# Social Process in Hawaii

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Social Process in Hawaii

FOREWORD

By KUM FUI LAI

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

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

The next two papers concern the newer arrivals in Hawaii—the Filipinos who came between 1937-1939, and the Puerto Ricans, most of whom migrated to the Islands in 1941. Mr. Cuesta, after giving a general historical background for the understanding of the Filipinos, describes some of their traits transplanted to Hawaii. He deals mainly with the customs and ways surrounding the major crises of life—birth, marriage, and death.

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

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

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

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

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

"It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask. It is rather a reflection of the fact that one is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. We are parents and children, masters and servants, teachers and students, clients and professional men, Gents and Jews. It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves... In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—this role we are striving to live up to—the mask is our outer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons."—Robert E. Park "Behind Our Masks," The Survey Graphic, Vol. LVII, No. 3, May 1, 1926, page 127.
Statehood For Hawaii

By ROMANZO ADAMS

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

Since the question of statehood is likely to be before the people for a period of years it may be well to raise some of the questions that will have to be considered. There are, for the people of Hawaii, two main questions:

1. What are the advantages and the disadvantages that might be expected to arise from statehood?
2. What are the probable obstacles to the securing of statehood and how can they be overcome? Of course, there will be no occasion to ask the second question if the first is answered in such a way as to indicate that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. It is probable, however, that the great majority of the citizens of Hawaii will reach an opposite answer. The obstacles will, then, arise from the existence of a different view on the part of many mainland people.

The question of advantages may be considered from two points of view, the local Hawaiian, and the national.

Would statehood be, on the whole, advantageous to Hawaii? Would it be advantageous to the nation? If the people of Hawaii answer the first of these questions affirmatively they will continue to seek a favorable decision on the part of Congress. If the American public answers the second affirmatively, it is probable that Congress will take favorable action.

It may be admitted that commonly the laws passed by Congress and the administrative rules of the executive department at Washington have been applied equally to Hawaii. There are, however, a few cases where such laws or administrative rules have been applied unequally to Hawaii merely because it is not a state. Two recent instances have been collected of the citizens of Hawaii where citizens of states in a provisely corresponding position were exempt. Sometimes appropriations for public improvements for the benefit of all states have been denied to Hawaii although Hawaii was regularly taxed as were the states to pay the expense of such improvements. Very recently Hawaii's quota for sugar production was fixed at a point about two per cent below its average seasonal production in the most recent years, while the sugar producers in the states were given a quota somewhat above their average production in recent years. In much of the time, some apprehension in Hawaii that the acts of Congress in this respect may be discriminatory. This may happen even when there is no intent. It is so easy for men in Washington to forget Hawaii. Much of the legislation to be finally passed in the Senate and House of Hawaii has no value to the mainland, or a least value, in the Senate. Statehood would have some practical advantages for Hawaii. There is also something that belongs to sentiment rather than to the more superficial practical considerations. When people participate in the democratic traditions of America they tend to feel the need of full equality. They do not want to regard themselves as a subject people. They want to have the same rights as the other American people. They want the full benefits of the American Constitution and a voting right in matters of national policy. As the people of Hawaii become more American in outlook and sentiment it is probable that their attitude toward statehood will be determined even more by sentiment than by considerations relating to the obvious practical advantages.

There is a question that is often asked by mainland people who give some attention to Hawaii and sometimes by local people also. Are the citizens of Hawaii now and prospectively able to provide a government reasonably adequate to the needs of the local people and also adequate to meet its obligation to the nation? The doubt that is expressed in the question is based largely on the fact that the citizens of Hawaii now and even more in the near future, are so largely of immigrant ancestry and of an ancestry that has no tradition of political experience. Very few of the immigrants to Hawaii were voters in their native lands. It has been observed in many countries that where politically inexperienced people acquire voting rights they do not exercise such rights in an advantageous way at first. Evidently political wisdom is largely a matter of experience and tradition. What about the children of Hawaiians youth who will in the near future become voters? At this point I might make a statement of my own faith in the character of the young citizen of Hawaii to be able to exercise the authority they now have, under the provisions of the Organic Act, sure up as nearly to mainland standards as the mainland people do commonly, but I will not do this. It is not necessary that the people of Hawaii and it would be of little or no effect so far as mainland people are concerned. The thing that will eventually convert the mainland is a successful experience.

When Hawaii became a Territory of the United States the number of male eligible to vote was not much, anywhere a tenth of the adult male population, the rest being females. By 1920 nearly a third of the adult were citizens and by 1926, about 44 per cent. It is easy to see that the great majority of the people who do the work of Hawaii are still voiceless in the Territorial government. That is there has been no real test of the political quality of the people generally. Not until the number of eligible voters is equal to something not far from half of the population will complete mainland people consider that a fair test has been made. There were, for the 1924 election, approximately 20,000 registered voters and nearly another 10,000 could have registered. If the numbers increase at the rate of about four thousand a year for ten years we will have a possible voting population of about 120,000—a third of the total population, but over two thirds of the adult population. Among these, would be a sufficient number of the representatives of all ancestors including even the latest immigrants from the Philippines—a sufficient embryo to indicate the nature of their performance. Doubtless, this increase of voting strength will involve a redistribution area by area, and it will be some change in the personnel of political leadership. New issues will emerge and some old ones will be forgotten. If, in this ten year period, 1924-1934, the present majority of the people who do the work of Hawaii are still voiceless, we may conclude with confidence that the people of Hawaii have not been permitted to vote for the candidate of their choice.
with moderation and wisdom they will go far toward convincing the more open-minded mankind people as to their political character.

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

The Competition of Languages in Hawaii

By JOHN REINECKE

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

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

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

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

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

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

"pīgīn English" is its child, the local dialect, and Standard English. Bilingualism has therefore become a typical phenomenon of the Islands, but it is bilingualism on different levels. An immigrant may speak his native tongue and creole English; his children may speak the parental language, or not very adequately, and the local dialect; his grandchildren, or even his children, may speak Standard English and the parental language. In some instances one may almost speak of trilingualism, or even quadrilingualism; for an individual may very likely speak dialectal English in some situations and what is pretty close to Standard English in others, and he may also speak his parents' language in an Americanized local form in some situations, and with fair correctness in others. This bilingualism, or trilingualism, is one of the major educational problems of Hawaii, for the evidence of the studies made thus far is that it retards the school children in their mastery of the body of knowledge offered in the English language schools. Possibly it may also have some harmful psychological effects on some individuals, making them timid and uncertain of themselves, and confused. Probably the problem is one of bilingualism per se, but it is caused also in large part by faulty teaching of both English and foreign languages.

A child is taught to speak English in his home and to speak English in his school. If he has ever learned anything else, he is likely to have learned it from his parents, not from his teachers. He is likely to be bilingual, or more likely to be trilingual, if he has ever learned any other language but English. The problem is that the child is likely to be trilingual, or more likely to be quadrilingual, if he has ever learned any other language but English.

The two forms of English are competing now with the various ethnic languages; the creole speech or

creole dialect has not been able to stabilize itself, because of the strength of the ethnic groups, which have maintained their cultural and linguistic identity, and the free public education which has allowed a large number of the immigrants and natives to learn fairly good English. As a Chinese, a Japanese, a Portuguese, a Hawaiian, can be distinguished by his national innovation and linguistic peculiarities, the "pīgīn" is almost a common phenomenon of immigrants' mixed dialects such as those of the Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, etc., in the United States. Nevertheless, it has enough unity to be considered an entity, the Creole Dialect of Hawaii. The older natives and immigrants usually did not have the opportunity to learn good English. They were in little touch with the English-speaking class except as workmen taking orders. They learned their makeshift English functionally, during the process of field labor; if it worked in a given situation, it was right enough and normal. But their children did have the opportunity to learn good English. The language of instruction of the schools was being changed from Hawaiian to English when the Portuguese field laborers arrived in 1874, and their presence accelerated the change. In 1855 about ten percent of the school children of the Islands were being taught English; by 1870, about forty were being taught English; by 1878, 38 percent by 1880, 23 percent by 1891, all.

In the schools and on the playground, a new dialect of English grew up, and is still growing. It is not makeshift, but still differs widely from English standards and contains many marks of the influence of the creole speech of the first generation. Because of the large number of Japanese children in the schools (nearly one-half the total), it is more influenced by the Japanese language than was the creole dialect. It is also

no more homogeneous, containing fewer indications of the national origin of the speaker. This is lumped together with the creole as "pīgīn English" by casual observers, but the two should be distinguished. There is a continuum of speech, but at one end there is a makahski speech, at the other a fairly adequate local dialect. True, it is not a dialect spoken by all English-speaking of the Islands, for it is spoken by a majority of them, and is already coloring the speech of the Haole and other carefully educated people.

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

1. "Nine bore already." (i.e., "I've lost nine already").
2. "Last year a Rokee was chang-ed." (i.e., "Last year he changed his car for a Rokee").
3. "Only what the Filipino know is to fool around girls." (i.e., "All that the Filipino knows is to hang about with girls and fights.").
4. "Are you going?" (The successive words are almost in the Mandarin tones, 4, 1, 3, respectively.)

These illustrate the chain between creole dialect and English. English.

The first is a bit of creole in a fairly adequate context of school ground conversation; the second is distinctly un-English in its syntax, but not makahski; the third contains two local idioms, but is English in its general feel; the last is wholly standard English except for the local idiom.

The learning of the three forms of English is competing now with the various ethnic languages; the creole speech or

the \textit{pīgīn English} of its child, the local dialect, and Standard English. Bilingualism has therefore become a typical phenomenon of the Islands, but it is bilingualism on different levels. An immigrant may speak his native tongue and creole English; his children may speak the parental language, or not very adequately, and the local dialect; his grandchildren, or even his children, may speak Standard English and the parental language. In some instances one may almost speak of trilingualism, or even quadrilingualism; for an individual may very likely speak dialectal English in some situations and what is pretty close to Standard English in others, and he may also speak his parents' language in an Americanized local form in some situations, and with fair correctness in others. This bilingualism, or trilingualism, is one of the major educational problems of Hawaii, for the evidence of the studies made thus far is that it retards the school children in their mastery of the body of knowledge offered in the English language schools. Possibly it may also have some harmful psychological effects on some individuals, making them timid and uncertain of themselves, and confused. Probably the problem is one of bilingualism per se, but it is caused also in large part by faulty teaching of both English and foreign languages.

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

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

Then, too, nationalities represent sometimes separate groups have had to find a lingua franca within their own group of tongue. The Filipinos sometimes speak English as an inter-language, sometimes Tagalog; the Japanese sometimes learn each other's language. The Okinawans have learned common Japanese. The Chinese have agreed upon
the Shoiki subvariety of the Haunga-Shan subdialect of Pussi Cantoneses as their common language in Hawaii. The languages of some ethnic groups are already giving way before English. Portuguese is the most striking example. Next to it comes Hawaiian among the mixed bloods. Others are still strong, with language schools, a language press, and church services conducted in them; such are the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Pilipino. The size of the group, its ethnic solidarity and pride in its cultural heritage, the recovery of its arrival in Hawaii, and the commercial importance of the language in question, are the chief factors in determining the strength of any language's position. Among the generation educated in Hawaii, however, English is very rapidly becoming the language of habitual thought and of communication even within the home except with parents and other members of one's race. Even to the parents the children often speak creole English, the parents relying in a simplified form of their own language. Macaronesian speech which is essentially one or another of the alien languages interspersed with English phrases and sentences, is also a common phenomenon in Hawaii.

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

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

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

Herrmann, Bernhard "The Germans in the Hawaiian Islands" (1931)
Maximovich "Race Attitude of the Japanese People in Hawaii" (1931)
Lam, Margaret "Six Generations of Race Mixture in Hawaii" (1932)
Lai, Kau Pui "The Natural History of the Chinese School in Hawaii" (1935)
Reinecke, John "Language and Dialect in Hawaii" (1935)

Racial Factors in the Employment of Women

By JANE DRANGA
Employment Secretary of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A.

Employers in Hawaii generally express a racial preference in choosing employees. Obviously the type of work to be done is an important factor in selecting workers, for so-called "racial characteristics" seem to make one group more adaptable to one industry than another. Frequently physical characteristics, such as size, weight, or strength, provide a justification for some of the occupational choosiness but the majority of the stated preferences are based upon more subtle factors such as custom or tradition. These choices are often influenced by the employers' familiarity and understanding of a race or upon a personal belief that the different groups possess distinctive traits. These beliefs have some foundation in the case of the first generation immigrants but there is less basis for distinction among the second and later generations. Many of the island-born and island-born settlers develop a stature comparable to that of the Caucasian or European races and certainly the fairly uniform educational and environmental patterns are creating a great similarity of conduct, mores, and beliefs. The writer's personal observations and experiences, covering a period of five years during which time a yearly average of more than 5,000 girls and women have been interviewed, raise doubt as to how deep seated those "racial characteristics" are, but the differences between the races are still important enough to seriously affect their success in the various occupations. The following are some of the common observations of employees with reference to racial factors in the employment of women in Honolulu.

HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

The Japanese are generally considered by employers as best suited for household work. They are usually quiet, scrupulously neat and clean in appearance, not given to gossip, (at least not beyond their own racial group) and do not find fault and routine as monotonous as do the more temperamental members of other races. In the opinion of a great many household employers, the second-generation Japanese girl is not so satisfactory as the first generation. The Hawaiian-born girl has been given outside interests through school contacts. She has, if a high school girl, born made somewhat aware of her own personality and the opportunities for self-expression through community activities, especially those of a social and religious nature. Consequently, she is interested and happy only on that type of job which gives her time to follow individual interests. The Chinese and Chinese-Hawaiian girls are greatly in demand but they do not figure prominently in the field. They are fewer in number and more attractive occupations are open to them. They are generally thought to be very successful with children, the aged and adaptable in cases of illness. The Portuguese are unpopular and generally unsuccessful. The distinctive characteristics cited by employers are emotional instability, an inclination to be tamable and intimate, an interest in the employer, his family and circle of friends, argumentative, and a desire too independent to suit most employers. On the other hand, if the position provides the opp-
Racial Factors in the Employment of Women

Racial Factors in the Employment of Women

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

Racial discrimination in the hotel and restaurant trades and in retail selling is a fact that stems largely from the nationality of the owners and managers—most of these preferring workers of their own race. In a few cases, Oriental girls in their picturephone stations are paired by a white operator to lend color and atmosphere. Except for the brief span of the N.A.A.,

*Hawaiian term for people of North European ancestry.
Attitudes of Hotel Workers

By DOUGLAS YAMAMURA

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

THE WAITERS

Typical of those at the bottom of the scale are the waiters, nearly five per cent of whom are young Filipinos. The majority of them receive both room and board from the hotel, in addition to the basic wage of $27 to $49 per month. The following is the Filipino's conception of himself and his profession. This particular view was expressed by a city Filipino, a high school graduate, who came to Hawaii several years ago. He comes from the better class of Filipinos.

"He wakes up early in the morning and prepares himself for a hard day's work. He combs his hair, inspects his nails and puts on an immaculately clean uniform. Nothing slips about him for he is in handle food. He is a waiter, the light-footed fellow who floats about your table and serves your meals. His trade requires cleanliness, self control, tolerance, good naturedness, patience and obedience.

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

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

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

"The majority of the bellhops are very low on the moral side, no doubt, because most of the boys who come to work here make so much easy money and they are not used to saving money. They see people having a "hot" time and they want to imitate this type of life. For entertainment almost every boy goes to the dance halls, shows and places where you can contact women. Most of them are drawn to this type of life by association with the older rackets. Very few take part in athletics due to the amount of time spent in dancing and going out with such women. They work twelve hours a day and six the next. The mind of most of the boys dwells on pleasure and good time with no thought of the future. Their good times mean association with women of the lowest degree. Most of us when we first come here date poorly and after a few years stress so much on clothes.

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

"Often a bellman judges the guest by the location from where they come. San Franciscans and those that come from the surrounding country are usually the best tippers. Northwest comes second. Southern people are poor—Chicago people are poor. Southwest comes next. New Yorkers are either extra lazy or very good. This is excluding the Jews. Usually prominent American business men are they. California are usually good, movie executives and directors the worst. The nurses are better at acting and actresses, but Jewish officials are very poor. Most of them are either the Europeans, particularly the English, Australian is much better, but they have less interest in the races than the other races. Local people are considered good tippers. Politicians are poor, doctors and lawyers are good, bankers are poor and stock brokers good tip-

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serve and see.

"Being underpaid he has to make the best of his job to earn his grat-
itiy. If he gives you his best ser-
vice, (there are ordinary services) he expects you to be generous and tip him well. That's his main pur-
pose. Tip is something you owe though you are not obligated to pay it. It's a tradition. Some people ut-
erly disregard this traditional re-
numerating.

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

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

"No waiter will admit that his job is a nasty one. On the contrary he is so-
spit to say dirty things about it."

Perhaps the outlook on life or the attitude of the Filipinos can be best illustrated by the type of life they live. The average Filipino waiter is a very good dresser and spends a large proportion of his money on clothes. The waiter knows how to dress due to contact he makes at the hotel. However, some of them go to the extreme and try to look so dashing so that they can be the center of attraction. The waiter

\[\text{Attitudes of Hotel Workers}\]

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

"When a bellman sells a party room he sells all, just take a bellboy's word for that. He may not look as though he notices such little details—a careless glove under the telephone hook on the dresser, a lost caribou thrown on the dresser when the occupant did not have one on entrance into the hotel. If anyone has the man, the bellman asks him who and what he was, he would reply, "Nothing." But, take a tip from the bellman, he saw.

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

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

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

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

"This game in a very hard game to get away from after a couple of years. There is a fascination in the game and the work is interesting. The game is won if one can stay close to the mark and meet all kinds of people. After working a few years you find it easy. One who works in the office gets the same type of work day after day, but in the hotel you see new faces and there is always something interesting going on. Artisans, etc. mean nothing, but ordinary persons. A few months and the boys are not impressed by the reputation of the people and treat them just as any guest and they let the photograph "drop" out of his hands.

The bell boys are given a low rating both socially and morally. This is in part a consequence of the attitudes developed by the bell boy on the job and his daily habits. The average bell boy is not a good citizen. He is in the frequenter of taxi dance halls, bars, show-houses, etc. The fact that the two married boys have selected wives outside their own group indicates that the parental moves have largely lost their influence. The boys very seldom visit their parents and there seems to be a widening gap in the relations of the parents to the son as Time goes on. Possibly the parents are satisfied that their son sends some money every month and they do not recognize the loss of their parental control over their sons. The attitude of the average boy is to live for today. Tomorrow will be just another day.

This comment perhaps illustrates his philosophy. "Why worry about money, I know I can earn some money tomorrow." He spends money freely knowing that he can earn more tomorrow. Very few bell boys have any definite objective in life.

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

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

"The dining room has presented grave problems, since the opening of the hotel, and in all likelihood will continue to do so. Canadian waiters have been tried with little success; Japanese are apt to unionize and there are not enough eligible Chinese to fill the positions. The recently arrived Filipino can be gotten for any number; the work appeals to his childlike vanity. It is very seldom, in Hawaii, that a born waiter can be found suited for this type of work.

"It has been the practice to mix the three nationalities, thus allowing a degree of assurance against strikes.

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

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

By ROMAN CARIAGA

The important distinctions of man- kind which give rise to group con- sciences and group prejudice are not so much biological or racial as they are cultural. After primary con- tact it is the varying social usages— mores, customs, etiquettes—which set apart the different groups and tend to cause misunderstanding and fric- tion among them.

Transplanted from the simple life of the Philippine country barrio* with its small individual farms, intimate kinship ties and unfolding community spirit into the complex segmented life of Hawaii's agricultural industry with its mechanical competitive sys- tem, the Filipino faces many baf- fling problems which his training, based on the old Malay community philosophy superimposed with Spanish etiquette and American idealism, has not prepared him to solve. Of the many Filipino traits transplanted to Hawaiian soil, some have withered away under the rigor of the strange environment, some have been covered out by their harder and bet- ter adapted American counterparts, and some are still flourishing and may perhaps even spread their bloom in the new land.

The first group of Filipinos arrived in Hawaii three decades ago, in Dec- ember 1906; and immigration con- tinued in rapidly increasing numbers until the recent depression. More than 100,000 Filipinos have rejoi- nered in Hawaii, most of them returning to the homeland after completing their labor agreements or the sugar plantations, and a few of them going on to the mishandled of the United States. Today there are 54,668 Filip- inos in the territory, and they form the second largest racial element in the varied population. The great bulk of them, about 40,000 housewives, are concentrated in the sugar and pine- apple plantations which form the bul- wark of the economic structure of the islands; about 6,000 are located in the city of Honolulu supplying du- mestic, hotel and hospital help and canneries workers; and perhaps 4,000 others may be found in Hilo and the smaller towns in miscellaneous posi- tions. The size of the Filipino group as a whole, and the concentration of its members in distinct areas generally apart from other nationalities has made possible the propulsion of many of the homeland habits, customs, culture traits and forms of etiquette —the Cebuano, Filipino.

Some of these Filipino customs have been considerably altered by cer- tain factors aside from the usual in- fluence of a new environment. Rev- ival of the different Filipino dialect groups are represented in Hawaii, chiefly the Higano and the Vitasan, with smaller numbers of the Ta- galog, Pampanggo, Pangasinan, etc.; whereas of each has some- what different customs or variations of the same custom. In Hawaii these customs may fuse; those of the smaller groups may be absorbed or over- shadowed by those of the larger group; or they may be rejected in favor of a corresponding American custom, or abandoned entirely. Amer- ican influence which has been gain- ing momentum and scope in the Phil- ippines steadily since, 1900, predi- cates the Filipinos to adopt and adapt to American ways.

The vast majority of the Filipinos immigrating to Hawaii have been sin- gle men or men whose families have remained in the Philippines. The adult- sex ratio is about 5 to 1 in fa- vor of the men. The lack of women and the scarcity of families among the Filipinos in Hawaii explain to some degree the constant shifting of the population which tends to disor- ganize and weaken the form of the old native. There are, however, in the neighborhood of two thousand fami- lies, and among them many of the old traditions are followed, especially those relating to the crises of life.

Ancient customs relating to child- birth still survive and are rigorously practiced by the more superstitions. Those who have come from the more remote rural districts of the Philip- pines, and who have not yet succumbed to modern American influences due to prolonged isolation among their own people in the rural areas of Ha- waii, are following the customs of by-gone generations, which hark back beyond the Spanish era to the days of Malay supremacy. The prospective mother must be protected from the affett or evil spirit which brings harm, particularly at the time of delivery. All doors and windows are tightly closed to prevent the entrance of evil— the women is placed on an improvised bed which stands about three feet above the floor and is isolated so that the head is somewhat higher than the feet. A small stove is kept by the bed con- stantly burning charcoal, regardless of climate or room temperature, and made to emit smoke by pouring in- cense on it which is supposed to drive away any animals who may have creep in. This procedure is continued for a week or more. The infant is bathed and rubbed with a concoction of Phi- lippine herbs, and certain balsam herbs are given the mother to drink. A hot compress wrung out of herbal water is placed on the abdomen of the child several times a day irrespective of the temperature or the condition of the child.

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

Survival of the child under these circumstances seems a blessing of the gods, and is in fact so saluted. An elaborate christening party is given, usually a noble (barbeoned pig), an all day affair in true Filipino style to which all friends are welcome. So- cial prestige as well as religious ob- servance is a motive, and also the old Malay idea of introducing the child to the village and assuring communi- ty interest in its welfare. The bap- tism occurs at the church the morn- ing or evening before the party in most cases. Filipinos are largely Catholic, Catholicism having been intro- duced in the 16th century, and the Philippines is the Catholic na- tion of the East. After the religious ceremony is finished the occasion be- comes one of gaiety and abundance, with feasting, speeches, music and dancing. Over twoarchaismay be employed. The expense is very great, and a unique method has been evolved to meet the high prices in Ha- waii where chickens and pigs are very expensive. The infant is bathed and rubbed with a concoction of Phi- lippine herbs, and certain balsam herbs are given the mother to drink. A hot compress wrung out of herbal water is placed on the abdomen of the child several times a day irrespective of the temperature or the condition of the child.

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*The Philippine barrio is a village. Towns are composed of groups of the barrio, and there are few cities of consequence outside of Manila.
Some Filipino Traits Transplanted

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

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

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

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

A leading family at X plantation had three daughters, each remarkably bright, attractive, and determined. They were very popular and had many suitors. Everything progressed well up to a certain point. As long as it was merely a matter of receiving presents and entertaining suitors from the usual array of eligible young men according to Filipino tradition, the girls were amiable. But when the question of marriage came in view they were ordered to accept prosperous but middle aged and uneducated, unprepossessing husbands, they rebelled. The eldest, a promising student in her sophomore year at an American state university, eloped with a waiter rather than marry her mother's choice. The youngest daughter refused to wed a poor-marked bank roll and left home, despite threats, to go to work as a maid. The older sister, an exceptionally beautiful girl remained the sole hope of her parents. She was kept under rigid surveillance, not allowed to go out alone, and above all never permitted to see or hear from the young man of her own choice. She was pledged performo to a sailor to whom her family was heavily indebted, and the date set for the wedding. The evening before she escaped and married her young man, and has now been living happily with him for some five years. The situation for her scheming mother was not so happy. The unfortunate suitor, cheated of his last widely prospect, lost his patience and his head and threatened to kill himself and the mother for not keeping her promise. As the only solution the mother divorced her hus-

Some Filipino Traits Transplanted

bined and married the boy, some 20 years her junior, herself. They now have one child.

Marriage is regarded as sacred in the Philippines and among the old school Filipinos in Hawaii, and there is no divorce, because, according to the old proverb: "Marriage cannot be compared to a meat roll which one can spit out when hot!" In Hawaii where the unbalanced sex ratio gives the woman undue advantage and where the foreign milieu under-mines Filipino mores, there is considerable shifting of husbands, and making of matches without legal formalities. One middle aged couple at Y plantation with a 21 year old son, invited the writer to their house one Saturday night to attend a wedding. Upon arrival at the house with the customary gifts of food, and congratula-

tions, to the son, the latter was nowhere to be seen. The group proceeded to the church and lo and behold it was the former parents, dressed in their Sunday best, who had chosen this particular time to marry themselves, as a courteous gesture, no doubt, to their five children.

A christening of a wedding does not measure up to Filipino standards unless there is a lavish celebration. The nixie is true of their funerals, and the family and friends of the deceased often go deeply into debt to hold services which will evince their respect and affection and assure the departed a safe journey. The deceased is still accorded a vital role in the family functions, especially if he was an elder member. He is considered as a member in absentia, his last wishes are executed to the letter, and the moral ties between him and the survivors are sometimes stronger than relationships between the living. Ceremo-

nial sites after death are strictly observed by the Filipinos of Hawaii and are among the most marked of the culture traits transplanted.

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

Among the older people these formal traditions are revered and followed strictly. But the young people enjoy the feast, and, forgetting the solemnity of the occasions, make merry and even dance instead of mourn-

ing. To the writer this behavior, which they attribute to American ecumenism and individuality, is immoral and sacrilegious. But it is simply one of many illustrations of the changing attitudes and customs through which the Filipinos of the younger generation are responding to their new environment.
High indices of social disorganization among the Puerto Ricans\(^1\) in Honolulu may be accounted for by historical and cultural forces. Social welfare workers, juvenile probation officers, and police officers have all found these immigrants to constitute a disproportionate share of their cases. Ever since the arrival of the main group of immigrants in 1901, they have been in conflict with the mores and folklore of the American community and have suffered the legal penalties and discipline of the courts.\(^2\) At present the Puerto Ricans rate highest per thousand of the population 16 years of age or over in the annual number of convictions for murder, manslaughter, robbery, burglary, and sex crimes.\(^3\) and consequently increase the case load of social agencies. In this preliminary study the writer will deal only with the aged in the Social Service Bureaus.

**MIGRATION**

Several factors were responsible for the migration of these former Spanish subjects who traveled over 3,000 miles from their homeland to sign contracts for plantation work in a foreign environment. Porto Rico, densely populated (3,445 sq. m. for 933,848 pop. or about 277 persons per sq. m.), in the late eighties and nineties, was far from a "rich port".

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

\(^2\) See Governor Letters, Executive Book 5, p. 54 for A. M. Brown's, "High Sheriff Analysis of Tables of Arrests and Offences of Porto Ricans, 1901-1922."

\(^3\) Romuald Adams, The Peoples of Hawaii 1933 pp. 48-57, and Annual Report, Police Department, City and County of Honolulu, 1904.


**Fifty Aged Puerto Ricans**

By KUM PUI LAI

The Porto Ricans by then a hybrid race consisting of Borinquen, Indians, Negroes, Spanish, and other Europeans were chiefly peasants tilling the soil, and working on sugar cane, and banana plantations, coffee fields, and their own farms. Over four centuries that had been under the domination of the Spanish whose harsh treatment especially by the mounted police is still talked about by the aged Porto Ricans when they reminisce about their experiences in the homeland.

On August 8, 1909 one of the most disastrous hurricanes took a toll of 3,269 lives and caused property damages amounting to millions of dollars. An epidemic of the smallpox came about the same time, killing many, and brought the population to extreme poverty and starvation. With homes broken, families separated and their farms destroyed, these immigrants gladly accepted the timely offers to make their fortunes on the plantations of Hawaii and to return in a few years after a reconstruction period in their country.

From December 23, 1900 to October 31, 1901, the Porto Ricans migrated to Hawaii in eleven expeditions. About 4,600 immigrants arrived; 2,300 were men and the remainder, women and children.\(^4\) The following excerpts from case studies mention the causes for migration to a totally strange land:

"It is a fair Puerto Rican, resembling a Frenchman in appearance. He was born in San German, Porto Rico, Oct. 16, 1884. His father was F. L., his mother C. B. Man was his mother's family name. There were two brothers and three sisters in the family who all died in Porto Rico in a smallpox epidemic which swept the island. When he was 10 years of age his parents died and he went to live with an uncle. When twelve, he started to work in the coffee and sugar plantations as a laborer."

"He married C.M. in Porto Rico and had three children. The wife and children died before he left for Hawaii. He was told that if he would come to Hawaii he could work for 3 years, earning $5 a month the first year, $6 the second year, and $7 the third year. He thought this would improve his financial condition as Porto Rico was witnessing a period of hard times just after the Spanish-American War and the disastrous hurricane in 1899."

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

"A.S., who has brought me small group of laborers on a plantation at Ponce, earned seventy-five cents a day. He was attracted to the Hawaiian Islands as labor agents spread the news that things were

**SOCIAL CONFLICTS**

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

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

"E. P. when asked about his common law relationship with a Hawaiian woman, replied in his broken English: "I no get money for marry Ricone. Too much Porto Rico same home stay, they no marry. Before all some in Porto Rico."

"J. R. justified taking over his mother's family name as follows: I no see my father I shung use his name so I follow my mother's name."
Fifty Aged Puerto Ricans

The 14 per cent, among whom are the more smiling and sick, find solace and security in private boarding homes. Several Spanish and Puerto Rican women who have extra rooms in their homes are of the Sinala Boarding House for the indigents. Twelve or 24 per cent live with families whom they contacted since their arrival in Hawaii. In addition to having regular meals these men find companionship in others placed in the same home and also with the children of the boarding homes. The other 31 or 62 per cent, however, live alone in boarding homes. They usually pay from $0.30 to $0.50 for a furnished room. Among high concentration include Kalihiwai, Liliuokalani, and the Kalihi and Liliuokalani districts.

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

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

“A.A.L. states, ‘Porto Rico before good place. Sometime big wind, but fruits too much sweet, Porto Ricans no sight like here. All good people. The kids on here get too easy time. After school they go swimming and play ball all afternoon. In Porto Rico they worked on the farms and helped their parents. The young girls, they obey their mother. They so much eager up above, here I like go back for visit but too far to go, no money.’”

He is less apathetic in receiving relief. In explaining his situation A.R. who had worked over 25 years on the various plantations remarked: “Every time pay day come we use to spend too much. We get no family and nothing to do and no worry. So sometime we gamble and lose. Sometimes we go out with all kind of women (women). You had now, no can help ourself.”

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

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Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese

By CLARENCE Glick

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

The Americans who sell to Hawaii from San Francisco, site of the largest and most famous Chinatown in the United States, looks for a similar community in Honolulu, especially after he learns that there are 3,600 more people of Chinese ancestry in Honolulu than in San Francisco. But he is surprised to see that the so-called "Chinatown" is not an exclusively Chinese quarter, but a district in which among the Chinese are intermixed considerable Japanese firms, with here and there a business operated by Koreans, Filipinos and white-Americans (Hao-obs). On the street he may see not only Cantonese faces, but faces of every race group living in the Islands. From the second-story windows and balconies look down representatives of all the groups which make up Honolulu's polyglot community.

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

The first Chinese to live in Honolulu appears to have been a trader who arrived with his stock of goods in 1823. The census of 1833 reported 124 Chinese men—no Chinese women—living in Honolulu, but gave no information concerning their distribution within the city. By 1846 the Chinese residents had increased to 2,710, in a city of 33,921—a population made up of 10,061 native Hawaiians, 419 "Half-castes," and 1,261 "other foreigners" (mostly whites). In addition to the 2,710 Chinese, 201, or 34 per cent, were concentrated in what is now known as the "down-town section" including the lower-lying land north of the present business district, an area which came to be known as the "Chinese quarter" or "Chinatown." Park-vice, or 11 per cent, lived directly south of the above mentioned area, called after the north of the Honolulu harbor in a section which was also a part of the general business district. One hundred others, most of the remaining Chinese residents, were scattered in various parts of Honolulu which were either residential areas of some homes inhabited; undoubtedly, nearly all of these were domestic servants in homes.

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

The earliest available business directory of Honolulu was published in 1869; in this directory 69 Chinese business firms were reported. According to a preliminary analysis, it appears that each of these business firms was located in an area which is customarily called "Chinatown." The main body of Chinese migrants came to Hawaii between the early 1870's and 1900, when, with the Annexation, the American "Exclusion Act" became effective in the Territory of Hawaii. Thousands of Chinese were imported to work on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose labor on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose labor on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose labor on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose labor on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations. The gradual urbanization of Chinese whose labor on the sugar plantations, others to work on the Chinese-managed rice plantations.

Since 1884 part of this land has been subdivided for residential use; part of it has been taken over by farmers of other races, especially Japanese. The number of Honolulu Chinese whose occupations in 1890 were returned as farmers or farm laborers was only 275.
Residential Dispersion of Urban Chinese

TABLE I
GROWTH OF TOTAL POPULATION AND CHINESE POPULATION OF HONOLULU 1866-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Honolulu Population</th>
<th>Chinese Population in Honolulu</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>13,529</td>
<td>376*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>14,314</td>
<td>632*</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>14,289*</td>
<td>1,225*</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>20,487</td>
<td>5,225*</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>22,207</td>
<td>4,407*</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>29,920</td>
<td>7,683*</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>39,306</td>
<td>9,061*</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>52,183</td>
<td>9,574*</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>83,327</td>
<td>13,383*</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>137,582</td>
<td>18,334</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Foreign-born only.

The territorial distribution of racial groups in Honolulu is provided in the 1900 Census. Unfortunately, for our purposes, this Census was taken about three months after the second Chinatown fire. It showed a total of 9,961 Chinese in Honolulu, but in the enumeration district which included the “old Chinatown” section, as well as most of the rest of the central business district, there were only 633 Chinese, 108 Japanese, 44 Part-Hawaiians, and 4 Hawaiians together with 281 of other groups. In a few years the “old Chinatown” section was rebuilt; the Chinese remained the dominant population group with other races interspersed among them. In 1920, the next year for habitants. Of these, 1,358 were Chinatown area had a total of 2,525 inhabitants. Of these, 1,358 were Chinese and 917 were Japanese. These two groups comprised over 92 per cent of the total, but there were also a number of Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians, Filipinos, and members of other racial groups. (See Table II): With the encroachment of the central business district, Chinatown was in 1930 declining as a place of habitation. The Chinese group, however, declined even more rapidly than the population of the area as a whole and, although still the dominant group, made up only 47 per cent of the total number. The visitor in Honolulu’s purposes but principally for residence. (It came later to include the largest and worst “tenement district” of the city.) The 1900 Census showed that in this section there were 1774 Chinese. Although the most numerous group, still they made up only 44 percent of the total. (See Table II). Like the “old Chinatown” section itself, this “area of second settlement” showed an increase of Chinese population in 1920, but by 1930 the number of Chinese was declining, slightly more rapidly than the population of the area as a whole. Within the district were to be found, in 1930, over 4,000 Japanese, as well as several hundred Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, Koreans, Filipinos, Porto Ricans, and a few Caucasians.

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

though the Chinese population in Honolulu increased from 13,983 to 19,354—nearly 6,000—leads to a consideration of the more recent trends in the pattern of distribution of the Honolulu Chinese group as a whole. A study of these trends must make use of data collected for the U. S. Decennial Census, and in Honolulu, as in most other cities, the boundaries of the census enumeration districts have been set arbitrarily, often with regard to "natural areas" or local communities. In addition, many of the boundaries have been changed from decade to decade, making it impossible to compare area by area for the entire city. Nevertheless, it will be worthwhile to point out some conclusions which can be drawn from the data.

The census district boundaries are such that one may fairly well separate from the rest of the city what the sociologists call Zone I (central business district) and Zone II (the zone in transition—"slum" and "shabby- to" section). (1) Within the area which contained, approximately, these two zones of Honolulu, there resided, in 1920, 6,247 Chinese, constituting about 47 per cent of the total Chinese population of the city. By 1930 the percentage of Chinese living in this area had dropped to 31. The actual number reported for the area in 1930 was 5,909, a decline of only 658 since 1920, but during that ten year period the Chinese in Honolulu had increased by 5,901, or 42 per cent over the 1920 total. (2) Contrary to the situation in American cities, where the majority of the Chinese customarily live within these two more central and less desirable zones of the city, in Honolulu less than half of the Chinese were residing in these zones in 1930, less than one-third in 1930, and the dispersion of the Chinese inhabitants from these zones has continued since the last census date.

Where, then, are the Chinese living, if not in or near Chinatown? The Chinese enumeration districts for 1920 and 1930 have been grouped so as to divide the city of Honolulu into areas corresponding as closely as possible with the various local communities of the city? (3) The first most obvious fact which appears is that in neither 1920 or 1930 was there a local community in which there were no Chinese residents. In both census periods all but two of the areas contained at least 100 Chinese. While it is true that a few of the areas show heavy concentrations, the person who is acclimated to finding groups like the Chinese or Mexicans or Negroes highly segregated within the city will at once observe that the distribution of the Chinese in Honolulu tends toward a pattern of dispersion. Moreover, a comparison of the 1930 data with the 1920 data shows that the dispersion had increased considerably during the ten year period, both in terms of absolute numbers and percentages. Thirteen areas in 1920 reported the presence of at least 200 Chinese individuals; in 1930, 23 (all but 3 of the 24). Two-thirds of the areas reported at least 300 Chinese, one-half of them at least 500. It is generally recognized in Honolulu that in three or four of the newer residential districts there are larger numbers of Chinese families than in other good residential sections, but none of these can in any way be thought of as a "Chinese area." Neighbors of the Chinese are as likely to be Japanese, Hawaiians, Portuguese, or Haole. Even within the seven areas in which, in 1930, the Haole group was the largest single group represented, 3,115 of the 8,766 residents were Chinese. (4) In only one of the 1930 areas were the Chinese the most numerous racial group, and in this community, of a cosmopolitan, lower middle-class character, the Chinese made up only 21 per cent of the total inhabitants.

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

"With our neighbors, we are friendly with those surrounding us..."
as, with whom we are intimate. Mother is the one who has most to do with the women neighbors. They visit with each other most anytime, chat for hours, and often share dishes of food back and forth or carry plants home. With them I am friendly, but not as intimate as

mother. Father and brother are friendly too, riding to work with one or two different neighbors in the morning, while mother takes their wives around during the day. Two of those neighbors are Japanese, one is Portuguese with a Filipino husband, and another is Caucasian.

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Continued on Page 25

The Chinese Store as a Social Institution

By RUNG CHONG LEE

The Chinese mercantile business and the rice industry in Hawaii have been closely inter-related during the greater part of their history. During its peak, the rice industry employed over 5,000 Chinese laborers, and it was largely operated and controlled by Chinese proprietors. The rice planters depended on the merchants for the supply of capital, merchandise, and equipment, while the storekeepers sold largely to the rice plantation workers for the purchase of their goods. The store served also as a market for the produce of the plantation. In 1926 there were in Honolulu 518 Chinese general merchandise establishments and 35 retail grocers, of which 72 were located in Chinatown and predominantly catered chiefly to Chinese. Gradually, however, the rice industry has declined, the Chinese population have largely concentrated in Honolulu, a Hawaiian born generation have supplanted the immigrants, and the Chinese stores have changed and slowly lost their once unique functions.

The foremost function of the Chinese store was to serve as a bank. Chinese immigrants had been largely of the illiterate class. Very often letters were written and read for them by the store keepers. A postal system was developed by the stores whereby large sums of money and bundles of letters were sent to agents in Hongkong, would then in the villages. On each envelope the amount to be received, the district, the village, the names of the sender and receiver were written. The immigrants were charged a small fee for every letter sent to China. In former years the fee was as low as forty cents for sending a ten-dollar gold piece. This was the only way by which the immigrants could send their money and letters to the village. In the first place, there was no postal system service between the villages. If money was sent through the banks to Hongkong, the villagers could not afford to take a trip to the city to receive it. In many instances the stores served as depositories. The immigrants, because of their inability to write English and their unfamiliarity with the American banking institution often deposited their earnings without interest with the store-keepers and frequently borrowed money from them. The store-keepers were persons who had status and commended the trust of the immigrants.

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

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

Nearly 75 percent of all the Chinese in Hawaii, resided in Honolulu in 1930.
China for a visit was as important as a personal letter. He also brought news and family tidings from the village to the immigrants in Honolulu. He could relate events with a personal touch and could give his views on village gossip. Sometimes he brought small bags of beans, beans, or yam flour, or sweets from the wives, parents, mother-in-laws, or god-parents to the immigrants. The returned immigrant also helped to refresh memories of the village as shown by the following conversation heard in a store:

Immigrant: K-lau! (as he enters the store and sees the returned immigrant). So soon come back? You want how long?

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

Immigrant: Have son born?

Immigrant: Picked a daughter.

Immigrant: Also good. Have pregnancy when you come?

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

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

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

The store was a club where the immigrant had stationed. His words meant nothing; he could be understood.

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

The Chinese Store as a Social Institution

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

The Chinese stores in Honolulu are gradually losing their economic and social functions in the community. As long as the Chinese community consisted chiefly of the first generation, the economic basis of the Chinese store was secure. The Chinese took their three meals of Chinese foods daily and used many things which were imported, such as salted eggs, preserved ducks, and sausages.3) But the first generation immigrants have either returned to China or are fast disappearing in Hawaii. In 1930 only 7,108 or 2.5 per cent of the total Chinese population in Hawaii were foreign-born. The second and third generations are losing taste for Chinese food and use American products more and more. They enjoy their trout, escallops, milk, chocolate, or coffee in place of Chinese sausage4) or Chinese canned goods and rice in the morning. The consumption of Chinese foods tends to be less and less as the number of young Chinese in Honolulu increases, and the number of first generation decreases. Food products to the value of $303,000 were imported from China from July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1931. This is an average import value of only $12.97 for Chinese resident of Hawaii.

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

1) For 1936 the memorial service or "Ching ming" which fell on April 5 was handled by Kwong Wah Chung Co., and K. G. Lum Co., both being merchantable stores.

2) Kwong Chung Lung Co. which was closed a few years ago had been a store of this type. Among the notables who found absolve in it for a time were Major Wu T'ien-Ch'ing of Shanghai and President Lin of China.

3) Chinese food can be classified into two classes, one being delicacies, and the other, ordinary foods. Under delicacies there are two kinds, sea delicacies (hot-dec) and dived delicacies (hot-dec). Sea delicacies include shark's fin, bird's nest, abalone, mushrooms, sea "uncooked". Fish delicacies, shellfish, sea mors, dried oyster, dried cuttlefish, Dried delicacies (during winter season) include dried ducks, dried chicken, sliced duck meat, dried pork, dried beef, and dried oranges. These delicacies are used largely for banquets and feasts. For ordinary purposes, the Chinese use salted fish, salted cabbage, salted eggs, vermicelli, dried cuttle fish, bean curd, bean milk, shrimps, sauce, canned fish, bamboo shoots, canned or dried. Occasionally such delicacies as mushroom, oysters, dried pork, slice duck are used in ordinary diet.

4) Chinese sausages are now imported chiefly from Vancouver, B.C., and not from China.
The Chinese Store as a Social Institution

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

The decline of the rice industry has lowered nearly one of the principal marketing channels for Chinese goods. Surplus goods can no longer be dumped into the rice plantations. Today there are five ranking imports of Chinese goods in Honolulu but a large part of their business is with non-Chinese. Seven smaller stores deal chiefly with the Chinese population and in another decade this number may be further reduced. More and more the Chinese merchants, of whom there were 160 in Honolulu in 1949, are returning to Americanized and Europeanized tastes.

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

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

Leaves from the Life History of a Chinese Immigrant

By ELIZABETH WONG

LIFE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE

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

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

"How can we live in two baskets of rice which were paid twice a year for my father's duty as a night watchman? Sometimes the peasants have a poor crop then we go hungry. During the day my father would do other small jobs for the peasants or carriers. My mother worked hard too for she went every day to the forest to gather wood for our stove... Sometimes we were hungry for days. My mother and I would go over the harvested rice fields of the peasants to pick the grains they dropped. Once in a while my mother would go near a big paper mill and take a handful. She would then sit on them until the working men went home. As soon as they go we run home, she clean and cook the rice for us two. We had only salt and water to eat with the rice. Today when I hear my children grumble about the food I wish they could experience what I went through and what the children in China are doing to relieve their hunger.

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

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

"Do you want me to remarry or will you be a good girl and go to stay with a certain lady," she said.

I told her that I do not want her to remarry but I will go with the lady so that she will have money to pay for my father's coffin. If she did marry again I would have a hard life; she would have given me her life amount. She has used broken English and Chinese, I shall translate her Chinese accordingly and shall try not to change her style.)"
time looking for her when I came hip. I leaned my head against her breast and if I knew that was the last time I would be so near to her I would have let my brother cry alone.

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

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

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

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

LEAVING THE ANCESTRAL VILLAGE

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

"The first thing I asked my master was a piece of sugar cane. He said that there is time around the place where we live. How said I was for I expected cane to be all around.

"Mr. Chin was the owner of a large carpenter shop on Naunem street. He had many workers. They cooked our meals and they slept in the shop. I always took the meals and cooked for the family. We lived behind the shop. I had to wash clothes, clean the house and the bath. I also waited on the table and when the family was served then I took my bowl to my master for food. I always ate separately from the family table. Whenever I go back for a second helping my mistress would glare at me. Being afraid I used to press the rice in my bowl so that I had my fill and avoided her glare. Although she called me a "slave girl," a good for nothing girl, and beat me unmercifully I was happy to be in Hawaii. At least I had food in my stomach and ate with a silver spoon.

ON THE ROUGH ROAD TO WESTERNIZATION

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

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

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

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

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

MARRIAGE — A RELEASE FROM RESTRAINTS

"I believe the turning point of my life came when I was eighteen. One morning I overheard my master tell my mistress for wanting to marry me off to a man out of my same group. He said that long ages my mother made him promise that I be married to someone of my own group—Pum Dee. He said that it is only fair to procure the decent care to me. I hurried away from the door and waited to be called at any minute. I went before them. My master who was always nice to me said that my mother would be happy to know that I am married and on my own. He said that merchant, a Mr. Teng, from Waikiki, Maui, is looking for a bride. He is well-to-do but is forty years old. You are only eighteen. I must leave the master up to you. If he told me that the man was sixty I would have gladly said "yes." Here was my chance to escape from the harsh words of my mistress. Better than suffer some more I accepted.
How he looks like I did not know but with that thought of freedom in mind I slept peacefully for the first time.

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

CONTACTS WITH THE HOME VILLAGE

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

BETWEEN TWO CULTURES BUT ADJUSTED PHILOSOPHICALLY

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

With a wishful smile she went on commenting about her mistakes. She said that now although you are so or how much better you are than the other person never look down upon him because someone may be in that person's position. "Today, my mistress lives in a one room house on Vineyard street. Her husband, three sons, and two daughters are dead leaving a son-in-law who told her to get out of his home. Now she know what poor means. She gladly calls me her "daughter" and even if she was mean to me I let that be forgotten. When I see her in town I give her a dollar or two. If she was nice to me maybe I would have been a little more glad to help her.

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

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

Familial Survivals in Rural Hawaii

By SHIKU OGURA

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

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

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

The parents ordinarily prefer early marriages for their children. Married young people are usually more steady than those without family responsibilities of their own. Furthermore, a daughter-in-law in the house is a great help with the daily chores. But the youngsters today prefer to delay their marriage until they have saved some money. One meddler said, "Nowadays, the youngsters prefer to marry late. Occasionally, the parents get worried over their sons and ask me to encourage them to get married. A young man of twenty-two years said, "My father wants me to marry soon. He tells me that he married when he was thirty-five years old and now he is having a difficult time financially. He wants to retire early and to depend upon me. But I don't want to marry yet. I want to see more of life. I won't marry until I'm thirty or thirty-five years old. My father tells me that if I don't get married soon, I'll fool around girls and drink. I want to show him that I can wait a little longer and"
acc not get into trouble. I think he wants my wife to help the family, but when I get married, I don't expect to live with him. Another young man said, 'I didn't want to marry as early. I was planning to continue my education, but my parents were not in a position to support me through school, so I remained at home and worked in the coffee field. My mother wanted me to stay at home and help her around the house and the fields. They feared a misfortun and arranged a date for my wedding, but I had not seen the girl before.'

The task of a midwife is not an easy one. It requires time, tact, and patience. Some doctors consider this to be a low honor and despise hard times and a boy coffee, listening, but others deride their services. The midwife is seen as a matter of obligation. When the first approaches for midwifery, the midwife takes the boy to the girl's house under the pretense of buying some chickens or pigs in order to get a view of her house and personality. Obviously, this is not necessary if the boy and the girl are already in love or have seen each other before. In some cases, the mother consults the midwife and the boy, like inviting them in and serves tea and cookies. No mother consents to give her daughter away at the first proposal. The tactfully refuses by say- ing that her daughter is needed in the house for storming. To give a daughe at the first proposal means a lack of dignity of the family. Another midwife reveals her method of creat- ing the situation. Sometimes there are cases where the boy and the girl never see each other. Then I take an arrangement whereby the boy can meet the girl on her shopp- ing trip in town to buy provisions or to make a party, or a social gathering. If they like each other, the other will make a move and only the parents' approval is required.

The midwife makes up in her work with the greatest secrecy. Sometimes, it takes more than a dozen visits before the parents' approval is secured. One midwife once made twenty-four visits before he secured consent. One midwife was at such hard work after making several unsuccessful calls that he wanted to commit suicide. He said, "I knew an agreement could not be reached, so I went to a cafe with another midwife and got so drunk, I came home and fell. I cut my eye." This shows how seriously a midwife regards his obligation.

Certain principles are observed in matchmaking. First is a careful scrutin- ing of the Submit or "most ideal." The presence of joyous or inarticulate family life is a serious hindrance in matchmaking. Second is a high regard for family social status in Japan. A proper record or a report in Japan is regarded as a serious obli- gation to marriage. The third consideration is the character and status of the brothers, sisters, parents, and relatives in Hawaii. Due to the difficulty in securing records from Japan and the fact that these matters can be easily learned from fellow villagers in Kona, investigation of the "kinkori" or family registry in the ancestral village is rarely possible. In the better families this investigation is still made. When I got married, my girl's parents wrote to my relatives in Japan and in Kona to find out everything about me. It took over three months. They also wrote to local people to find out about me," said in a midwife.

Time and conditions have allowed the Japanese to live in Hawaii for twelve years. This period was thought important that both the bride and the groom were from the same "keiki" or prefecture in Japan, but little thought is given to this factor. One midwife said, "It is a wedding, otherwise, they think that something is missing. They like to eat and drink and make merry. They make it an elaborate aff- aire in order to impress upon the couple that it is the most important event in their lives. This puts them under a moral obligation to make good and forgive each other's petty griev- ances." Several families give each a great feast that it leads to bankruptc- y. In the past the popularity of the groves of pine trees was measured by the number of gift bags of rice piled in front of the house, but this prac- tice is slowly being modified. A small sum of money is usually exchanged in an exclusive, Kinloch, since as household gifts are also sent. To request to send a gift is a sign of questionable friendship. A family that sends out two hundred invitations is thought to have a large wedding party. As in most rural districts, the "kinkori" (social neighborhood club) members play an important role in the preparation and arrangement of the wedding feast. The midwives arrange all details for the wedding. However, his obliga- tion does not end with the celebration of the marriage. He is the perma- nent advisor of the couple and will be called upon in case of a family quarrel or a sign of divorce.

Continued from Page 20

Lind, A. W.


Continued on Page 40
The Taxi Dance Hall in Honolulu

By VIRGINIA LORD and ALICE W. LEE

THE TAXI DANSE HALLS

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

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

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

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

Now—once of those—and across the street, down a cobble-stoned alley, is a "zak."—catered to by Filipinos only—and probably the most picturesque of the halls.

(45) From within the halls of a rough-
ly built, and unpainted, one-story, wooden structure, behind the corner
store of a busy intersection comes bizarre music—American jazz with a
Filipino accent. No other sound—no
laughing or shuffling of feet—as it is
heard from the streets around the
other dance halls—can be distinguish-
ed. Located over a swamp—this one
can easily discover for himself from
the peculiar odor—it has a series of
hazardous steps, rusted, unpainted,
grating, and literally bespattered with
spatula and tobacco juice, leading to
the hall. Sitting on the benches a
against the walls, hanging out the win-
dows that extend all around the room,
are the patrons—Filipinos who are
smoking, idly scratching their heads,
or picking their noses. Four painted
Filipino and Porto Rican girls, each
one with dangling earrings, consis-
tute the dancers. In the background,
four older women—mothers of the
girls, who accompany their daughters
every night to their em-
ployment. Of the old school, they be-
lieve in chaperones and are wary
and watchful.

Even though the orchestra—on a
platform decorated with faded streamers and hanging, and a picture
of President Roosevelt—is hanging
away more solitarily, few pay much at-
tention—neither dancing, nor smiling, nor speaking. The gloomy,eller ex-
pressions of the men, numbering about thirty, do not change even when the proprietor bel lows "Give
dance." There is a rush toward the girls at this cry and the twenty or
who have no partners dance with
other. There seems to be someth-
ing sinister in the atmosphere—for
those bland, immobile expressions connoted strong emotions and fearful
purposes. Down at the police station
(1) The writers interviewed girls that are this term project for the in-
trductory course in Sociology.
(2) See table on page 50.
The Taxi Dance Hall in Honolulu

just a chance acquaintance or a friend of recent development, the girl gains her introduction to this vocation. More than one girl is working to save enough money to go back to school. Several go to business college during the day and work all night. Some young girls who marry into the service, to live a married life for a few years, find themselves deserted when their husbands are transferred. To support their children, they enter dance halls. Other girls have orphan brothers and sisters to support, and more than one has a drunken parent on her hands.

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

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

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Lind, A. W.


Lorden, Darla


Matsumoto, Jitsukichi


Park, Robert E.

"The University and the Community of Races", Pacific Affairs, V (1932), 490-505.

Reinorc, John E., and Mrs. Aiko

(Tohuku)


Reuter, E.B.


Smith, W.C.


Continued on Page 55
Population Trends In Hawaii

By ANDREW W. LIND

Hawaii's population continues to grow rapidly through the crown of births over deaths. During the year ending June 30, 1935, there were 9,421 births and 3,679 deaths, leaving a net gain of 5,742. The very high ratio of 256 births per 100 deaths reflects a population which is youthful and healthy. According to the 1930 census, Hawaii is deficient in the older age groups in which the proportion of deaths is normally high, and it is moderately well supplied with women of child-bearing age. Death rates are low in the age groups between 20 and 40, which constitutes 40 per cent of the total population of Hawaii in 1930.

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

It is noteworthy that the Polynesians stocks are today in a more favorable position for biological growth than they were ten years ago. During the past five years the Hawaiian population increased by 6,024 thru the excess of births over deaths, or 2.5 per cent annually. The ratio of births to deaths has likewise increased among the Filipinos. The period of maximum natural increase of the immigrant groups in Hawaii has not occurred immediately after their entry.

Table I Births, Deaths, and Vital Indices by Racial Groups, *(1)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Births</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Births x 1,000</th>
<th>Deaths x 1,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian and</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Hawaiian</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>1276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1674</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7703</td>
<td>2788</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>5311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(1) Birth registrations were 86 per cent accurate in 1920 and 59 per cent in 1925, when Hawaii was admitted to the Birth Registration Area. It has been in the Death Registration Area since 1917.

*(2) All others included.
to the Islands and it is probable that the vital index of the Filipinos will continue to increase for some time while that of the earlier immigrant groups declines. The Japanese are still most favorably situated to add to the population but with the passing of the first generation mothers and the changing age and sex structure of the population, the rate of natural increase will diminish. The average annual increase of population by the excess of births over deaths during the years from July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1935 was as follows: Hawaiian and Part Hawaiians, 2.5 per cent; Caucasians, .7 per cent; Chinese, 1.6 per cent; Japanese, 4.0 per cent; Koreans, .3 per cent; Filipinos, 1.3 per cent and total 1.7 per cent. Owing, however, to the excess of departures over arrivals, particularly among the Chinese and Filipinos, the actual rate of increase was as indicated in Table II.

In common with most portions of continental United States, Hawaii's birth rates are falling. The birth rates of the immigrant groups, corrected for age and sex, correspond rather closely with the average length of their residence in the Islands, the Filipinos having the highest rates and the Russians the lowest. The number of births per 1,000 females aged 15 to 44 in the total population decreased from 185 in the years 1902-1909 to 162 in the years 1923 to 1925. Although this rate is still high as compared with continental United States, it may be expected to approach the mainland standard as assimilation continues. An interesting correlate of the declining birth rates has been the fall in infant mortality. Hawaii's rate of 64.93 per 1000 births in 1935 is considerably lower than the rate in other plantation regions for which data are available and it compares favorably with the 1924 rate of 65.8 in continental United States. Hawaii's infant mortality rate has declined rapidly during the past 20 years, from 100 in 1915 to the present rate of 64.6. This improvement has by no means been uniform in the several racial groups in Hawaii. The pure Hawaiians still suffer from a very high proportion of deaths among infants, owing in part to their resistance to modern medical practice. The Portuguese and the recent arrivals from the Philippines have high rates of 124 and 111 respectively, while the groups with a longer experience in Hawaii have comparatively low rates. Less impressive changes have occurred in the corrected death rates from some of the more important diseases, such as tuberculosis.

Reverberation of the shifting character of birth and death rates are found in the population load of Hawaii's public and private schools and in the corresponding costs of education. The first grade population in both public and private schools reached its peak in 1933-34 with 10,860 students, and it has been steadily declining since. The total school population in the first six grades showed its first decline this year when the enrollment dropped to 62,192 from the previous year's peak of 62,150.

**MISCEGENATION**

Hawaii continues to live up to its reputation as a racial melting pot. In spite of rising nationalistic sentiments and more normal age and sex distributions in most of the ethnic groups, the proportion of mixed racial marriages and of births of mixed racial ancestry is increasing in Hawaii. Of 10,038 marriages in the four years ending June 30, 1935, 3,000 or 29.3 per cent were between members of different racial groups, using the conventional eleven-fold classification of people in Hawaii. (Table IV) This ratio of

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Groups</th>
<th>April 1, 1930 Number</th>
<th>April 1, 1930 Percent</th>
<th>June 30, 1935 Number</th>
<th>June 30, 1935 Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>22,636</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>23,710</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian Hawaiian</td>
<td>18,632</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>17,742</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic Hawaiian</td>
<td>12,932</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>17,836</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>27,588</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>29,530</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Chinese</td>
<td>6,671</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7,966</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Caucasian</td>
<td>44,895</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>50,238</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>27,179</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>27,264</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>339,631</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>146,972</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>6,461</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6,668</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>63,052</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>54,668</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>368,236</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>384,487</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (1) Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1930
* (2) Territorial Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics
* (3) Due to the arbitrary classification of mixed blood children, certain groups, notably the Other Caucasian, and the two part-Hawaiians, are artificially augmented.
### Table IV: Marriages According to Race in the Territory of Hawaii for the 4 Years Ending June 30, 1935.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Groom</th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>Caucasian-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Asiatic-Hawaiian</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Other Caucasian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>% of Out-Marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 51.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 72.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9 29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 77.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20 35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>328.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3317</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.6 3477%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>998 73.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 76.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1542</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>3188</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>67 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Population Trends in Hawaii

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

The proportion of mixed-blood children born is naturally not as large as the percentage of mixed marriages, owing to the higher ratios of pure-blood marriages in the past, but during the year ending June 30, 1935, 238 or 24.6 per cent of all the children born were of mixed ancestry. In the year ending June 30, 1933, this ratio was 21.8 per cent, and the following year it was 23.1 per cent. In the population tables (41), however, all of these mixed blood children excepting those of part-Hawaiian ancestry, are classified as pure bloods. As a consequence the part-Hawaiian population appears to be increasing rapidly.

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continued from Page 29

Smith, W. C. "The Hybrid in Hawaii as a Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIX (1934), 620-68.


Race Relations in Hawaii
(A Summary Statement)
By ROMANZO ADAMS

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