.

Chowaho was first introduced to Hawaii in 1929 when Fujita, enroute on a lecture tour to California, stopped in Hawaii for what was intended to be a brief pause, which, however, lengthened into a period of nearly three months.

I first arrived in the fourth year of Chowa (1929) in December. I had originally intended to go to the Mainland on a lecture tour and on the way, I stopped by in Hawaii. It was during the days of prohibition and conditions were highly disgraceful. I was especially amazed at the number of Japanese people who were guilty of breaking the laws. It was then that I decided that I was going to stay in Hawaii and try to remedy this situation. Before I knew it, my mission in Hawaii was lengthened to a period of nearly three months. By then the official headquarters in Japan became very impatient with me and specifically told me to go as soon as possible to the continental United States where I really belonged. Since they had raised the funds to send me here in the first place, I knew that I had to obey them and leave for the Mainland. However, I really didn't want to go because the situation here was so bad. The Japanese who should have been the leaders in the community were now breaking the rules set up by the government and I knew that I had to help correct the situation. Therefore, I sent H.T., a student from one of the universities in Japan who had accompanied me on this trip, in my stead. After he left, lecturing on my health engineering system for which I had come became a secondary matter and I devoted most of my time to lecturing on the evils of drink and law-breaking. I think this impressed a large number of people in the community and many flocked to listen to me.

An awareness by the members of how their leader first conceived of his mission in Hawaii was revealed in an informal conversation following service one Sunday morning in the living room of the church building where the writers were included as part of a group of some half a dozen persons. Reminiscent comments about the "good old days" were not infrequently in-

jected into the conversation. The following is a translation of a part of the general conversation which the writers felt pertinent in revealing some of the basic attitudes held by these devout followers of Fujita:

At the start, we had about a thousand people who rushed to join this church. In fact, so many came that Sensei had to reject almost all of them. I think he retained only about forty of them saying that at least a year of devout worshipping was necessary before he would even consider them as eligible for membership.

* * *
Sensei has really changed, hasn't he? Twenty years ago, no one even dared to approach him and talk to him the way we are doing this morning. Why, he was so stern that we used to shake in our boots whenever he was nearby. You girls would never have dared to speak to him. However, because he was such a person, everyone respected him and we became very devout and followed all of his teachings. At the "baptismal ceremony," we were greatly moved when he even so much as touched our clothing and many of us cried for joy. Sometimes, I wish he would go back to what he was. I think we need someone like that. People nowadays are so lax.

* * *
There were many other churches in Hawaii, but they were all corrupt and degraded. You see, it was in the days of prohibition. The leaders of the other sects were so corrupt themselves that you couldn't expect their congregation even to respect them. That's where Sensei's sternness and rigid adherence to the teachings of Buddha helped. Everyone respected him. I think people were just tired of all this corruption in the other churches. Even the school teachers and other respected leaders of the community and churches were indulging in liquor and many people used to make it illegally too. They knew it was bad, but somehow they couldn't stop. Especially was this so when their own leaders were themselves so bad.

One can thus trace the history of the church to the early thirties when undoubtedly there were existing within the Japanese community many disorganizing influences. Many factions, religious and political, had developed and the community was divided on many major issues confronting them, for example, the Fukunaga murder case and the language school issue to name only two.

These were also the days of the depression and life, even in Hawaii, was at its lowest depths. There was a dearth of aggressive leaders and undoubtedly the very aggressiveness of the priest in his crusade for law abidance and respect impressed a large segment of the Japanese community. His extolling of the Japanese "virtues" of "obedience" and "obligation to the race as a whole" served to unite many in his church. Though perhaps exaggerated, the figure of a thousand members who had "rushed to join the church" does give a clue as to the nature of the initial response of the Japanese community to a new church of any sect. Chowado as a religion, however, was not established until Fujita's second trip to Hawaii when pressure was exerted by some members of the physical culture system for the priest to introduce also the religious aspect of his system.

Like other Japanese religious institutions, Chowado also suffered when the war broke out between Japan and the United States. Mr. O., who

had taken over and served as substitute for Fujita because he had gone to Japan, was immediately interned along with other leaders in the Japanese community. The state of the church during this period was explained by Mr. O. in the following way:

During the war, this organization simmered down to near stagnation because there was no one to replace me and because there was a law prohibiting the assemblage of more than ten persons. The building was left in the care of the regular caretaker.

On the other hand, an account by one of the oldest members of the Chowado stated:

We managed to carry on pretty well during the war years even though the priest was in Japan and his substitute was interned because most of us were primarily interested in the physical exercises and not the religion. Therefore, we had no need for priests like the other churches. About five or six of us took turns leading the rest in conducting physical exercises at the church. Despite everything, things did work out pretty well. Of course, we never had more than ten persons attending and we weren't able to meet as often as we would have liked to meet.

After the cessation of hostilities, with the return of Fujita from Japan, the church, although unsuccessful in gaining new members, has managed to regain a sizable number of its original congregation of approximately thirty to forty active members.

In a twenty-year old unimposing two-story structure in McCully, the only Chowado Church in Hawaii is located. The land as well as the building was, according to Fujita, donated by one of his followers who was greatly impressed by his lectures on the health engineering system in the early thirties.

Originally my residence was in Liliha, but there was a contractor in McCully who was so impressed by my lectures that he became a very devout follower of this system. It was not long before he began to talk of the possibility of donating a piece of land in McCully so that I might be able to establish a Chowado training center in Hawaii. However, he was hesitant because he thought some of the regular members might object and later the question of ownership of the land might become a problem. Therefore, I told him that he might avoid all of this future trouble if he would turn over the land to me directly as a gift. Thus I acquired a piece of land and it was not long after that the church was built by the same contractor.

Except for a bell hanging in a belfry on the second story, the building does not reveal its nature and function to the casual observer. The simple square building can only be identified by a sign on its porch written in Japanese characters, "Chowado." This lends itself to much speculation, for one wonders whether it is a physical training center, a Buddhist temple, a Christian mission, or a Shinto shrine. It is only after one has either spoken to one of the members or entered the church itself, that one realizes that it is essentially Buddhist in nature. The first floor is composed of a series of rooms on the right and the left with a long hallway between the two. The

reception room is first, the living room with the kitchen right across is next, and the rest are rooms used for varying purposes. The priest's bedroom is also located on the first floor.

The second floor is a single large room used for religious and health training purpose. A typically Buddhist altar set in an alcove is the first clue a stranger has for identifying the church. A series of small stools line the walls on either side of the room and as each worshipper enters, he removes a stool and places it in the center of the room for the service. The service also is typically Buddhist, not much different from any Buddhist service one may attend. However, the singing of hymns composed by the priest himself with health as the central theme, and of the Japanese alphabet by Kobo Daishi, whom they worship, and the chanting of orthodox Buddhist sutras, lend a distinctive flavor to the religious worship of this sect.

The central themes of the sermons reveal the priest's attitudes toward the religion and what he considers to be the basic functions of religion. He stated in a sermon:

Those who believe in or practice superstitious beliefs are basically unhealthy persons. Something is wrong with their minds. Yet it is amazing how many people believe in what these so-called religious leaders say. I want to exterminate all of them and have a religion based on philosophy and science.

Though primarily concerned with attacking the secularism of these religious sects, rather than the philosophy upon which they are based, he has created much hostility among members and leaders of the other religious sects. Members of the Chowado are cognizant of this fact and often discussions are held regarding this matter with little or no definite conclusions reached, for basically they felt that they are in agreement with the priest.

Among the members of the congregation, reasons for membership in the church varied with each individual. Mere proximity served as a path for some members to Chowado.

I started to go because I live so near the church. When it was first started, Fujitasan invited almost all of the neighbors to attend. However, there are not too many people from this district who do come to church. I can't understand it.

Large numbers were attracted through curiosity. Some had previously heard of the Chowado from others or had read about it in newspapers. A large majority were the ill who were seeking aid physically and spiritually.

One of the most interesting features of this church has been its increasing adjustment to a cold and secular world. The increased activities of people in an urban industrial society allow them very little time for the more purely religious activities. To meet such problems and to retain the interest of the members, the church has had to adjust itself and meet such problems realistically. Fortunately, the founder being alive and leading actively the members of his congregation, is cognizant of this fact and has concerned himself with overcoming some of the difficulties. He states, "Religion should change with the times and not be static." With this view in mind, he has consciously striven to achieve an informal attitude regarding his dealing with the church members. First, he has considerably sim-

plified the rituals of the church. The "Kikyo-shiki," the ceremony of initiation into the sect, was once a very rigid affair held at five in the morning. "Shojin" or abstinence from all animal food on the day before the "Kikyo-shiki" as well as familiarity with his system of physical training were the qualifications which had to be met. The chilliness of dawn, added to the solemnity of the ritual, made the participants "tremble with excitement." Today, the ceremony is held at all hours of the day and "Shojin" is no longer a requirement.

In addition, "Shojin" was at one time an absolute must with Buddhist priests. Fujita followed the rule rigorously, and on the fifteenth and twenty-first of each month, set aside as "praying days", this practice was also observed by his whole congregation. Fujita only differed from the orthodox Buddhist priests in his interpretation of "animal food." In the Buddhist philosophy, because of the belief in reincarnation, the killing of any living organism is sin and, therefore, priests had to abstain from any food obtained through killing an animal. According to Fujita, however, dairy products, which were included among the list of animal foods by other Buddhist priests, are not obtained through killing and, therefore, the prohibition does not apply to them.

Today, however, with the exception of a few days in a year, Fujita no longer observes this practice. Some of the members have interpreted this in the following manner:

I heard that Sensei suffered a great deal during the war. He lost his house by air raids and was forced to retire to Yugawara. He went through periods of critical food shortages there. He was forced then to eat anything that he could get his hands on. Since then, he seems to think that it is asking too much to ask for certain foods. He no longer observes "Shojin" and does not require us to do so either.

Now our priest eats anything and even drinks saké. He's certainly changed from the old days.

Whatever may have been the explanation, this change alone has impressed segments of the congregation and seems to have "brought him closer" to them.

Perhaps the outstanding change, as some members saw it, was in the personality makeup of the priest himself from the "good old days" to the present. The then dignified and rigid priest was unapproachable to the ordinary member. Everyone respected and feared him.

As you know, in pre-war days, our priest was here only about three months out of the year. During his stay we really behaved ourselves but as soon as he left, we really relaxed and broke "Shojin" rules and did not really conform to all his teachings. We had the attitude of "when the cat's away, the mice will play."

Today, the situation is in extreme contrast to those days. After services on Sunday, there is frequently an informal get-together when refreshments taken from the offerings are served. Here some six or seven members sit around and discuss various subjects ranging from mere gossip to a serious consideration of some of their pressing financial problems. There is much joking and laughter. The following reconstruction of such a con-

versation gives one an idea of the discussions and the closeness felt by these members to the priest.

"Sensei, you should go to the other islands on a lecture tour. I'm sure you will get many members that way. Lectures over the radio are not enough."

"Yes, but we don't have the money to pay for his trip."

"You know (to the writers), we don't pay him a salary, so Sensei does not have any money."

"This church is really poor."

"We should raise some money."

"How about having the names of donors and the amount of donation listed around the outside wall as at other churches? Mr. So-and-so one thousand dollars. Mr. So-and-so seven hundred dollars."

"Yes, yes. People will start donating to this church just to have their names listed outside."

"Even those who did not intend to donate will say, 'Oh, my, if Mr. So-and-so has donated hundred dollars, I also must donate at least a hundred dollars.'"

"Yes, that's really good. You know, that will cause competition and people will donate to show off."

"And once they donate they will stick to the church too." (Laughter.)

"Yes, of course, if one has donated once, on the next occasion when a donation is asked for, he will feel that he has to do that again because he did it before."

"Well, (priest) shall I ask the ladies here to form a women's club in the church and take care of these problems? Women seem to have good ideas on how to raise money."

"Too bad, Sensei, but we can't do it. After all, we have strengthened our characters through years of exercise which doesn't allow us to do cunning things." (Laughter.)

The priest, himself aware of these changes, remonstrates with those members who tell him of their preference for the dignified and strict man he was before. He says:

Do you think people will come to me now if I acted as before? No, young people won't even approach me. They would be so scared. One has to change with the times you know.

Another aspect to this process of gradual secularization has been the taking on by this sect of added functions primarily designed to attract new members. In its attempt to offset the competition by recreational and educational organizations for membership, the church has organized the "Hoho-

emi Kai" or "Smile Club." This club is composed of interested members and holds such affairs as "Enjoy Day" when members gather to put on skits, plays, dances, and other entertainment for general pleasure. In addition, floral arrangement classes and tea ceremony classes are held designed especially to attract younger members. However, despite all these efforts, the membership is declining steadily. The attendance at any one service now comes to only fifteen or twenty persons.

There are also several special aspects within the church itself which militate against attracting and holding the younger people as well as some of the older ones. First, in order formally to join the church, one must have practiced and mastered the health exercises prescribed by the leader. They are very time-consuming as well as very strange to the newcomer. The exercises in breathing, for example, involve a series of breathings in and out accompanied by peculiar groaning sounds. One can easily see why it is discouraging for one to practice it at home. The attitudes of many of the younger members of the families of the more devout followers of Chowado ranged from total indifference to a sympathetic understanding and tolerance.

Gee, I don't know anything about the religion. When I was very young, my mother used to take us to the church for exercises but that's about all I know about it. I never made any attempts to learn more about it because I never cared to in the first place.

I'm afraid I can't help you (when asked what he knew about the church). I really know very little about it. My mother goes very frequently. When I was a child, I used to go with her. I think there may be something to those exercises. I really think it helps certain illnesses such as tuberculosis, ulcers, etc. But as far as I'm concerned I'm just not interested and if my mother finds it helpful, all the more power to her. I think it may be helping her.

The ultimate goal of these exercises is the attainment of a gourd-shaped abdomen which is certainly not in accord with our Western standard for good posture, and it is understandable why younger members are not attracted by it.

A second serious problem making it difficult to attract membership is that of competition with other religious organizations. Not only is Chowado having difficulty in gaining new members but it is also losing members to other sects. Perhaps this also can be attributed to the difficult procedure involved in joining this church whereas in others, it is a much simpler process. The benefits of the exercises are not often realized until after a long period of faithful exercising. Impatient people give up halfway and run to less rigid churches. Despite the distinct dichotomy of the church into systems of physical and religious exercises, the fact that they are both practiced in a single building keeps many members of other religious sects away who perhaps might have come if it had been otherwise. Many members, first attracted by Chowado, the physical exercises, stopped coming when Chowado, as a religion, was introduced. On the other hand, there is an interesting case of an active member and officer of another Buddhist sect who has become a staunch supporter of the Chowado system.

I first learned about Chowado in an internment camp in Santa Fe. Some of the former members of Chowado were there

and each morning they conducted exercises. We some forty persons who participated. Because Chowado is indifferent to the religious affiliations of its members, I decided to join when I returned. However, my work in my own church keeps me so busy that I very seldom have time to attend its exercise sessions.

A third and very important problem is one of language. As long as the services, lectures, and other activities are carried out solely in Japanese, there is very little hope for growth. Because of the lack of finances, this church is unable to send anyone to Japan to train him in English as other orthodox sects do. Unlike many other sects, however, Chowado has also the problem of language between the priest and his congregation. Highly educated and once a lecturer in a religious university, the priest's speech is highly academic, philosophical, and abstract. The congregation, on the other hand, consists mainly of Issei Japanese with a high school education at the most. Thus, much of the abstract philosophical terminology used by the priest is far beyond their comprehension. Complaints are frequently directed to him by them. However, according to the priest,

It is hard to express the same thing in a simpler language when you are so accustomed to the use of a more academic one. There are also many times when I get so involved in my talk myself that I don't care whether they understand me or not. I just go ahead and say what I want to and hope that a little at least sinks in.

It is interesting here to note that on the part of many of the older members, despite these complaints about the minister's terminology, there is expressed a feeling of great pride that their leader is so educated and can speak so well.

Fourth, the very name "Chowado" also serves to drive people from its doorsteps. It is an ambiguous name and unless one takes the pains of investigating, it is very difficult to decide whether it is a religious, cultural, or physical exercise organization. "Do" meaning path or road has a moral connotation but at the same time, it is the same "do" as the one used in "judo" (jujitsu) and "sado" (tea ceremony). Thus each person is left more or less to determine by himself exactly what connotation the word has.

There is in addition to all of the above factors, the growing attitude of indifference exhibited by the public regarding any sort of Japanese religion. A common attitude can best be observed by the following statement made by a prominent Japanese community leader:

Yes, I saw the advertisement of the Chowado in the newspapers but I just didn't pay any attention to that because I just took it for granted that all they were interested in was getting my money. It seems to me that today, all of the religious sects are after money, money, and more money.

Closely tied in with the problem of membership is the omnipresent problem of finances. One of the tragic consequences of an industrial world has been the necessity of having funds to carry out any project of any consequence and the problem of membership is largely dependent upon the amount of finances available. The priest himself has found it necessary to adjust to the secular world and gradually his resistance to money-making

projects is being broken. His original stand against them as being against the principles of religion is constantly being altered. A step toward the resolving of this problem has been the organization of the "Smile Club" where dues are collected from the members. These dues are the only dependable income by which the church survives. Other than that, voluntary contributions by the church members are the only source for the priest's sustenance.

The wind brings me fallen leaves
Just enough to build a fire.

This favorite poem of the priest, according to him, expresses, in simplest terms, his own philosophy of life. This factor has caused some concern among the members who feel definitely that there exists a need today of going ahead and doing what should be done rather than letting the situation take care of itself. Because of this essential conflict between the ideals of the priest and the realities of the existing situation, this church has suffered from lack of funds to carry through its work. However, recently a compromise has been effected between the priest and the congregation. A "bazaar" was suggested as a possible source for funds and the priest has consented on the grounds that,

If you are giving something in return for people's money,
then I think it is all right for you to go ahead and do it.

It is interesting to speculate as to the future of this church. It, like many other small sects in Honolulu, has no headquarters in either Japan or the United States. It stands alone in Honolulu. Coupled with the dying interest of the Niseis and Sanseis in any immigrant institution, the future indeed looks dim for this church.

A RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL CALENDAR FOR HAWAII

Adapted to 1952*

Harley H. Zeigler and Bernhard Hormann

The following calendar indicates how the religious and cultural patterns introduced into Hawaii by the different religious traditions and ethnic groups blend together to produce a pattern of cultural life whose richness can be excelled in few parts of the United States.

The complete absence of aboriginal Hawaiian festivals is noticeable. The Hawaiians once had a number of important festival periods. For example, the fishing season was once opened with a festival. On the first day bait was fed to the fish, but there was no fishing. On the second day, everyone put down his net just once. The resulting catch was shared by everyone alike and distributed to all the people without charge. On the third day the professional fishermen began to fish. This festival was forgotten as different peoples who could not share it came into the Islands.

A most important ancient Hawaiian season was the annual four months starting in October or November known as the makahiki, in which the people desisted from war and engaged extensively in sports and in ceremonies in honor of the god Lono. The Hawaiians early turned almost completely to Christianity after the missionaries arrived early in the nineteenth century. Today their festivals are identical with the legal holidays of the nation, and the special days of the Christian faith.

The Hawaiian people also preserve two unique features of their early Christian heritage. The first is the Sunday School Hoike or review. Once each quarter this takes the place of the church service in historic Kawaiahao Church, the main Hawaiian Congregational church, often called the Westminster Abbey of Hawaii. On this Sunday everyone is expected to take some part by reciting a psalm, giving a prayer, or making a two-minute speech. It thus provides for self-expression, and demonstrates what has been learned. The Sunday School Hoike is also observed in other Hawaiian churches as well as annually at the Aha Paaina or conference of the Congregational Christian churches.

The second unique feature is an annual musical contest. A piece of the world's great choral music is translated into Hawaiian. The church choirs on each island practice, and the winner is chosen through island contests held in April. The territorial contest comes in June at the annual Aha Paaina. The judging is done exclusively on the basis of the contest piece, but while the judges are choosing the winner, each choir sings a number of its own choosing.

Mid-night services are also held on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve at Kawaiahao Church. In early times, the Hawaiians began their celebration of New Year's with a great meal beginning at midnight on New Year's

*The calendar was prepared by Dr. Harley H. Zeigler and Dr. Bernhard Hormann with the aid of the Rev. Edward Kahale, the Rev. Stephen Mark, the late Rabbi Francis Hevesi, Prof. Yukuo Uyehara, the Rev. Euicho Chung, Virginia Chee, George Toki, Rose Kotick, James Misajon, Evelyn Yama, Stewart Fern, and the Philippine and Korean consulates. The reader is urged to send questions and suggestions to the editor.

Eve. Following the meal the Hawaiians went around from home to home for seven days eating a little at each place.

It is clear that religion has also played the major role in determining the festival observances of the several immigrant ethnic groups, and only one who is religiously alert can appreciate the significance and beauty of the folk celebrations. Furthermore only the one who is religiously sympathetic can fully appreciate the wide and cosmopolitan friendships he can form in Hawaii.

The festivals listed below are primarily the following: the legal holidays observed in Hawaii, which include the major American national holidays and some special Hawaiian ones; the major festivals of the Christian church year and certain special Christian festivals found in America or among certain Christian groups; the annual Buddhist round of festivals; certain folk festivals associated with the old Chinese folk calendar, some of which are also found among the Koreans and the Japanese; the major Jewish festivals, which now deserve recognition in Hawaii because of the recent establishment of a Jewish congregation with a full-time rabbi; and the major national holidays of Hawaii's important immigrant groups, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino. The war and the continued assimilation of these immigrant groups has had the effect of weakening some of their celebrations, and in general the criterion of inclusion will be the fairly widespread local observance among representatives of the religious or ethnic group whose holiday is in question.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese and Jewish festivals follow a calendar based on the lunar month, in which the new moon marks the first day of the month. The Japanese abolished the Chinese lunar calendar in 1873 and transferred the holidays to the corresponding months and dates of the European calendar. The Jewish week ends on the seventh day, the Sabbath, which extends from Friday at sundown to Saturday at sundown. The Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans used no week. Here in Hawaii Japanese Buddhist temples, however, have regular services on Sunday. The Christian week starts on Sunday, in weekly commemoration of the Resurrection, which came on Sunday, the day after the Jewish Sabbath.

The various festivals and their 1952 dates follow with brief descriptions of meaning and emphasis. The Hawaii Visitors Bureau may be consulted for scheduled events.

CALENDAR*

1952

January 1 New Year's Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. Celebrated in Hawaii with fireworks in the traditional Oriental manner of invoking blessings for the new year.

A very important special holiday for the Japanese, inaugurating a period of three days in which many business houses are closed. Japanese stores and homes decorated with bamboo and pine branches at the entrance. Japanese family ritual includes housecleaning and the preparation of special foods. Mutual visiting. Formerly a Shinto shrine was also visited by the whole family.

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

January 6

Epiphany: Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Celebrated mainly by liturgical Christianity. Also called the "Twelfth-day" after Christmas, and "Twelfth-night." On Sunday only by chance.

January 26*

Chinese New Year. Also Korean New Year. This most important Chinese festival begins the lunar year. It comes at the new moon in late January or early February. Also still in vogue in rural Japan. Much activity in Hawaii's Chinese temples for weeks before the New Year because worshippers are cleaning their spiritual slate of debts. Also much activity in the home. In recent years the Chinese community has organized an elaborate Narcissus Festival at this season, with parades, "lion dances," banquets, etc., which carry wide appeal for tourists. In this way this festival is gradually being adopted by all of Hawaii.

January 30

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 10*

Race Relations Sunday. Many churches of America use this Sunday before Lincoln's birthday to foster world brotherhood.

February 11*

Purim, the Feast of Esther. A joyous day in which the Jews read the book of Esther, have festive meals, exchange gifts with one another, and give alms to the poor - in memory of their deliverance in Persia.

February 12

Lincoln's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 14

St. Valentine's Day. Celebrated in Hawaii as on the Mainland.

February 22

Washington's Birthday. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

February 27*

Ash Wednesday. The beginning of Lent, the annual forty-day period in the Christian church year leading to Good Friday and Easter, a period of special devotions and personal self-denial. The day before, Mardi Gras, is not particularly celebrated in Hawaii. All Catholic churches and many Protestant churches observe Ash Wednesday by special services.

March 1

Korean Independence Day. This has been observed since 1919 more particularly by the older generation of Koreans as symbolizing Korea's "declaration of independence" from Japan.

March 3

Hinamatsuri or Japanese girls' day, in which dolls are featured. Stores of Honolulu feature Oriental dolls in special window displays. Gaining increasing acceptance

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

in the wider community, the festival features exhibits of dolls.

- March 21 O-higan Ceremony. A special Buddhist festival at the beginning of spring. During the three days before and the three days after this ceremony, Japanese Buddhists pay tribute to their ancestors. The dead have crossed the ocean of existence and have reached the other (hi) shore (gan); i.e., Nirvana.
- March 26 Prince Kuhio Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii, established by the legislature a few years ago in memory of the Hawaiian prince who was for many years Hawaii's delegate to Congress and who sponsored the legislation which established the Hawaiian Homes Commission.
- April 4 Tsing Ming. The day on which the Chinese clean the graves of their ancestors and engage in memorial services at the graves. This festival does not come on a given day of the Chinese lunar calendar, but rather about fifteen days after the beginning of spring, and so always comes on April 4 or 5. In Hawaii it is associated with a whole season of several weeks during which Chinese families clean graves and disinter the remains of their ancestors dead for five or more years, and prepare them for permanent burial.
- April 6 Palm Sunday. The festival in Lent, commemorating Jesus' entry into Jerusalem at the beginning of the week in which he was crucified. Palm Sunday thus ushers in Holy Week.
- April 8 Wesak Day or Hanamatsuri. The Buddhist celebration of Gautama's birthday. A large and very gay celebration is held by all Buddhist sects cooperatively in Kapiolani Park or Ala Moana Park, on the Sunday nearest to the day. On this day also images of the Infant Buddha (Tango-Shaka) are set up in the temples for worshippers to pour liquorice-tea (ama-cha) over with a ladle. This tea is then bought and taken home in some country areas to kill the worms that cause various diseases. Elsewhere it is a custom signifying purity.
- April 10* Pesach or Passover. This begins a Jewish festival that lasts for eight days. On the first two nights, after religious services, the Passover meal, Seder, is observed in the Jewish home.
- April 11* Good Friday, in commemoration of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.
- April 13* Easter Sunday, in commemoration of the Resurrection. This oldest and most important of Christian holy days

comes on the first Sunday after the first full moon in spring. Churches of all denominations are crowded on this day.

- April 29 Birthday of the reigning emperor of Japan. Before World War II this was a gala occasion for Hawaii's Japanese. While it has been greatly de-emphasized, it still carries some sentimental value for people of the immigrant generation.
- May 1 May Day. Celebrated in Hawaii as Lei Day, with emphasis on school and community pageants around the Lei Queen. Exhibits of leis. Everyone wears a lei. Many of these features on University of Hawaii campus. Also food booths of the different cultural groups.
- May 5 Tango-no-Sekku or Japanese boys' day, also called Nobori-no-Sekku, or banner festival. At this time the famous Japanese kites in the shape of carp lend a colorful touch to Japanese homes in Hawaii, particularly those celebrating the birth of a first son during the preceding year. Increasingly the custom of flying carp is being taken over by other than Japanese families.
- May 10 Flores de Mayo. Observed in the Philippines during the whole month of May, where the Catholic Church generally gives it a religious character. It was observed officially in Hawaii in 1948, but it has generally been observed only by families and individuals.
- May 11* Mother's Day. Sunday, observed as on the Mainland.
- May 22* Ascension Day. This Thursday, forty days after Easter, commemorates Jesus' final departure from his disciples.
- May 27* Chinese Dragon Boat Day, on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. A very important day in rural China, this festival is gradually losing its importance in Hawaii. The festival commemorates lost souls who died by drowning. Little rice cakes are thrown into the water. Dragon-boat regattas to the beat of the Chinese drum make the occasion very festive in Chinese villages. In 1952, the fifth month is repeated, in order to keep the lunar and astronomical years together. The second dragon-boat festival on June 25 will hardly be noticed.
- May 30 Memorial Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii.
- May 30* For the Jews this is Shavuoth or Pentecost, the end of a fifty-day period which started at the Passover, and is called the Omer. Shavuoth is also called the Feast of Weeks and particularly the Feast of Revelation. This holiday commemorates the beginning of the Torah (the

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

Ten Commandments) given to Moses on Mount Sinai. The Jews deck their synagogue with flowers at this time to indicate God's constant revelation of himself in nature as at Mount Sinai.

- June 1* The Christian Pentecost or Witsunday, fifty days after Easter, commemorating the occasion when the Holy Ghost appeared to the disciples of Jesus in tongues of fire, making it possible for them to begin their effective ministry. In a sense it is the birthday of the Christian church. At this time some of the Portuguese Catholics have special carnivals and processions, the biggest one culminating in a three-day Feast of the Holy Ghost, a week after Pentecost, June 6, 7 and 8 in the grounds of a chapel on Puowaina Drive. In the morning of Trinity Sunday there is a special mass with procession at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament in Pauoa. Of the several festival periods in the Catholic calendar, this is the one with the greatest amount of Portuguese Old World character.
- June 11 Kamehameha Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. This honors the Kamehameha dynasty and especially its founder, Kamehameha I, who united the Hawaiian Islands politically. Kamehameha Day and Kuhio Day are the only Hawaiian holidays. No true folk festivals survive. Parade, canoe races, hulas.
- July 4 Independence Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii, celebrated as elsewhere in the United States.
- The Philippines acquired their independence on July 4, 1946, and thus this day now has the same significance for Filipinos as for Americans.
- July 13-16 O-Bon Festival, sometimes also called Urabon-e. An important Buddhist period in honor of the dead. The spirits of the recently dead are said to return to their families. Japanese Buddhist temples all over Hawaii in turn put on the famous and very picturesque Bon dances, in which mainly teen-agers and young adults participate by dancing in a large circle around a central platform where an orchestra and singers provide Japanese folk-dance tunes. These dances occur at night over a period of weeks and the temple grounds assume a carnival-like atmosphere. Now other than Japanese young people may be seen participating. They simply don kimonos and imitate the steps and handclappings of the other participants. Japanese homes also celebrate the return of their loved ones, recently dead. After a period of three days some families give them a send-off back to the realm of the spirits by letting little boats with lanterns sail out to sea. In China this festival is known as the

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

Feast of the Hungry Ghosts festival and is celebrated beginning the fifteenth day of the seventh moon, about a month and a half after, July 15, the fifteenth day of the seventh month according to our calendar.

- July 13* Fastday of Ab 9. A Jewish day of mourning to commemorate the burning of the Sanctuary in Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. The Book of Lamentations is chanted.
- August 15 Korean Day of Liberation. Followers of President Syngman Rhee, who formerly lived in Hawaii, celebrate the founding of the Korean Republican government on this day.
- August 24* Seventh Night of the Seventh Moon. A highly romantic Chinese festival which some Japanese celebrate on our July 7 and call Tanabata. The occasion commemorates two stars of the heavens, the Weaver-Maid and the Cowherd, one on each side of the Milky Way. On this night only are these lovers allowed to meet, providing it does not rain. The festival appeals particularly to maidens, who prepare special food, make offerings to the Weaver-Maid, and bring in water of special purity. Sometimes a girl may be fortunate enough to dream of the man she will later marry.
- September 20* Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, which lasts two days and is followed by ten days of repentance. It is preceded by a week of self-criticism and prayer.
- September 22 O-higan Ceremony. A Japanese Buddhist fall festival, corresponding to the one at the beginning of spring.
- September 29* Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement. This is the greatest of the Jewish holidays. Devout Jews will not leave the synagogue during the entire twenty-four hours. A strictly kept fast day.
- October 2* The Chinese Moon Festival, coming on the fifteenth day of the eight lunar month and thus associated with the harvest. A special occasion in the home and the temples, the holiday is noted for its round moon cakes filled with rich mince-meats. Such cakes can be purchased from Chinese food shops in Chinatown.
- October 4* Sukkoth, Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. Commemorates the forty-year sojourn in tents in the wilderness during which they were cared for by divine providence. Four plants are brought to the synagogue: the palm leaf, the citrus fruit, myrtle, willow twigs. The families build booths for the meals of the holidays.
- October 5* World-Wide Communion Sunday, a special occasion accepted by almost all Protestant churches.

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

October 10 Chinese Republic Day, the most important national holiday in China until the overthrow of the Republican regime by the Communists. Because it comes in the tenth month of our calendar it is often referred to as Double ten Day. Still an important occasion for Hawaii's Chinese of the older generation.

October 13* This starts Aloha Week, featuring Hawaiian pageantry and a lantern parade. Everyone wears an aloha shirt.

October 26* Reformation Sunday. This Sunday nearest to October 31, the day commemorating Luther's Reformation, is used by many Protestant churches to celebrate the Protestant Reformation.

October 31 Hallowe'en. Celebrated by children in Hawaii as elsewhere. This now secularised celebration is associated with All Saints' Day, November 1, an important day in the Catholic Church.

November 11 Armistice Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii.

November 27* Thanksgiving Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. Observed by all groups in Hawaii in the traditional American manner.

November 30* First Sunday in Advent. Beginning of the traditional Christian year and of the Christmas season.

November 30 Filipino National Heroes Day. This is a legal holiday in the Philippines. In Hawaii it is observed in some places by speeches and banquets.

December 8 Bodhi Day. The day of Buddha's enlightenment. Also called Jodo-e. Celebrates the day of Gautama's enlightenment under the Bo or Peepul tree.

December 13* Chanukah. The Jewish Feast of Lights. A day commemorating the liberation of the Jews under the Maccabees. Candles are lighted and gifts are exchanged.

December 14* Universal Bible Sunday. Emphasized by some Protestant denominations.

December 22 Chinese Winter Solstice Day, marking the shortest day of the year. Temple worship.

December 24 Christmas Eve.

December 25 Christmas Day. Legal holiday in Hawaii. Gift-giving and Christmas trees found in many non-Christian homes.

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.

December 30 Rizal Day. This is the most universal of Filipino festivals. It is observed in the Filipino churches on the nearest Sunday. There are public gatherings with speeches. Rizal was a martyr to the cause of Philippine Independence from Spain.

December 31 New Year's Eve. New Year's eve is unique in Hawaii because it is observed with fireworks as well as the traditional watch-night parties. A midnight service is held at Kawaiahao Church and many others. The Korean people gather in family and friendly circles and eat special foods such as "Mun doo." On this night in Japan, no one is supposed to go to bed.

*Festivals marked with an asterisk are "movable," because they follow the lunar calendar or some other principle making for a different date each year. The date for 1952 is given here.