Social Process In Hawaii

Published by the Sociology Club
University of Hawaii

VOLUME VII
November, 1941
Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword—Mao Kwong Ao ............................................. 2
Types of Social Movements in Hawaii—Andrew W. Lind ........ 5
Dashi Do—A Form of Religious Movement—
Masako Agena and Eiko Yoshinaga ......................... 15
An Abortive Religious Cult—Henry Lau and M. Miyazawa ... 20
The Filipino Federation of America, Incorporated: A Study in
the Natural History of a Social Institution—
David Thompson .................................................. 21
The Population Movement in Hawaii—Romantso Adams .... 35
Morale in Hawaii—Bernhard Herrman ......................... 41
The Social Effects of Increased Income of Defense Workers of
Oriental Ancestry—Yukiko Kimura ............................ 46
A Note on Social Work Training in Hawaii—Ferris Lowitt .... 56

EDITOR
Mao Kwong Ao

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Eliau Choy  Eiko Yoshinaga
Robert M. W. Lee

BUSINESS MANAGERS  CIRCULATION MANAGER
Joseph Tamura  Masako Agena
Gunji Kawahara

BUSINESS ADVISER
Shoku Ogura

FACULTY ADVISER
Andrew W. Lind
FOREWORD
MAN KWONG AU

Social Process in Hawaii, published under the auspices of the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii, makes its 1941 appearance in a world distraught by many contending forces. More than ever before, Hawaii is a center of local, national, and international interest and attention. The Islands have often been referred to as a sociological laboratory and a valuable testing ground for problems in human nature and social relationships. Hawaii's role in this regard has become even more important in 1941 with the increasing complexities in Island life brought about by world conditions.

In all of the six annual editions so far published, the editors of Social Process in Hawaii have attempted to maintain a standard of impartiality based on scientific data. The writers have endeavored to give the layman a more vivid and realistic understanding of the people of Hawaii and their institutions through the application of social theory. Still with this purpose, the Sociology Club introduces the seventh edition of Social Process in Hawaii devoted to a discussion of "Social Movements in Hawaii."

The instability and uncertainty of life make human beings for the most part dissatisfied and goal-seeking creatures. They are always on the move, searching for new and better channels of social recognition, striving to work out solutions for their hopes and aspirations. This is especially observable in cross-current areas where racial and linguistic groups mix and where crucial social and cultural problems are always evident. From such spontaneous interstimulation, social movements inevitably emerge. Sociologically defined, a social movement is a conscious collective attempt to establish a new way of life. It is a consequence of much inchoate dissatisfaction, unrest, and rebellion, leading to efforts to effect a new order. Hawaii's varied cultural situation has been conducive to the rise of many such movements. Some have quickly passed, and others have become institutionalized. They have brought adventure, joy, and satisfaction to many, on the one hand, and despair, frustration, unresolved conflict, and emotional instability on the other. It is of such material that the discussions in this issue of Social Process in Hawaii consist.

The introductory article by Andrew W. Lind provides a survey of the outstanding types of social movements which a frontier region such as Hawaii tends to call forth. The missionary movement is presented as one of the most significant developments in the social life of Hawaii, particularly as a contribution to the morale of the native and the immigrant-labor groups. Similarly, certain off-shoots of the missionary movement, such as the Y.M.C.A. and the "service clubs," are represented as religious in function by affording their members socially sanctioned and challenging objectives although they are largely secular in method and outlook. The third important type of social movements characteristic of Hawaii are nationalistic and nativistic in character, although they also have a religious function.

The role of leadership in giving expression to the aimless stirrings of the masses and in resolving their conflicting desires and hopes is illustrated in the account of the Daishi-Do, a variant form of Shingon Buddhism discussed by Masako Agena and Eiko Yoshinaga, student majors in sociology. The particular manifestation of Daishi-Do was initiated through the work of a prophet-leader, a former sugar plantation laborer and unsuccessful fortune hunter, who received his mission through a vision. Inspired by this call, he gathered a following which met regularly to perform the rituals of the cult.

Similar to the Daishi-Do, but wider in their appeal, are the Sacred Stones of Wahiawa, discussed in the article by Henry Lum and M. Miyazawa, entitled "An Abusive Religious Cult." This indigenous religious movement which had its inception in 1927 attracted a huge following of diverse racial groups. Soon many flocked to Wahiawa where they paid reverential respects to these awe-inspiring and magic-working stones. Lum and Miyazawa describe in some detail the steps by which this movement developed toward an institution and the circumstances of its decay and dissolution. This account suggests the way in which other interracial religious movements may arise in Hawaii.

Of current political and sociological interest is the attempt of David Thompson to characterize the Filipino Federation of America, Incorporated, as a social institution with a natural history. It is the writer's thesis that in the life and history of Hilario Moncado, defiled Filipino leader, is also revealed the nature and growth of the Filipino Federation of America. Thompson in this article points out the many frustrations and balked dispositions of the early Filipino immigrants to Hawaii and the manner in which Moncado appeared at the opportune moment as a prophet of a new order in which their deepest desires were to be realized. Emeritus Professor of Sociology and population expert, Romanzo Adams, provides new and valuable additions to the available picture of population trends in Hawaii. His account is a continuation of his article in the 1940 edition of Social Process dealing with the population shifts occurring in Hawaii for the past decade. He now contrasts his predictions of many years of local population growth with the recently published 1940 census reports. During the past year, Hawaii has grown in numbers both from within and without.

Bernhard Hornmann, sociology instructor at the University of Hawaii, treats the problem of Military, naval and civilian morale locally from the angles of geographical isolation and the inadequacy of intimate contacts. He states that "it is this isolation from home, friends, from one's centers of cultural creativity and the consequent lack of mental stimulation—these are involved in the process of deterioration" or demoralization.

"The Social Effects of Increased Income of Defense Workers of Oriental Ancestry" provides an interesting clue to the problem of national defense. Miss Yukiko Kimura, Japanese Secretary of
the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. declares that the skyrocketing of wages in the community has important psychological and sociological repercussions. The removal of the individual from the influence of family and kin has frequently wrought havoc to moral habits, and drinking, gambling, and other forms of vice have increased greatly among defense workers. The sudden projection of many people into a higher plane of living has brought serious maladjustments in family and community.

Dr. Ferris Laune's discussion, "A note on Social Work Training in Hawaii," is a historical summary of the local humanitarian movement with a brief account of the trend of techniques utilized by social workers.

Finally, the editors wish to call attention to the fact that in this as in previous issues of Social Process in Hawaii, they are not responsible for the points of view or the positions held by the writers of the articles. They also wish to express their indebtedness to Mrs. Katherine N. Lind for editorial assistance and to the National Youth Administration for clerical assistance.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The last line of proof of the 1941 issue of Social Process in Hawaii was completed on the 6th of December. The treacherous attack by Japan upon Oahu the following day and the entrance of the United States into the war have naturally greatly altered the Island situation which Social Process seeks to interpret and necessitates some revision of the material which is presented. One article has been omitted entirely as being inappropriate for publication at the present time and minor changes have been made in several other articles. The reader's indulgence for the restricted size of the journal and the delay in publication, as well as the somewhat sketchy form of certain articles, is earnestly requested.

SOME TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Throughout the century and a half of contact with the western world, Hawaii has been, and still is, very much of a frontier region. It has been an 'el dorado' to which men especially have flocked in search of fortune. Until recently Hawaii has grown in population chiefly through immigration rather than from births, and as late as 1940 the ratio of women to men in the adult population was only about 575 to 1000. As a consequence, Hawaii has been a region of profound and continuous social change, where old customs and values have been challenged and frequently discarded, and where new modes of life have necessarily evolved. Like all frontiers, Hawaii has afforded a rich laboratory for the observation of social movements.

The migrants to Hawaii came from at least a dozen major areas of the earth with widely contrasting cultural and economic systems, and Hawaii's social history is largely a record of the varied efforts to reconcile these differences. Many of the immigrant institutions, it is true, could function quite effectively with little modification, at least for a time; but for the most the social situation differed so greatly from that of the homeland that a new organization of the old country folkways was evolved in Hawaii. The initial stages of many of the contemporary institutions in Hawaii may be traced in the varied social movements by which the immigrants have collectively "sought to establish a new order of life."

No complete account is possible of all the significant social movements in the Territory of Hawaii, but an attempt will be made in the following pages to present the chief characteristics of certain of the more important types.

The incipient stages of all social movements are marked by widespread social disorganization, in the sense that the mores and institutions have broken down, and the traditional definitions of life and conduct no longer satisfy the masses.

Local historians have long recognized that the world-renowned missionary movement, which swept nearly twenty thousand persons (nearly a third of the adult population) into the Protestant church in Hawaii within a period of four years was preceded by an extended period of social unrest in which the natives had lost confidence in the old order of life, including its technology, moral system, and its leaders. In similar manner each of the other social movements in Hawaii was born out of some serious break in the on-going current of communal life as a result of which large numbers of people were frustrated, uncertain, restless. The collective effort to reorganize life upon a more secure and satisfying basis may give rise to the most diverse

movements—strikes, religious revivals, nativist or nationalistic movements, political reforms, fads or fashions. All of these have been observed in varied forms in Hawaii.

The Missionary Movement

The social changes inaugurated by the handful of Protestant missionaries who landed in Hawaii in 1820 have naturally attracted wide attention because of the dramatic conversion which occurred less than a generation after the arrival of the original missionary company. So widespread and rapid was collective religious conversion that competent observers in all seriousness referred to Hawaii as “Christianized” in 1841.

...the constitution, laws, institutions, and religious professions were as decidedly Christian as in any of the older nations of Christendom. There were no other acknowledged religions, no other acknowledged worship. They had the Sabbath, Christian churches, and a Christian ministry; and their literature, so far as they had any, was almost wholly Christian. Theirs were some of the largest churches in the world, and as great a proportion of the people attending the Sabbath worship, as in any Christian nation.

A contagious enthusiasm for the new faith and learning is revealed in the early accounts of the missionaries. Within three years of their arrival in the Islands (1823) “the whole mass of the people (of Oahu) seem to be anxiously looking to us (missionaries) for books and instruction,” and by 1831, “about one third of the people in the islands (had) been brought into schools and one half of these taught to read.”

Religious fervor of epidemic proportions is evident in the “Great Awakening” of 1836-38 when according to the missionaries... The word seemed to fall on the hearts of sinners like the hammer and the fire of the Almighty. Many wept and many trembled... Many came from the distance of fifty and sixty miles to hear the gospel. It was a season of deep and solemn interest. God’s word was with power, and his work was glorious. Multitudes wept and trembled, and hundreds evidently think they are converted.

Stupid natives became good hearers, the imbecile began to think, the groveling sensualist with a dead conscience showed signs of deep feeling.

The manifestations of religious excitement, on the part of both the haole missionaries and the native converts, were surprisingly similar to those apparent in the United States at about the same period. Protracted meetings were held with emotional exhortations on the “sin and danger of refusing an offered Saviour” which in some instances broke forth into uncontrollable state(s) of tumultuous feeling, both on the part of the pastor and the people. The pastor, in some instances, des-
movement has been entirely propagated by a succession of some 940 missionaries between 1850 and 1940 who have maintained themselves in the field without scrip or purse or at their own expense. The enthusiasm and devotion of these lay missionaries is revealed by the steady expansion of the movement especially among the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian population, and more recently among the Japanese. The membership, adhering to the rigorous Mormon code of moral controls, such as tithing, refraining from the use of alcoholic drinks, tobacco, tea, coffee, and other stimulating beverages, is reported to be 15,000 in 1940.7

Secular Religions and Philanthropic Movements

The religious fervor of the missionary movement was not wholly spent within the church and the formal institutions of the church. A number of highly significant offshoots of the missionary tradition have appeared in the form of what Dr. R. E. Park has called "secular religions." Sharing much of the high moral purpose and zealous conviction of the missionary forebears but directing their efforts to more worldly and practical ends, the founders and participants in this number of religious and philanthropic movements of modern Hawaii may properly be conceived as missionaries. Among the more significant and typical of these secular descendants of the missionary movement are the local Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, certain of the "Service" associations, and local welfare and philanthropic movements. Although the basic patterns for most of these movements have been borrowed from the American mainland, the Hawaiian manifestations have been sufficiently distinctive to merit passing consideration in this survey.

The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in Honolulu in 1869, just 25 years after the inception of the movement in London, England, illustrates to a remarkable degree the outstanding characteristics of a secular religion. Chief among the purposes outlined by the founders of the association in Hawaii were the "moral and social improvement of ourselves and others," and objectives of an immediate and practical intent have characterized the movement ever since.8 While lacking none of the fervor and zeal of their missionary parents, the early participants in the Christian Association, including members of such prominent missionary families as those of Andrews, Castle, Clarke, Cooke, Damon, Emerson, Judd and Lyons, directed their efforts to "good works" of a somewhat secular nature—the cultivation of friendship, instruction of immigrants in the English language, lectures on moral and social, as well as religious questions.

Confirmation of the familiar theses of Tawney and Weber regarding the interrelationship between capitalism and religion, especially in its Puritanical forms, may readily be found in the history of the Y.M.C.A. in the Hawaiian community. The roster of charter members, as well as the lists of the active participants throughout its history of eighty years, includes many of the most influential figures in the economic and social life of the territory. It is probable that the instruction in thrift, and the other moral virtues of a commercial society derived through the Y.M.C.A. have contributed somewhat to their success in the economic struggle, while the practical service motive of the Y.M.C.A. which has emphasized good works over mere religious piety appealed strongly to the successful businessman. Also, in a secular and pragmatic temper have been such characteristic activities of the Y.M.C.A. as the gymnasium and physical education program in which the participants, frequently quite indifferent or even antagonistic to the rest of the Y.M.C.A. program, pay a standard fee to learn how to swim, wrestle, or reduce. Educational classes ranging from marriage preparation and social dancing to public speaking or woodcarving have in recent years been among the popular activities of the "Y" for those who could pay the price. Even the discussion group and the conference, activities which are almost synonymous with the name Y.M.C.A. are by their nature secular and critical and call into question the accepted moral and religious values. When the mares are open for discussion, it is a sign that they are no longer followed uncritically. The adoption of these activities by the church is an indication also of its tendency toward secularity.

The disposition to adjust readily to each changing situation rather than to adhere blindly to the values of the past is revealed in the wide range of secular activities which the Y.M.C.A. has promoted during its history. The Institute of Pacific Relations, which has glorified and refined the conference techniques of the Y.M.C.A., the Governor's Unemployment Relief Plan and the Unemployment Relief Gardens of the early thirties, the vocational guidance movement, have either been born within the Y.M.C.A. or have derived much of their impetus from it. Consistent with the local expectations and customs, the Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii has maintained a broad public policy of interracial cooperation, despite the practice in many mainland communities of rigid differentiation on racial lines. The history of the interracial policy of the Y.M.C.A. provides an interesting example of accommodations to the changing attitudes in the community—from a missionary service of education and conversion of the lowly immigrant, to a reluctant acceptance of the immigrants and their sons in segregated units, to a ten per cent rule of membership in the Central Y.M.C.A., and finally to a policy of virtual equality in membership and leadership. The ready disposition of the Y.M.C.A. to yield to the growing demands for equality of treatment by a vocal and educated second generation

7 The Seventh Day Adventists, another aggressive religious sect, still in their convulsive, prevailing phase of its life process, is making rapid gains in Hawaii, and is among the most genuinely inter-racial of the various religious sects operating in Hawaii. At the present stage of its development, race consciousness is largely submerged by an intense and pervasive religious zeal. There is some evidence, however, of the gradual appearance of racial distinctions as the sect matures.


9 The Honolulu Y.M.C.A. has maintained for many years a Thrift Committee to assist in the propagation of the habit of thrift in the local community.
of Oriental ancestry has contributed largely to the success of the Y.M.C.A. in attracting the Oriental youth and in building their morals.

The Y.M.C.A. has long since passed out of the phase of a spontaneous movement, inspired and conducted wholly by its lay membership and is now largely carried on by a professional staff who reflect the policies and codes of the national movement. It is their task to infuse such secular activities as camping, the raising of money for a new building, or a forum on labor and capital, with the Christian idealism of the Founders. Despite the avowed principle that "religion is life," the efforts to create a religious atmosphere by opening board meetings with prayer or conducting conferences on "A Christian Personality in a Christian Society" frequently impress both professional leaders and lay members as somewhat unrealistic and weak.

"Service" clubs, such as Rotary, Lions, and the Y's men which have enjoyed a wide popularity in Hawaii during the past 25 years, are further secular variants of the missionary movement. The several hundred men who meet each week in a dozen different hotel dining rooms scattered over the Territory to call each other by their first names and to sing roistering songs of fellowship," are in most instances borne along by a collective enthusiasm comparable to that of the religious sect, and not infrequently they perceive of themselves as engaged in a holy cause of generating friendship and promoting "service." In each instance a well-established institution has been transplanted to the Island setting, but the peculiar circumstances of life have brought forth new expressions of the original movement.

The lofty goals of Rotary—"to foster the ideal of service ... high ethical standards in business and professions ... the advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace"—appeal strongly to men brought up in a missionary tradition who have grown impatient with an other-worldly piety. The opportunity of participating in socially recognized good works such as the promotion of scouting, boys' camps, hobby shows, sight conservation, vocational guidance, have been enthusiastically embraced by a large number of middle-class Island residents during the last twenty-five years. The Honolulu Rotary Club was established in 1915 as a luncheon club of "business and professional men united in fellowship and with an earnest desire to serve their fellow men in all walks of life and in all countries of the world."13 Consisting as it did almost exclusively of upper middle-class haole, the Honolulu Rotary and its Hilo offshoot, established in 1920, quite naturally called forth in Hawaii a rival service club designed to tap the philanthropic and convivial dispositions of the growing lower middle class of varied racial ancestries. The founding of the Honolulu Lions' Club in May 1926 is explained as follows:

Hawaii is known throughout the world for the friendly and tolerant spirit in which its people dwell together; the spirit of aloha which has come down from the Hawaiians themselves and permeates the life of the Islands as people of many races go about their daily tasks. It seemed to this group of fifty (men of various racial ancestries) that this also was the spirit of Lionism and that Lions International was the one great service organization which fully expressed the ideal which they had in mind.14 Lions, with the advantage of a larger group from which to select, has outstripped Rotary in terms of both membership and the number of clubs,15 but both organizations still reflect a high group spirit and an expansive mood. It is interesting to observe that the Island culture and spirit have been reflected back upon the parent organizations in the case of both these service clubs. Honolulu Rotary prides itself upon having promoted the "advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace" through the first Pan-Pacific Rotary convention in Honolulu in 1926 in which representatives of clubs from seven countries bordering the Pacific assured each other of their mutual respect and good will and the faith in the international ideals of Rotary.

A world lies before us to be conquered, not by reeking tube, nor iron shارد, poison gas and submarine, but by love and service.16 Resolutions were adopted, urging that similar conventions be held every two years thereafter, a plan which was actually consummated over a period of about ten years. Thus the conference procedure, so characteristic of the spirit and temper of the Islands, was extended to still another sphere.

The success of the Honolulu Lions' Club in deleting the word "white" from the constitution of the national organization is regarded as a major achievement in the promotion of the Island tradition of interracial amity. Likewise, within the Territory, the Lions' Club has unquestionably functioned as an important agency of integration within a multi-racial community. It is news even in Hawaii when a haole plantation manager and an Oriental storeroom clerk of the same plantation in apparent camaraderie share in a common meal and in the planning of needed reforms within the plantation community. Even granting that the equality14 and the intimacy of relations are more apparent than real, the gesture is significant as a public departure from the formal etiquette of race relations on the plantation.

Nationalistic and Nativist Movements

It has frequently been said that nationalism is the modern man's religion. Having become critical of the supernaturalism

---

14 Rotary has six clubs in Hawaii, three on Oahu and one on each of the three larger outlying islands, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai with a total Territorial membership of about 300. Lions, on the other hand, has 14 different clubs, covering all islands including Molokai and Lanai. The territorial membership in Lions Clubs amounted to 777 in June, 1944.
16 The fraternizing of plantation personnel within the Lions Club in most of the rural areas extends only to clerical, propriety, and professional classes of the Oriental groups, and the lower administrative and professional brackets within the haole community.
of most of the historic religions or finding their idealism too remote from the pressing problems of life, the modern man gropes for a cause which can stir his imagination and challenge his courage. To such a restless soul, the support of the fatherland or the "blood brotherhood" affords a goal and an objective worthy of being called religious.

Like most colonial areas, Hawaii has contributed greatly to the growth of nationalistic movements in the immigrant homeland. Not only did the father of the Chinese Revolution, Sun Yat Sen, receive a considerable part of his education in Honolulu, but Hawaii has been one of the important sources of moral and financial support for the nationalist movement in China. It was estimated that a total of $542,000, or a per capita of $15.24, was contributed by Island Chinese to the Chinese war and relief funds in 1932. The Kuomintang and the Constitutionalist Party, each with a political reform mission to perform in China and a newspaper and a large language school to stimulate interest among the immigrants and their children, are two of the largest and most influential Chinese organizations in Hawaii.16

The small Korean community, consisting of less than seven thousand persons, of whom only about 2,300 were born in Korea, has generated a nationalistic sentiment out of all proportion to the size of the population or the importance of the movement in the homeland. The 7,400 Koreans who arrived in Hawaii between January, 1903 and April, 190517 brought with them a tradition of national insecurity and frustration, and a considerable number were themselves political refugees from Korea. Sporadic efforts to assist in the building of an independent Korea were made by scattered groups of immigrants during the first few years of their residence in Hawaii, culminating in the Territorial organization in 1909 of a Korean National Association, with an estimated annual budget of $35,000.

So intense was the enthusiasm for regaining of national independence, especially after the formal annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, that the means of attaining this objective became the one critical issue throughout the community. Even churches were torn into rival factions, not over the goal of independence, since that was assumed by all, but over the means—evolutionary or revolutionary—by which independence was to be achieved. One faction insisted that force was necessary, and they proceeded to prepare themselves by training in military tactics and discipline to fight for Korea. Units of this type were established on all the major islands, and a military school on windward Oahu to train leaders for the revolutionary movement in Korea had dramatic but short-lived existence.

The rival faction, under the leadership of an American trained scholar, placed its reliance upon less direct methods—edu-

---

16 The latter has lost much of its nationalistic spirit with the passing of the years and has assumed somewhat more of a philanthropic function.
17 The period during which immigration from Korea was officially conducted.

(12)
Seminary, and subsequently a Police Magistrate, claimed to be a "divinely inspired prophet of the Lord Jehovah, and God-appointed head of the church on earth." Preaching a gospel of sudden destruction for all those outside the movement, he gathered a large number of native workers to a communal program, combining elements of native culture with Christian ideology and ritual. Kaona claimed to be head of both church and state, and in October 1868, a large force of his followers "armed with clubs, stones, lassos, and yelling like fiends" resisted a company of deputies, come to dispossess them, killing two of the latter. Part of the fury of their attack was evidently directed toward the haoles who appeared to them as the forces of evil. The insurrection of 1889, in which the palace and government buildings were occupied for a short time by a force of about one hundred and fifty under the leadership of a part-native, was clearly directed against the growing influence of the foreigners. The revival of "kahumai" or native priestcraft especially in the eighties and nineties, the organization by King Kalakaua of the "Hale Naua" for the perpetuation of native arts and crafts, the activities of the Home Rule Party during the 1900's, and the recurrent appearance of native religious sects are varied expressions of native unrest and groping for a new and more satisfying order of life.

Most of the social movements discussed in this paper have assumed a religious character in the sense that they have provided groups of people with a meaningful goal and purpose. Whether it be the gathering of souls, the extension of the ideals of “service” and “fellowship”, or the promotion of the cause of the homeland, the movement has provided its participants with an object greater than themselves, frequently an object which has become for them holy. Movements of a more secular character have also occurred in Hawaii; and of these, the labor movement is unquestionably one of the most important. The variety of forms which it has assumed during the past century and a half, however, have been too diverse for any adequate discussion here. The account by Dr. Reimer of the recent labor union movement presents one aspect only of this complex social phenomenon. The history of strikes, racial labor groups, and the labor press are still other aspects which merit consideration. The study of all of these social movements provides the student of society with the materials for the understanding of the institutions of tomorrow.

"DAISHI-DO"—A FORM OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

MASAKO AGENA and EIKO YOSHINAGA

Introduction

The term Oda-san which is a corrupted form of Odaishishima or Kobo-Daishi, the name of the founder of the Shinon sect of Buddhism, is applied to the widespread religious and magical practices of a considerable number of the first generation Japanese in Hawaii. Oda-san is a popular form of the Shinon-Sha, but is practiced and operated independently by people not possessing the formal training and initiation required of the official priests. Worshippers of Oda-san, both leaders and followers, are frequently people of little education, and their religious rites are chiefly magical devices for effecting cures of the sick and handicapped. The present study is confined to the M Daishido which is one of the few temples of Kobo-Daishi in Honolulu.

The founding of this particular temple can best be traced to the striving for religious security and satisfaction on the part of one individual. Mr. M., the "priest" of the M Daishido, was once a common laborer at one of the sugar plantations in Oahu; but his high expectations of financial success were not realized and after a period of restless struggle he fled into the world of religion. He saw the vision of Kobo-Daishi, who made him become a Daishi follower. He claims to have fasted for a whole week sitting on a banana leaf. Whether or not he actually did, his escape from reality was so complete as to leave no doubt in his mind about the divine visitation or its meaning as a result of his vision. He and his family came to the city where they operated a altar shop for a while and later began the worship of Kobo-Daishi in the M district.

There are many Japanese camps within the M community. The people of these camps gather at the main stores to gossip or to pour out their woes and troubles to gain the sympathy and understanding sometimes lacking at home. One of these groups, which gather before lunch or dinner, is composed chiefly of Japanese women immigrants; and the vague dissatisfactions of their home situations are quickly communicated especially when all are in a similar state of mental unrest and are highly susceptible to suggestions. Where two or three people's obvious state of unrest is communicated in a group, the latest discontent of an individual who otherwise might not recognize his restlessness is intensified, and he becomes a fit subject for either a sect or an

1 Kobo-Daishi: Founder of the Shinon sect. The Shinon sect ("Sect of True Word") was introduced in the Nara period, and became a power under Kukai (posthumously Kobo, 774-835, or the Propagator of the Law). Kobo secularized Buddhism by trying to unite the religion of mystical beliefs with the state. The propagator of the Shinon sect is the true founder of the sect and the true successor of Nyorai, namely, Buddhist Shinto, precluding that the imperial custom of "kama-soreshia" is in reality but decreased devotion of Shinto. From, The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Edited by James Hastings, Volume VII, p. 465.
2 Many practitioners do not worship in elaborate temples, but only in their homes.
3 The lay priests of "Daishido" are frequently lacking in professional training or formal authority from the Shinon sect.
asylum. Into this group was introduced the story of the amazing healing power of Mr. M. He was said to have cured people of headaches, stomach-aches, and diseases which the doctors failed to cure; and the credulous women accepted these stories without hesitation. It is not improbable that Mr. M. had succeeded in curing certain functional diseases through the individual's faith in him, but the group would never accept so simple an explanation. Among this group were people whose acute mental instability demanded an object of faith and devotion which Mr. M.'s Odai-san offered at the most convenient time. The worship of the Odai-san provided a satisfactory release for their restlessness.

The Expressive Crowd

The people at Mr. M.'s Odai-san constituted an expressive crowd. For the most part they were at the lower end of the scale in education and social background. At Odai-san, everyone sat on the floor and read the Sutra or recited from memory with bowed head and folded hands. They became highly responsive to one another; their attention riveted upon the Sutra or Mr. M., who represented to them the "all magnificent Kobo-Daishi." In this condition, they were immune to ordinary objects and stimulations. They would not feel the numbness of their feet throughout the services nor the weariness of their bodies. Should their attention lag or wander from the Sutra or Mr. M. alone, the rhythmic reciting of the Sutra with the striking of the wooden gong gave them a feeling of unity and solidarity, and a common mood. Some secured further release of their tension by swaying their bodies left and right, some by violently shaking their folded hands, and some by the reading of the Sutra alone. With the lessening of self-control a feeling of joy or ecstasy suffused the individual.

One person said, "When I'm worried and when I don't know what to do, I go to a temple and pray out loud. Then I forget all the worries and I'm happy."

Extreme forms of ecstasy and exaltation were experienced by two middle-aged sisters. The following is an account related to us by Mrs. N., who happened to be one of the earliest members of Mr. M.'s Odai-san.

Mrs. N., who was praying with frenzy, stood up and went up to the altar, lighted a bunch of incense and put the burning incense into her mouth. She cried out, "Kobo-Daishi said if I washed the sins out from my mouth, I'll become a saint."

Mr. M. seeing the unusual behavior touched her body with the rosary he had, but still kept on with his Sutra. Mrs. T. rushed up to her sister's side, grabbed the rosary Mr. M. had, and addressed her sister severely, "You sinner, how dare you try to approach Kobo-Daishi. Move back! Move back!" Mrs. T. then dragged Mrs. N. by the hair and threw her on the floor. With this excitement everyone stopped reading the Sutra.

Mrs. T. approached me and said, "You worthless creature, confess your sins. Kobo-Daishi will damn your soul. Kobo-Daishi is with me for he appeared before me." Her eyes were like an insane person's, blank and starry. I didn't answer her. She then, with Mr. M.'s rosary in hand, half-dancing and half-running went out of the house and crying at the top of her voice paraded several blocks down to King Street. Before she returned, we all went home hurriedly. After that I have never been to Mr. M.'s.

Instead of the ecstatic feelings of the two ladies being transmitted to the other members, the crowd broke up for that day.

The Religious Movement

We have seen Mr. M.'s Odai-san in its incipient stage as a poorly organized and amorphous expressive movement. Mr. M.'s unrest and his escape to religion plus his power to create and hold a group of restless individuals formed the initial basis of an expressive movement. This Odai-san was not an entirely new religious movement, but a new unit designed according to the old forms found in Japan. Almost eight years after Mr. M. had begun worshipping Kobo-Daishi, his home was converted into a regular temple with an elaborate Buddhist altar. Membership was refined and regular; several recognized persons took charge of assemblages; and though much of the ritual was carried on in the same manner, the atmosphere was dignified and gave the impression of sacredness. Mr. M., although not having the degree of a priest, wore a kimono and a cloak showing rank in the religious world. The white kimono worn before he visited Japan several years ago was discarded after his return.

A social movement or a religious movement is not successful without the achievement of some sort of esprit de corps. The daily gatherings and worship at the incipient stage with Mr. M. as the recognized leader created among the expressive crowd a sense of belonging together, and gave to it a more permanent character. The group began to develop feelings of intimacy by the shared common experience and in isolation from the existing social order created a "select group of sacred souls." Rapport was further heightened through the repeated participation in the services. In the meantime, the rosary, the Sutra, the altar, and Mr. M. have become embodied in the minds of the worshippers as the symbols of Kobo-Daishi and his teachings. The phrase, Namuddhaishi-Henyu-Kongo popularly embodied the ideology of Odai-san. These men and women, however, were not interested so much in the teachings of Kobo-Daishi or the ideology of Odai-san as in the emotional experience which they derived from the ceremonies in which the ideology was embodied. Mr. M. had become a sacred personage, not only as the primary guardian of the creed and ritual, but as an embodiment or symbol of the creed and ritual, as well. Many did not understand the Sutra, nor the background literature of Odai-san, but they believed in the existence of Hotoke-Sama (Buddha), and that plus their experiences were enough for them.

After the service, refreshments such as tea and Japanese

4 Mr. M. is believed to go into trances and to communicate with the fox, a messenger of the God of Inari, but he is not credited with sorcery.
cookies were served, and in this somewhat informal manner, the people developed a sense of intimacy and common sympathy. The chattering of the worshippers as soon as the service terminated, no doubt added to the solidarity of the group. They used their heads as if in understanding when the other mentioned some kind of pain. In a group like this, the individual would sense a feeling of social acceptance not felt in isolation. Visitors were very much left alone, showing definitely a consciousness of "in-mass" and "outmass." Services were conducted three times a month; these large assemblies (there were almost fifty members) renewed the support of the movement.

Insu-gami and its relation to Odaisho

One of the common functions of the Odaisho priest is to restore the sick and handicapped to health, and he gains many followers through the amazing healing powers which he is supposed to possess. He is sought especially by the illiterate and superstitious before they call on the ordinary doctor, or after they fail to respond satisfactorily to the doctor's treatment. One form of illness which the Odaisho priest is supposedly competent to treat is insu-gami, or the possession of the dogspirit, a somewhat common malady among the immigrant Japanese. The victim is thought to be bewitched and the prayers of the priest are needed to drive out the possessing spirit.

Insu-gami is a form of witchcraft. Although the dog's supernatural power may be used for a good cause, namely to protect mankind against evil influences, the insu-gami is feared by the people as a formidable enemy, which brings illness, misfortune, and even death. If a man has insu-gami, and if he hates somebody, the "dog" will possess the hated individual, bringing illness or some other forms of misfortune. When the person who employs insu-gami desires something such as food or clothing, enjoyed by another man, he will cause the "dog" to suddenly possess the man. For this reason the employers of insu-gami have no intercourse with other people, and they are shunned in marriage. In Hawaii, however, the discriminations against them are not clearly made except in the matter of marriage.

In Hawaii, the very first inquiry made by a matchmaker in the matter of marriage is whether the family is insu-gami-nochi (dogspirit-owners); whether the family is of Eno origin; and whether there have been cases of leprosy in the family. Riches or

3 One of the origin legends of "Insu-gami" runs as follows: A nurse in Boston hospital was asked by the two dogs. His wife was

poverty, wisdom or foolishness, are of subsidiary importance. The practice of insu-gami, we learned, was confined to peoples of cer-

tain provinces in Japan. People from Yamaguchi and Hiroshima

prefectures chiefly were familiar with insu-gami; while others have

ever heard of it.

It is related of a large number of persons in Japan who were

possessed by insu-gami that they went to a Buddhist temple Jizou,

in order to pray to Jizo, famous for the many miraculous cures

he had wrought. When the priest read the Sutra on their behalf,

the person possessed of insu-gami danced incessantly, or spoke

gibberish, or jumped while dancing and fell to the ground temp-

orarily cured. In Hawaii, these possessed seek Odaisho for "gozremoval." They often go into an ecstatic trance and bark

like puppies. The following is an account related by Mrs. S., who

saw the process of "goz-removal" at Mrs. I.'s Odaisho.

Nothing was unusual about the gathering. We began to read the

Sutra as we always do. When suddenly a lady fell down from her

upright sitting position. We lifted her up and held the lifeline body

from falling again. When she began to moan and bark we left her

in a lying position. Together with Mrs. I., we repeated the Sutra

until it had been read a thousand times. Then Mrs. I. placed a

bunch of burning incense under the nose of the possessed lady and

moaned. "Now will you confess? Who are you?"

"I'll confess. I'm Mrs. T.," she waited.

"Why did you possess her?"

"Because she no longer came to my Odaisho, I sent the dogs

after her." When the possessed lady answered, the voice was not

her normal one; and although it was she who talked, it was the dog

that was answering Mrs. I.'s question.

"Are you ready to leave her. Do you wish me to punish you?"

"I'll leave her. I'll leave her."

The possessed lady walked all around the stairs, barking all the

way, until she reached the bottom of the stairs. She uttered a

plaintive cry and fell down. We ran downstairs, carried her into the

house. We were told not to look back as we carried her in be-

cause the "dog" will return. After a few moments she returned
to her normal state. All she said was, "I'm tired." There was

nothing really wrong with her.

We are interested in the process of "goz-removal" more than the

practice of insu-gami. Only under the condition of a religious

woman does an individual who is supposed to have been possessed

undergo "goz-removal." Though the individual in isolation may

feel that he is being possessed, he does not go into a trance as he

does at Odaisho where a group of people are present. This

phenomenon, however, is not witnessed when there is a very large

group of people. The feeling of self-consciousness probably pre-

vents it.

To begin with, the patient is not in the best of health. She

feels that she is not well. The doctor cannot help her if she

thinks she is possessed. The feeling of being possessed is usually

planted in her mind by somebody or herself to explain her con-
ed to stone. According to another story the stones were “fish gods,” thus attracting the fishermen to seek the blessings of their god. Still another legend holds that Lono, priestly and magical healer of ancient Hawaii, was turned into the larger of these stones upon his death and that his healing qualities still inhered in the stone. Most of the stories implied that to touch the tall stone and to make offerings to it would bring healing of sickness, strength, and good luck.

It was not, however, until after the public dedication of the stones that interest in the stones assumed epidemic proportions and that the other racial groups in Hawaii became generally aware of the supposed healing properties of the stones. Strange stories about the wonderful stones began to circulate. Some said that the Filipino laborers, watching from the nearby fields, saw the ceremonies, and thinking that the stones were some kind of shrines, offered prayers for health. As the story goes, one of them who had been ill for some time, miraculously recovered. Another version of the story is that one of the working men who helped move the stones was cured of a chronic sickness. At any rate stories about the wonderful properties spread around the neighborhood, and with the help of newspaper publicity, eventually they reached all parts of the island and even to the other islands.

People of all races began coming to the stones—Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Puerto-Ricans, HAOLES, seeking relief from all kinds of ailments. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos were the most faithful devotees, some of them ascribing such power to the stones that it was thought dangerous to point their fingers at either stone, to take pictures of them, or to show disrespect in any way.

During the height of the movement, a colorful pageant of pilgrims brought offerings of flowers, leis, and jewelry to adorn the stones, fruit and money to place at the base of the stones, and incense to burn. The popularity of the stones increased to such an extent that it led the manager of the plantation to place a box for the money offerings, which amounted in a few weeks time to six hundred dollars for the benefit of the welfare work in the community.

Although the popularity of the healing shrine assumed the character of a social movement in which myths and legends of its marvelous qualities were spread rapidly and uncritically accepted, the actual worshipping of the shrine was entirely an individual matter.

Each pilgrim worshipped the stone in the manner which appealed to him most, and in all their seriousness, they seemed to be totally unconscious of the curious onlookers. Many of them after lighting the incense, stood before the stone and prayed silently or burned paper prayers. Some of them even climbed over the wire fence to kiss the stone or to rub it with some article like cloth or leaves and then to apply it to their afflicted parts. Others in making a lei offering would exchange it for an old one which was already on the stone and wear that for they believed that the old lei would cure them since it had been in

---

1 The following account is based upon the observations of newspaper reporters, actual devotees of the strange cult, and interested onlookers.

2 According to ancient legend, the chiefesses of the first order came to lie there because only the ladies born on one of the accoutrement stones was recognized as a chief. A baby who had the misfortune to be born on the way or near this spot was only recognized as an "outside" chief. This spot was a traditional mecca for the expectant mothers since about the twelfth century because many chiefs had been born there. They believed that a child born there would be strong and healthy and would be very prominent in the future. The fact that the mother had the physical strength and courage to go there at childbirth assured a strong nature and inheritance.
contact with the wonderful stone. One person would touch the stone and rub his afflicted eyes, for instance; then a mother would touch the stone and rub her hand over her little offspring. Another parent would take her handkerchief and touch every part of the stone and then apply it to the face of her child which had sores; others would rub their hands, or head, or body upon the stone and wait for the miracle to happen. Some of them really felt that they had been healed, while others would repeat their devotional exercises without results and would finally go elsewhere in despair.

It is interesting to hear the different stories about the miraculous healing powers of the stone. Some people, especially of the older generation, openly avow that the stone cured them; others say that it was all imagination. Some say that they saw a form of a mother and child on the stone; others deny it. One girl had a kodak picture of the famous stone in which one could see an indistinct white form of a mother holding a babe in her arms, slightly resembling a madonna and her child. A Korean woman, after praying earnestly for some time declared that she could see six angelic forms hovering about the stones. Others present denied seeing anything of the sort. It was said that the Hawaiians would gaze steadily at the stone until some sort of a misty vision of a mother and a child appeared. This was the signal to jump over the fence and place a lei offering on the stone following which he might go home satisfied that his desires would soon be granted.

A Chinese man who had suffered for years from an itch which ordinary medical treatment had failed to cure came to the stones for assistance. He picked leaves from a tree which grew nearby, rubbed them over the stones, and later bathed his afflicted parts with a tea prepared from these leaves. Strangely enough, he secured temporary relief in this way, but after a few days the itch returned, and it was necessary to repeat the process at frequent intervals.

News of the healing stones traveled to the most remote sections of the Islands where people discussed the supposed merits of the new cult. At least one case is known of a blind man on the island of Kauai who sailed to Oahu to make offerings to the stones, hoping thereby to regain his sight. He bathed his eyes with the water which certain self appointed priests had for sale near the stones, but the miracle did not occur. Another unrequited pilgrim was a boy crippled in an automobile accident whose mother brought him from another island to pray over the stones. It was, of course, the successful case which attracted public attention and kept the movement going.

Among the myths which developed during the height of the mania were some of the dreadful potency of the stones. The larger stone was more commonly worshipped because it was thought to bring good luck, while the smaller one was thought to be somewhat sinister in its influence, causing sickness and death. Neither one could be approached with irreverence. According to one story, a Filipino died instantly because he had sacrilegiously pushed aside the stones in his path where they had been left while being moved to their present location. According to still another story current among the devotees, the theft of the collection box attached to the stones caused the immediate death of the thief by supernatural powers, although the disappearance of both the body and the money was never explained.

Every "mecca calls forth its body of essential functionaries and supernumeraries." A self-appointed Chinese priest received fees for his "services" and from the sale of eucalyptus leaves from neighboring trees which were supposed to have certain curative values when used in the bath.

Another lay priest was a Korean. Living in the locality, he went almost daily to the outdoor temple, and there offered his prayers. He would draw water from a nearby source, place it before the shrine and pray over it. After his prayers, he would drink the "holy water," claiming it gave him strength and health. The superstitious throngs gathered there, reacted quickly to the suggestion and immediately took up the practice. Yang, ever versatile, foresaw an advantage by drawing water, and he collected a fee from anyone for whom he had performed that service.

Hot dog booths, lei stands, candle and joshick peddlers, refreshment dealers and concessions of almost all sorts appeared almost overnight and gave the spot the appearance of a "boomtown." But unfortunately no formal control over this rising community appeared and the problems of sanitation and order soon became acute.

Crowds of worshippers went there every day in the week, with still greater numbers on Saturdays and Sundays. All were drawn by the common excitement but each was concerned primarily with his purely private interests, either relief from sickness or a desire for fortune. The methods used in attaining these ends included rubbing and kissing the stones, burning candles and incense, presenting gifts, offering money, offering various types of sacrifices, and praying. The refuse left as a result became a source of growing alarm to local residents. The kissing and rubbing of the stones also were considered as means of transmitting diseases. The people of Wahia wa finally appealed to the Board of Health. In their protest, they declared that conditions were unsanitary and a menace to health. They demanded the curbing of certain practices indulged in by the devotees. The Board in its turn found it impossible to restrain the practices that were in vogue. The president of the Board of Health publicly declared that conditions would be taken care of by the elements. He claimed that the sun and rain would act as sterilizing agents.

It was at about this point that the excitement suddenly waned as quickly as it mysteriously as it had appeared. The crowds of worshippers making daily pilgrimages to the "mecca" were no more.

Today, the spot which was so revered and worshipped only a little more than a decade back is desolate and lonely. Occasionally a visitor may step out of curiosity and wonder at the ab-
sturdity of the whole thing. The wire fence still surrounds the stones, but the collection box which at one time held as much as three hundred dollars and the floral gifts are absent. Evidence of the sudden collapse of the crate appear in the concrete box with its hollow center still partly filled with sand in which candles and josh sticks were placed. A deep-rutted, seldom-used dirt road leads off the highway to the stones, the only remaining reminder of the former tremendous traffic.

THE FILIPINO FEDERATION OF AMERICA,
INCORPORATED:
A STUDY IN THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A
SOCIAL INSTITUTION
DAVID THOMPSON

Superficially, the Filipino Federation of America is often dismissed as a cultist movement based upon faith in Hilario Carino Moncado, conceived as God, or a prophet of God. It is a trauma, however, that a successful leader must formulate previously existing desires and dissatisfaction in a manner which reflects the values of his followers. Therefore, both Moncado and the F. F. A. may be understood if viewed from a natural historical standpoint as an immigrant institution.

The Sociological Background

Genetically in this way, one can understand why the Federation, which currently enjoys its greatest strength in Hawaii, started in California and was only introduced to Hawaii in 1927. For while the Hawaiian importation of Filipino labor preceded the period of extensive immigration to the mainland by a decade, this immigration was carefully controlled by the sugar factors who, insofar as they were able, selected men adapted to plantation work. The planters maintained a paternalistic protection over the Filipino immigrants, once they had arrived in the islands, and accepted them as laborers on the plantations in preference to previously imported groups which had become Americanized and, therefore, less tractable. Moreover, the return passage to the Philippines was guaranteed after three years of work, so that they tended to regard their sojourn in Hawaii as a money-making adventure.

On the mainland, however, the rapid increase of Filipino immigration after the World War, and the peculiar character and expectations of the immigrants, created a very unsatisfactory situation from the standpoint of the individual Filipino. An immigrant-labor frontier was created on the Pacific coast with the typical features of an abnormally high sex ratio, the breakdown of institutional and primary group controls, and economic competition between racial groups, with a resultant discrimination against the immigrant. Conditions were all the more acute for the Filipinos because the objective situation differed so markedly from everything that the immigrant had been led to hope for.

Before the war a few adventurous and generally superior Filipinos had come to America to attend school. They had created the occupational category of "school boy" (i.e., part-time worker), making a fairly successful economic adjustment, and enjoying the generally favorable social status, which they expected as cultivated young American nationals, sojourning in the great democratic mother country for educational purposes. During and after the war, many more Filipinos came to the States via the navy; and they, too, were not disappointed. The glowing letters which these young adventurers sent home, together with the gilded accounts of steamship and labor agents, increased the trickle of immigration to a steady and noticeable little stream. These immigrants expected education and adventure, crowned with a successful homecoming from the country whose progressive democratic values they had been schooled in and now had such a passionate faith in. But, by reason of their very numbers, many of them were doomed to disappointment. As a result of economic competition, bad feeling developed between Filipinos and native laborers.

On the West Coast, where racial conflict is an old story, the "brown tide" called forth the previously established reactions toward recent immigrants. The Filipinos began to be classed as "Orientals," and were treated accordingly. Previous opportunities for social contacts were closed to them, and the abnormal sex ratio within their own ethnic group became painfully apparent. Opportunities for lucrative or desirable employment decreased. It became harder to finish school, to start to school; and once out of school, occupational openings in the Philippines consonant with their own self-esteem had become rare, while on the mainland they were nonexistent. Many of the new immigrants were not prepared for American schooling, but desired it because of the prestige value of education in the homeland. When they could not realize their desires, they hesitated to go home to the jibes of the native barrio. For many, return was a financial impossibility.

Feeling himself a failure, lonely and discouraged, the individual Filipino boy began to relax his previous self-discipline, quit sending money home, or saving for his return, and sought the immediate relief of high-life and dissipation. Life became aimless, the individual became unstable, the prevailing mood became one of bitterness. The stage was set for a social movement which would provide some relief and adjustment. Politically isolated and unimportant, it was only natural that the less educated immigrants should seek escape in religion. At the same time, most of them had experienced only a rudimentary popular ritualism in the Catholic religion at home and had lost all contact with the church in America. It was to such a group that the "Master" came with his promise of otherworldly rewards and of the glorious future of the "chosen" Filipino race, and with his offerings of the immediate spiritual satisfactions of ascetic mysticism and sectarian fellowship.
The Master

Any accurate description of how Munroide came into the scene, or of his subsequent activities, must attempt to see him from several standpoints, for it is one of his characteristic traits that he makes different appraisals and presents a different character to different groups, both within the Filipino community and within the community at large.

A purely factual history of Munroide is difficult to obtain. Mr. Quevedo of the Los Angeles Daily News reported in 1929 after a careful investigation that

Hilario Munroide y Gutierrez (Hubbe) was elected to fifteen different Reino and Cimarron Munroide. When a student in the United States, he was from the Purcell Public High School, Cebu. P. I. His parents were Mr. and Mrs. Francisco Munroide and Filomena Cuna. Between the years 1910 and 1914 he studied from Grade III to Grade IV in the United States, he was from the Buenos Aires Institute, Cebu, and left for Hawaii in February 7, 1914. At the age of 20, on February 4, 1927.

In 1933 he left Hawaii for the mainland of the United States and completed his primary and intermediate grades in El Reno, and from that city he came to Los Angeles.

Little can be learned of Munroide's experience between 1915 and 1922 when he launched the Filipino Federation of America. In 1922 Munroide established Equilibradores Nueva School, a semi-monthly Filipino newspaper which became the official organ of the P. F. E. A. when that body was founded on December 27, 1925. On April 2, 1927, the Federation was incorporated under the laws of the state of California.

Munroide was extraordinary tall for a Filipino, he was quite handsome in his youth. He is fond of dress, worthy, charming, and a master of oratory and oration. Unexcelled in propaganda technique and dramatic reciting, he has a manner of great sincerity in face-to-face relations.

In much of the early literature, Munroide was represented as "master," with his photographs within a star captured "the light of the world," or as "aura" in a portrait picture of Christ. Jose Rizal, and Munroide. According to the biography as written by his progeny, William J. Schaeffer, Munroide had been sent to Cali, Colombia, at the age of six in the famous Indian College of Mystery where he studied the universal mystery of nature and godhead, in the United States and the Philippines. He was the great-great-grandfather of Doctor of Philosophy of Kabul (D. K.), Doctor of Philosophy in Astrology (D. P. A.), and Doctor of 11 University of Humanistic Science (H. B. D.). After reclusion, he was born in the Philippines. He is now the president of the Equilibradores, Inc., and Liberty . . .

During his residence in America it is reported he has traveled thorough Italy, China, Japan, Korea, Africa, New Zealand, Russia, etc.

Java, Cebu, Oceania, Australia, and the entire Philippine archipelago, accompanied by one of his "Mystic and Psychic Masters." Later he was "engaged to teach his own book "equilibratorium" at the Indian College of Mystery," and at the age of eleven, he was "in his mystic and psychic name "Feroel Lulom Brimo, meaning I am the way of equality. I am the truth of fraternity, I am the life of liberty and the master of Equilibratorium." At the age of twelve, he was elected Supreme Grand Master of the Grand Order of the Mystic and Psychic Masters of India, which organization at that time had a membership of over fifteen million and which in 1927 had been increased to two hundred million Mystic and Psychic people." After much travel and investigation he started in 1925, and two years later organized the Filipino Federation of America in Los Angeles.

To the utmost observer, the Filipino Federation of America in all its vast manifestations becomes intelligible chiefly in the role of its founder as a direct, worldly-wise leader of the relatively distinguished and文化建设 leaders of the opposed immigrant group to whom the Federation is a way of salvation and Munroide in the metaphysical.

Among his Federation members, Munroide appeared as the third representative of God, in direct succession to Christ and Jose Rizal. He had a divine mission to perform and needed other to join him in his fulfillment by way of the Federation whose creed and objectives were stated as follows:

1. To promote friendly relations between Filipinos and Americans.
2. To develop the true Christian brotherhood.
3. To show the real humanitarian spirit by offering their moral, spiritual, and material aid and protection to their fellow members of the Federation.
4. To advance the moral and mental conduct of each member.
5. To foster the educational advancement of each member.
6. To respect the independence and offices of the Federation.
7. To serve in any capacity for the further advancement of the Federation.
8. To be loyal to the Constitution of the Federation.
9. To obtain peacefully the inter-island and complete independence of the Philippines.
10. To work for a fair and truthful understanding of the relations between the Philippines and the United States.
11. To be an entire agency of the salvation of the Philippine people.
12. To uphold the Constitution of the United States.

The change of charge of Munroide to his early followers reveals a similar moral ideology, incorporating Philippine nationalism with the ideals of United States, devotion to mankind, and finally, the desire to spread "equilibrarium" means equality, fraternity, and liberty.

(26)

(27)
support of the Federation.

You, members of this "GREAT BODY," your first obligation as a member of this Filipino Federation of America, Inc., is to do all in your power to help obtain the FREEDOM of YOUR COUNTRY, THE PHILIPPINES. I advise you to go forth and increase the membership of this ORGANIZATION, in other words, MULTIPLY. Your country's FREEDOM is within yourself "GO AND GET IT!" But in the meantime, be loyal to God, to the United States and its Constitution. Serve in this capacity to the best of your ability and your reward will come.

The response of the members to the "Master's" message is similarly phrased in mystical and idealistic terms.

We, the members of the Filipino Federation of America, Inc., friends of humanity and fighters for women's freedom in reinstate to guide us in our present sufferings, believe that through the liberation of the Filipino people as a distinguished hero and an outstanding friend of the MALAYAN RACE, THE AMERICAN NATION WILL BE CROWNED WITH HONOR BY THE ADUMLUZET. Therefore, by following the DIVINE TEACHING of "EQUI FREI NUBUM" of which we are awaiting the DIVINE PROCLAMATION on earth and for Him to set us free from the hands of evil, He will bring forth "Love" and "POWER" to HUMANITY. 4

Followers were admitted to sub-matriculate membership upon the payment of a hundred dollars to the treasurer, and five dollars per annum in dues. Upon the payment of one hundred dollars per annum, they might enter the ranks of Matriculat membership, which were limited to 1,228 members "divided into twelve divisions and each division shall consist of one hundred and forty-four matriculate members and each division be divided into Twelve Lodges and each Lodge shall consist of twelve matriculate members." The expenditure of the funds of the organization was authorized only by the president and was popularly supposed to be for a variety of philanthropic purposes, including the purchase of an Ark in which the Federationists were to escape a predicted deluge. More immediately, a large colony in Mindanao was to be built, on which each member was promised a home and farm. The membership was exalted to "know himself" and "to be wise as serpents.”

10 Oct.

11 Oct. The celebration of the 4th Anniversary of the Federation of the Philippines in Manila, was marked by a ceremony of the planting of the Banyan tree, symbol of the "Five Friendships," at the original site of the School of Agriculture in Dangat Island, which is now occupied by the Federal School of Agriculture.

REFERENCES

4 Hawaii: therefore there is exhibited a striking similarity with the Catholic Church of the Philippines, a highly respected and respected institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, which was attended by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

5 Hawaii: Therefore there is exhibited a striking similarity with the Catholic Church of the Philippines, a highly respected and respected institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, which was attended by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

6 Hawaii: Therefore there is exhibited a striking similarity with the Catholic Church of the Philippines, a highly respected and respected institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, which was attended by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

7 Hawaii: Therefore there is exhibited a striking similarity with the Catholic Church of the Philippines, a highly respected and respected institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, which was attended by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

8 Hawaii: Therefore there is exhibited a striking similarity with the Catholic Church of the Philippines, a highly respected and respected institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This ceremony was performed under the auspices of the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, which was attended by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

As in many mystic movements the avenue to transcendental knowledge lay through the practice of ascetic discipline. The "spiritual" or "Enthusiastic" division of the membership was supposed to cut off meat, salt, or cooked food, to wear hair and beard must, and, together with the "material" division, to abstain from "dancing, drinking with alcoholic drink, gambling, smoking, pool halls, strikers, violence, resistance, and all things that are destractive to humanity." 12 This discipline was entirely optional, however, and material members were released from most of its observances as long as they maintained their financial contributions. Moreover, upon attaining "self-knowledge," ordinary rules no longer applied.

Bases of Solidarity

Espirit de corps was fostered by the development of an in-group out-group relationship, in which the Federationists came to feel that they constituted the elect, who alone would escape damnation at the final judgment of God. Their long hair and strange practices served to differentiate them from others, and to invite the taints and abuses which they had been taught to expect as the inevitable, glorious crown of thorns which is forced upon all sinners of mankind. Those ways of gaining real or imagined favors in the outside community were supplemented by many opportunities for informal fellowship within the Federation. Religious services, prayer meetings, and sometimes banquets for the "Master," gave the immigrant a sense of status, social acceptance, and maintenance in place of his former loneliness and personal alienation. Ceremonial practices at religious services, banquets, conventions, and Road Day parades, gave participants a sense of communal support and importance. Likewise, rituals, secret language, any symbols reinforced the feelings of mutual sympathy and identity in the movement.

Moral was developed through conviction in the rectitude of purpose of the movement, faith in the ultimate attainment of its goal, and belief that the movement was charged with a sacred mission. These convictions found support in the sanctity of blood, sacrifice, and religious revelations, and newspaper publicity were all impressive to the naive man who cultivated education, was predisposed to religious superstitions, and was untrained. Morale was conceived to be omnipotent. To blaspheme against him in private was foolish, for he knew all, and he was known to operate in his followers even in the steam of a kettle. 13 If necessary, he could walk across the ocean to the Philippines. Associated with him in the minds of his followers were virtues of great men with whom he was associated in his public statements and sometimes in photographs. There were also minor saints and martyrs of the movement, such as Lorenzo de Lesseps. He was the John the Baptist of the movement who prophesied the coming of the "Master." De Lesseps founded three children's homes on Oahu and became spiritual adviser to the orphans resident in them. The movement
today has a number of more worldly offices performing special-
tized functions. Manuel Pangasin, Treasurer and superintendant-
of the F.F.A., serves as a go-between for the spiritual and material
members, as indicated by the name given to him by Morosco,
which is symbolic of the sheath-like action of the pinoy ping
bou. An ideology has developed on several planes. Besides the
theological analysis of the Bible, and the other sacred litera-
ture, the membership itself has created various myths about
Morosco's miraculous powers, as well as rationalizations of their
own behavior. Thus they explain their use of raw food by the
fact that cooking food will be dangerous signals to the enemy in
the Armageddon which Morosco has predicted, and they say
that they practiced fasting against the day when the Millennium
principles shall have created a universal food shortage, which
will be fatal to people with normal appetites. On a more rational
plane Morosco's pros statements serve as a creed to hold sup-
port from the outside world.

New members are enlisted in the Federation through the
appeal of a religion cease or through the more general appeal of
the advantages and attractions of the institution. The Feder-
tion claims that it will educate its members and provide them
with income in numerology and secret languages, with the at-
tendant satisfactions of occult and extra-mundane knowledge.
Federates also claim special worldly benefits through the ap-
palled accorded their moral behavior by outside dignitaries and
through the benediction of employer groups for their anti-
Americanism.

Morosco as a Symbol
Morosco himself symbolized to many of the Filipino immi-
grants the worldly success and prestige which they have been
deserted but orderly desire. At the time of his accession to po-
liticians, the Filipino communities of the Coast and Hawaii were
agitated by the congressional debates on the question of Philip-
pine independence and Filipino exclusion, and by the race riots
in California. For those who are immune to the appeals of re-
ligion, nationalism provides an equally satisfactory escape from
immediate unpleasantness. The Filipino immigrants were in-
creasingly patriotic. Indeed, patriotism was almost the only com-
mon bond between those people from the most varied local cul-
tures. The Filipinos, they had absorbed American conceptions
of the rights of national independence, as well as their contempor-
ary American nationalists. The development of Filipino immi-
grants, and the efforts to exclude them from America, as
well as the postulates of Filopino independence turned re-
garded as outrageous; and Morosco said so in an impressive
manner. Moreover, his name to important people, who looked
as if it were the man who could rectify these wrongs.

What was the practical effect of Morosco's celebrity on Philip-
pine independence, is it give him and the F. F. A. great deal
of publicity? When Morosco was found in a shocking him shak-
ing bands with a great public official, the Filipinos interpreted it
in the light of his experience at home where great men only
spoke with their equals. If a story appeared in the daily papers
pursuing a promise by a Congressman of independence for the Phi-
ippines, perhaps denied the next day by the Congressman him-
selt, it was the original statement which would be clipped and
circulated among the orders by the Federation members. When
Morosco was described by a London newspaper as "the man with a
revolution in his pocket", the buyers accepted the un-
substantiated claims of Filipino society toward whom the propaganda
was directed.

In 1907 Morosco came to appear as an effective champion
of Philippine nationalism, the success of the Federation was as-
credited for the Filipino patriotism had deep emotional roots.
The Philippine was his home and the home of his loved
words. Moreover, if the Filipino could take the Stew of the
permanent group with which he was identified, his own status would
be raised directly, while the very effort expended in the noble
cause by the individual patriot would tend to raise his immediate
status within his own group at home and abroad.

Morosco did give the impression that he was influential in
Washington. He was able to travel extensively, eventually es-
tablishing an annual itinerary with stops in Washington, Cali-
ifornia, Hawaii, and the Philippines. He broke into the press,
freely with demands for independence, grave pronouncements upon world affairs, or accounts of conversations with con-
gressmen and cabinet. In 1929 he claimed to have fathered a
congressional bill for penalizing the family of Ferdinand Robo-
who was murdered in a California race riot. It is difficult when settle-
ment of undrawn areas was vexing the Overy administra-
tion, he claimed that his colony in Bhaman Mumbane contain-
20,000 Moslems, and 30,000 Christians, and that his peaceful
subjugation of the Mosse was a poodle in Qumran himself. In
1929 he appeared in speeches and local papers that Honduras
be the site of the world peace conference to end the war, under
the leadership of the Filipinos. Not only did he make news, but
he was in himself everything that a poor immigrant might
wish to be. He appeared to have a large bank account, and the
most expensive clothes. He travelled by Clipper. He maintained
large offices with many secretaries in Los Angeles. He wired
and wired with the great and operated on international glamour gift.
Upon such a symbol of status and accomplishment, an impoverished
man could project all of his own frustrations. Whatever glory
was his, and was to receive the glory of all his followers.
Furthermore, such an important man gave real or imagined
support to the activities of Filipino immigrant unions. They were
glad to support him, for they were proud of him. They elected
his son senior delegate from Hawaii, the mainland, and Losos to
the Philippine Constitutional Convention. Later he ran for a
seat in the Assembly from Lomas. When he was defeated, he
ejemined elections several and a regenerative consistory on the part
of the Qumran administration. Finally he announced his con-
ditions for the presidency of the Philippines in 1931, on the
platform of his Modernist party, denoting the inevitability of

(30)
debat, but hopeful of supplying a healthful opposition for the
good of the country.

Most nationalistic movements have a strong revivalist charac-
ter in which the past of a people is glorified. Such move-
ments are explainable, apparently, as a response to a situation of
frustration. In this situation people are experiencing a loss of
self respect.22 They turn to the past for a new respectful con-
ception of themselves. So Moncado has emphasized the past
glories of the Malayen people, has taught that the Malay race
are the "chosen people," and predicted that the Filipinos will be
the vanguard leading the Malays back to their former glories. He
calls upon his Filipinois to liberate womanhood; he preaches
the law of love and non-resistance, thus appealing to the primary-
group virtues of the warmhearted and kindly race. And if virtue
is its own reward, this at least can be enjoyed by the members of
the oppressed race.

The Federation as a Control Movement in California
and Hawaii

This appeal to morality was undoubtedly one of the great-
est factors in producing favorable reactions to the Federation in
California. In the late twenties, the Filipino communities on
the mainland were suffering a great decline in morale. Disrup-
tion blighted many Filipinos morally, socially, and financially.
The controls exercised by the Federation were needed and ap-
preciated by the Filipino community. They also were gratefully
received by the White community. A wave of race riots had been
sweping the state and many Americans were genuinely ashamed
and distressed by the situation. They wished to understand and
help the Filipinos; and when the Federation appeared as an
agency of social control, dedicated to the promotion of friendly
relations between Americans and Filipinos, they were only too
glad to speak at its banquet s and to lend it in the press. If some
of its aspects seemed bizarre, they were willing to dismiss them as
manifestations of the incomprehensible East. So the Federation
was able to get much favorable comment from the White com-

unity, and this was used to the full in building the prestige of
the Federation within the Filipino community.

In Hawaii the history of Federation relationships with the
White ruling class was somewhat different. Here there was no
sense social problem. Most Filipinos were on plantations which
practiced their own system of social control. The Federation first
appeared to the plantation managers as a fanatical sect whose
spiritual members terrified plantation workers with stories of
impending doom and damnation, and whose converts were ren-
dered unfit for field work by self imposed starvation. Filipino
nationalism had appeared in the form of a union with some
very unpleasant consequences, and any new national group was
suspect. As late as 1931 the officers of the Federation were denied
access to plantation camps; and The Hawaiian Advertiser and
The Honolulu Star Bulletin refused to give favorable publicity

to the Federation or to take its advertisements.

Around 1931 it became apparent that the Federation in Hawaii
was facing a crisis. The depression discouraged prospective
members from paying the new hundred dollar, non-refund-
able initiation fee. Plantation workers had been commanded to
leave the Federation or lose the plantation. The public generally
was hostile. Membership had declined from the previous peak
of between 2500 and 3000 to a mere 1500 in 1931. Some accom-
modation pattern was necessary. A beginning was made after
several "spiritual" members, led by Thomas Mafiing Reformo,
were arrested for questioning in Honolulu. As one means of ac-
commodation, the Federation began to adopt more conventional
temporal observances, and today a bewhiskered oldtimer is rarely
seen in Honolulu.

Between 1931 and 1935 the Federation evolved a policy
which was more acceptable in the wider community, especially
to the dominant economic interests. When a new wave of mili-
tant unionism swept the islands, and when depression wages
threatened a serious loss of Filipino labor, Moncado came forth
with a vigorous anti-union campaign22 and a warning that nothing
awaiting the returning Filipinos in Manila. At about this time
the press and the plantation camps were opened to the Feder-
tation, and in advertisements and speeches, Moncado referred to
Hawaii as "a paradise" and urged the Filipinos to stay here
and to avoid unionism. Moncado taught his followers to view
the benefits which they enjoyed as inherited rewards for loyalty
and hard work. When collective bargaining was in the Zeitgeist,
he instructed his men to "arbitrate," by which he meant that
they should individually take any of their troubles directly in
their employers for adjustment.23 (He) advised his followers to
be satisfied with their employment on the plantations in Hawaii
and to work hard for personal advancement.23 Mr. Moncado
told his followers not to listen to the advice of mainland labor
leaders but to follow his example: and to work for the good of
the community and the Philippines Commonwealth.24 In 1936
he agitated for the creation of the Philippines government as
a point of labor commissioner and in this connection he wrote a
report on Filipino Labor Conditions in the Territory of Hawaii
in Manuel Quizon, consisting largely of Indian social statistics.

In 1936 the Advertiser referred to him as a "flying laborite.
Federationists, under the vigorous discipline of the "spir-

itual" rules of the sect, were acquiring a reputation for "industry,
peacefulness, thrift, respect for law and authority, cleanliness,
and harmony"25 which made them desired as laborers on the plantations and farms of the territory. Within the
ranks of organized labor, the Federationists were charged with
strike breaking. Last October (1937) 1000 employees of Libby,

---

22 As of 1930 some Filipinos were employed in factories, in the service industry,
and in some cases in retail stores. In this manner, Filipinos played a role in the
development of the service sector of the economy.

23 The influence of labor organization has, in recent years, been felt through
efforts of community leaders who have attempted to organize community activi-
ties, with the aim of promoting social harmony and cooperation.

24 The influence of labor activism has been widespread, not only in the form of
collective bargaining, but also in the promotion of organized labor and the cre-
ation of labor unions.

25 The influence of labor, particularly in terms of work ethics and discipline,
has been significant in shaping the behaviors of Filipinos in the labor market.

---

(33)
McNeill and Lili‘uokalani’s pineapple plantation on the island of Molokai, struck for her pay. Followers of Macario and Francisco Varona... were transported on barges by the hundreds from the islands of Lanai, Maui, and Oahu to break the strike...?"

Today when Makaha comes to Hawaii, he is greeted by letters of welcome from the governor, the mayor, and aspirants to political office, and is displayed in full-page advertisements in the larger newspapers. Local officials are guests at his banquets, or participate in the ceremonial tree-planting of his "goodwill" programs. Banquets are given to him on the outside island plantations, and his press notices make the front page of the newspapers. On August 23, 1939, his automobile was escorted from the Makaha dock by two motorcycle officers.

But in spite of this ostensible gain in prestige, the membership of the Federation is declining. Local officials estimate the present membership at 500 for the Territory. Whether the objective situation and the psychology of the Filipino group has changed in the past fifteen years. For most, the immigrant crisis has passed, and the immigrants themselves, as they have become assimilated and better informed, have sought more realistic modes of adjustment. This is even more true of the younger generation, so that those who have automatically become "follower" by reason of their parents' membership, largely disregard the spiritual practices. They have begun to realize that money is a central value in American society, and they fear the disabilities of non-conformity in a "cradle-controlled culture."

The Federation still maintains Bible study groups such as the one which meets twice a week in a little Makaha shrine in Kalahi-Kai, Honolulu, and three orphanages for Filipino children on Oahu, which are administered by F. F. A. matrons and reputedly give very good care. Many of the hundred or so attendants at the Bible study groups are of the faithful older generation and their children, to whom the Federation is chiefly a center of their religious interests, but not the exclusive institutional focus of their lives. Some of the "Material" members even prefer to attend the Catholic church instead of the Federation Bible classes. Other more spiritual members, both old and young, who have experienced frustration and maladjustment in the outside world, have made the Federation the central element in their life organization, finding compensation, in mysticism, esoteric knowledge, secticism and the institutional status which is generally accorded to the most loyal members of any group. Among many of these people there is the same restless, vague expectancy, the same waiting for the grand pronouncement of the "Master" which characterizes the early stages of the social movement. They maintain the sectarian purity of the Federation. Generally speaking...

---

THE POPULATION MOVEMENT IN HAWAII

ROMANZO ADAMS

The Recent Past and the Near Future

The movement of population and, one might add, social movements, also, may be likened to the movement of physical masses in that changes in the direction and speed of movement are affected by size. A speedboat can get under way more quickly than an ocean liner, and it can change its course or stop more quickly too. In the case of a small area and population such as those of Hawaii, changes in trends may occur with almost startling rapidity—starring to one accustomed to the consideration of the more stable trends that characterize the populations of great nations.

For this reason a method of forecasting population trends that is fairly dependable for Continental United States may be seriously erroneous for the Territory of Hawaii. For example, the population of Continental United States in the decade 1930-40 made a 20.7 percent increase and in the next decade nearly the same rate prevailed, i.e., 21.0 percent. But in Hawaii a rate of 71.1 percent in 1890-1900 was followed by one of 24.6 percent.

Something like this might be true of the population of any small area in the United States, but more commonly we are not interested so much in such small areas. Commonly the trends in the small areas are lost in an average for the larger area. But Hawaii, separated from the nearest large land mass by thousands of miles, has an identity that one cannot forget. Hawaiian movement is conditioned by factors that are in considerable measure peculiar to Hawaii, and these movements command the interest not only of the people of Hawaii but of many people who live on the Mainland.

During the first three quarters of the nineteenth century the population of Hawaii underwent a notable diminution, so that in 1875 it is probable that there were not one-third as many people as in 1800. But from 1875 to the present time there has been a continuous and important increase. At the present time the population exceeds even the high estimate made in the eighteenth century. But this increase has come irregularly as may be seen from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Estimated Population of Hawaii for Each of Five Decades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-1890</td>
<td>31,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1910</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1920</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For about three quarters of a century the adjustment between the demand for labor in Hawaii and the supply has been made mainly through the immigration of men from certain foreign countries and through the return of some of them to their native lands. This movement in both directions was facilitated by organized agencies, and the adjustment was made with a close approach to accuracy. But this seems to be nearly at an end. We do not expect to see any considerable foreign immigration in the future. Doubtless there will be a return of some thousands of immigrant laborers to their native lands, but this return movement has been dwindling and the outlook is that it will not be very important in the future.

Within the United States there is a freedom of movement that is not found commonly in other countries. In considerable numbers people migrate from the areas of inferior opportunity. For this reason the population trends among the States are variable and they do not necessarily correspond to the rates of natural increase. For example, the rate of natural increase is higher in Oklahoma than in California, but in the decade, 1930-1940, the population of California made a 21 percent increase while that of Oklahoma was decreased 2.6 percent.

For a long time there has been a movement of people between Hawaii and Continental United States, but this movement has been much larger since 1920 than it was before. The reference here is not to tourists but to people who, after crossing the ocean, establish homes and engage in business or do some kind of work. More than ever before Mainland-born people live in Hawaii. More than ever before Hawaiian-born people are living on the Mainland.

We may suppose that in the future the adjustment between labor demand and labor supply will be made largely by means of this movement between Hawaii and the Mainland. Probably this movement will never reach the volume of the movement among the present States. The distance and consequently the greater cost of travel will always work to moderate the movement but it will be large enough to bring about a near equilibrium between labor supply and labor demand and also an important change in the make-up of the population of Hawaii.

Perhaps one should call attention to one difference between the coming of men when there is a rising demand and the going of men when there is a falling demand. There is a time difference. In the period of a rising demand men come in the numbers needed with only a small delay. But in the time of falling demand they are slower to go away. Important changes in demand often increase the number of unemployed and such unemployment may continue for several years. This depends largely on the demand elsewhere. For example, if the present very active demand for labor in and near Honolulu shall, in a few years, give place to a very much smaller demand, and, if at that time the Pacific Coast demand to active, we shall see men leaving Honolulu for the Coast in unusually large numbers, and such movement would help to solve the problem of unemployment in Hawaii.

(36)

The Decade 1930-1940

The following table presents some of the important data relating to the population changes between the two censuses. It may be seen that all of the increase was in Honolulu County, that in the other counties there was a considerable decrease in the number of males, and the decrease was not of boys but of men of working age, 20-64 years. There was, however, a considerable increase in the number of women in these other counties so that their total population was reduced very little. Of males, 20-64 years of age, Honolulu County gained nearly 21,000. Both Honolulu County and the other counties made a high percent increase in the number of aged men, i.e., men 65 years and over, Honolulu County 76 percent and the others taken together 48 percent. While the figures now available do not show it, one may be sure that there has also been a rapid increase in the number of aged women. Eventually and at no distant date the increase in the number of aged may be expected to raise the territorial death rates which are at present very low.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Honolulu County</th>
<th>All Other Counties</th>
<th>The Territory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1930-1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1930-1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Under 20 years</td>
<td>47,305</td>
<td>39,473</td>
<td>86,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of age</td>
<td>54,719</td>
<td>38,112</td>
<td>92,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>7,714</td>
<td>-1,866</td>
<td>+5,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 20-64 years</td>
<td>68,992</td>
<td>61,195</td>
<td>130,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of age</td>
<td>89,093</td>
<td>53,747</td>
<td>142,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>20,097</td>
<td>-5,448</td>
<td>+14,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 65 years and over</td>
<td>2,685</td>
<td>2,859</td>
<td>5,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,428</td>
<td>4,236</td>
<td>8,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>+1,623</td>
<td>+1,377</td>
<td>+3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. All ages</td>
<td>119,108</td>
<td>103,322</td>
<td>222,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>149,042</td>
<td>96,093</td>
<td>245,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>+29,934</td>
<td>-7,439</td>
<td>+22,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Females at all ages</td>
<td>83,815</td>
<td>64,881</td>
<td>148,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109,216</td>
<td>68,979</td>
<td>178,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>+25,401</td>
<td>+5,098</td>
<td>+30,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Both sexes</td>
<td>202,923</td>
<td>165,213</td>
<td>368,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>258,258</td>
<td>165,872</td>
<td>423,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase + or decrease</td>
<td>+55,335</td>
<td>-341</td>
<td>+54,994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(37)
But the table does not show all of the interesting facts about the population changes of the decade. The natural increase of population, i.e., the excess of births over deaths was nearly 64,000 but there was a decrease of about 9,000 owing to the excess of outgoing over incoming passengers. The excess to the Orient was much larger than this but Hawaii gained several thousand people through the excess of incoming passengers from the American Mainland over the outgoing.

If one divides the decade into two five-year periods, one may say that the population increase was more than twice as great in the second as in the first half in spite of the fact that the natural increase was greater in the first half. During both five-year periods the passenger movement resulted in a loss to the Orient, but the loss in the second five was smaller. During both five-year periods there was a gain from the Mainland, but it was larger in the second five. This increase in the more recent period is, of course, due mainly to the international situation that called for a strengthening of our defense.

The table does not afford information as to the population changes in the agricultural areas of Honolulu County, but the facts are that their population trends resemble those of the other counties. The population increase has been wholly in Honolulu City and other non-agricultural sections.

That there should have been an increase of 5,645 by number of males under 20 years of age in the Territory may surprise people who have known that the birth rates have decreased seriously in the last fifteen years. Of course, children born 1920-1930 were in 1940 still under 20 years of age. The number born in the decade, 1920-1930, is in all probability an all-time high, and, as most of these will attain their majority in the present decade, we may look forward to a decreasing number of youth, unless considerable numbers come from the Mainland. It is significant that, of 5,645 increase in the number of boys under 20 years, almost half are of the Caucasian race and these are mainly in the age-group, 15-19 years.

The Present Decade
Any forecast of the population trend in Hawaii for the decade, 1940-1950, must be made under conditions of unusual difficulty. Ordinarily, forecasts are made on the assumption that there will be reasonable stability in relations to international and political affairs so that the normal working of our economic and social institutions will determine the outcome. But who knows what ten years or even two years will bring forth?

If the next two years shall witness a lessening of international tension so that in Hawaii the developments shall take a normal course for the rest of the decade, the effect of certain factors may be foreseen.

The birth rate has fallen considerably since 1924, and we may suppose that it will be a further drop in the rate, but smaller, by 1950. At some time in the near future we should expect to witness a moderately rising death rate. This, because a larger part of our population is becoming aged. For those reasons the natural increase of population is expected to be smaller than it was in the recent past decade. I would not be surprised if it should be as low as 56,000 as compared with about 64,000 in the last decade.

The effect of migration is less easily seen. How many people will go to the Orient and of what ages will they be? In recent years there has been a marked decrease in the number of such, and the outlook is for a still further decrease, so that the loss of population to the Orient is expected to be much smaller than it was in the past decade.

Possibly the balance of the movement between Hawaii and the American Mainland will be reversed. Many people have come from the Mainland on account of the defense program, and if, after a few years, the international outlook is reassuring many of them are likely to return. Not only these but also many Hawaiian born who have been attracted to Honolulu from the country districts may, if they can find ordinarily good opportunities in Honolulu, go to the Mainland—that is, they will go if there shall be better opportunities on the Mainland. Much uncertainty is admitted, but one of the possibilities is that the growth of population will be exceptionally small, largely on account of many people moving to the Mainland.

But, no matter how this movement to the Mainland turns out, four things can be seen with considerable certainty.

1. Children under 15 years of age will be few, and they will be a smaller part of the total population.
2. Aged men and, to a lesser extent women also, will constitute a larger part of the population.
3. Among persons 25-34 years of age, a larger proportion will be females.
4. Our population will be, in larger proportion, made up of Hawaiian born and other American born persons; persons who by education and by the influence of early environment are, in culture, in interests, and in sentiment, closer to America than is the passing generation made up largely of immigrants.

The Changing Sex Ratio
In the case of children under fifteen years of age the sex ratio in Hawaii is and has been nearly normal, i.e., the number of females is nearly equal to the number of males. But since there has been considerable immigration there has been, in the case of older persons, a great excess of males. But when once an immigrant group including its Hawaiian born children is established and when there is no further immigration, the sex ratio begins to move toward the normal and it may be expected to be about normal when the immigrant generation shall have been replaced by its children and grandchildren. Sometimes the process goes on more rapidly on account of the return of some of the immigrant husbands to their native land. This was the case with the Filipinos in the last decade. The following table presents the sex ratios by racial groups for three census dates.
Number of Males to 1000 Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian</td>
<td>1,017</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td>1,574</td>
<td>1,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2,216</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>1,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1,343</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2,089</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>1,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>4,031</td>
<td>5,013</td>
<td>3,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1,269</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>1,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>1,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>1,528</td>
<td>1,376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For more than a generation the sex ratio was more highly abnormal in the other countries than in Honolulu County. This was largely because the more recent immigrants resided mainly on the plantations, while in Honolulu City were found many of those who had lived in Hawaii so long that their sex ratio was on the way toward the normal. This has given Honolulu County a more nearly normal sex ratio despite the fact that the pressure of the men in military and naval service tended to create an opposite result. But in the last ten years the ratio has fallen less than usual for Honolulu County and much more for the other counties, so that there is at present no great difference among the counties.

Number of Males to 1000 Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Honolulu County</th>
<th>The Other Counties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1421</td>
<td>1385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This relative increase in the number of females means, of course, that a larger proportion of the men will be married and will live normally in homes. Doubtless most of the people who read this know how important home life is, how it contributes to the maintenance of moral standards, to the process of Americanization which has been important for more than a generation and to general social stability. In 1930 the men of Hawaii, the males 25 years or over, numbered 129,292. There were 63,510 women of the same age group—not quite half as many. There were 53,942 married women. There were, therefore, 75,341 men without wives in Hawaii and only a little more than two-thirds as many with wives. When the men shall be 80 percent married instead of 42 percent as in 1930, the community will be a different community.

 MORALE IN HAWAII
BERNARD HOBHAM

The morale problem of the men in the army and navy stationed in Hawaii, always peculiar to an outpost, has been made more acute by the recent increase in their numbers as a consequence of the developing national emergency. It is the purpose of this paper to seek to put this problem into a somewhat broader perspective. That the white man suffers physically and mentally in the tropics is a generally accepted notion. It is a common saying that in Manila a white women first loses her complexion, then her health, and finally her morale. Somewhat Mungham is a master in depicting this process of deterioration. It is, however, now recognized that not climate, but isolation is the major factor involved. A. Grenfell Price, in his recent studies on the white man in the tropics, points out that the white man in China and India is as much subject to deterioration as the white man in Singapore and Manila. Isolation from home, friends, from one’s centers of cultural creativity and the consequent lack of mental stimulation—these are involved in the process of deterioration.

This is a problem with which military authorities have long found it difficult to cope, but it is present wherever, as in India, Indo-China, Panama, Hawaii, a government stations troops overseas at a great distance from home.

The military authorities responsible for the troops in Hawaii have had the problem much in mind. In 1936 Major-General Hugh A. Drum, testifying before the House Sub-committee on Military Appropriations, stated that the program for the men in Hawaii included “first, health, contentment, and welfare of the command. We have accomplished excellent results along these lines. Except for mental diseases we have a better record than on the mainland. In general diseases we have a better record. Our mental disease record is slightly higher than in the mainland but less than in Panama.”

The very fact that the army in Hawaii has had a mental disease rate in between the rates of Panama and the mainland helps to point out Hawaii’s anomalous position. Hawaii is, to be sure, an outpost, separated by more than two thousand ocean miles from California, a land where the white race is in the minority. But Hawaii is also in every sense of the word America, “an integral part of the United States,” a typical American community—its schools, theatres, shops, restaurants, streets, churches, hotels, newspapers, and the social life of its Caucasian citizens have all dominated the life in Hawaii for so long that they can no longer be looked at as transplantsations. The newcomer to Hawaii senses this, as can be seen by the frequent expressions of disappointment on the part of tourists in search of the South Sea flavor. The soldier and sailor also sense it and tend at first to feel at home here. But their feeling of at home-ness is disturbed by the exotic aspects. They are in a sense in an ambivalent position.
Morale is a term signifying the ability of a society to mobilize for and sustain action. In war it is the will to fight. The psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, writing just after the end of the last war, described morale as simply this—"to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition." The philosopher and student of human motives, William E. Hocking, wrote a result of his experiences at the front in France, "Perhaps the simplest way of explaining the meaning of morale is to say that what 'condition' is to the athlete's body, morale is to the mind. Morale is condition; good morale is good condition of the inner man... It is both fighting-power and staying-power and the strength to resist the mental infections which fear, discouragement, and fatigue bring with them, such as eagerness for any kind of peace if only it gives momentary relief, or the irritability that sees large the defects in one's own side until they seem more important than the need of defeating the enemy." The 1933 report of the secretary of war states that "the unfailing formula for production of morale is patriotism, self-respect, discipline, and self-confidence within a military unit, joined with fair treatment and merited appreciation from without."

In the same report the secretary of war writes that "the only unchanging element in armies is man himself. On the battle-field he is emotional, sometimes unreliable, and easily incapacitated, but in his mental, moral, and physical characteristics he is not noticeably different from the soldier of twenty-five centuries ago."

New inventions, secret weapons suddenly springing on the enemy change the character of warfare and often give a temporary advantage to the side producing them, but most students of war seem to emphasize just as much the importance of the staying power of morale of an army in it ultimate victory. Not always enough. The two seem, however, frequently to go hand in hand. A nation with high morale is able to create new ways of war.

Now if it is true that man's essential characteristics as a fighter remain through the centuries unchanged, then this psychological element of morale, which admittedly varies in intensity and power from epoch to epoch and nation to nation, must be related to definitely identifiable elements in the situation. One of these is undoubtedly the very fact of numbers. Morale is a product of collective behavior. It cannot be developed in isolation. Even the athlete who, as an individual, strives to maintain his physical condition is affected by collective symbols, by the approval or disapproval of his own group. We must, in order to understand morale, look at it as a collective social phenomenon. Morale of the individual seems to be highest (a) when his society has high morale and (b) when he has a definite status in that society.

1 Hall, writing about the importance of 'condition' in the fighting of a 'system for the development of morale, says, 'The belief, held by the members of a system, that it is important, is found in the number of thousands invested in themselves'

2 Hocking, writing about the morale of the soldier, says, 'The individual may come from all walks of life, and from all intelligences, and social strata... Secondly, the morale of an individual is heightened by the sense of an essential purpose, a sense of serving the interests of others beyond the numbers of the inner circle.'
making it possible for the Library of Hawaii to be open from three to five o'clock every Sunday afternoon until June. On the first two Sundays in March the library opened its doors with a special invitation to service men. Tea was served. Several hundred soldiers and sailors attended and thirty-eight took out library cards. A Mayor's Hospitality Committee with Miss Nell Findley in charge was organized and has an office in the library of the spacious Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. building. The newspapers have established regular departments giving news of the army and navy and especially lists of civilian functions to which army and navy men are invited. Every amateur play has been thrown open to the soldiers and sailors on the night of the dress rehearsal. Bishop H. Littell and Mrs. Littell have given weekly receptions. Mrs. Littell has also been active in many other ways, such as organizing privately conducted sight-seeing tours. Another committee under Mrs. Wayne Pfeuger, holds monthly dances for the enlisted men of the navy and sees to it that dancing partners will be present.

However formal activities must be supplemented by informal contacts, the primary intimate ones typical of the family and of friendships. All students of morale recognize this.

"When the war came," writes Hall, "the noblest war brides, mothers, sweethearts, and sisters said, 'Go!' They condemned slackers. . . . Women kept up every possible connection between their dear ones at the front and their home, concealing everything that would cause pain and showing only courage and good cheer, disguising everything that was bad and discouraging, slow to criticize but swift to praise and hearten, and themselves bearing up if their loved ones were wounded, crippled, or even slain, with a composure and heroism which none, least of all they themselves, dreamed they possessed. The reveries of a happy home-coming, dreams sometimes not to be realized, are often the chief consoler in hardships at the front, where home is idealized as nowhere else."

According to Miss Nell Findley, chairman of the Mayor's Hospitality Committee the morale of the men in the services is "improving". There is also evidence that the community is responding more and more wholeheartedly to the program for improving relations between the civilians in the community and the men.

French, English, and even German men-of-war have in the years since the World War visited Honolulu, and the officers, cadets, and enlisted men have been so royally entertained that the visit in Hawaii is usually considered a high point in the trip abroad. Luau, balls, picnics have characterized these visits. If such a scale of entertainment has not yet been attained in Honolulu during the present national emergency, this paper may have suggested some of the difficulties in the way: distance from home and Hawaii's anomalous position. It has also been suggested that these difficulties can be faced and that a good beginning has been made in this direction. We may, therefore, expect an improvement in the morale of our men under arms stationed in Hawaii.

3 According to the Mayor’s Entertainment Committee, a total of 250 different individuals and organizations, including civic and fraternal groups, churches, and schools offered entertainments of one sort or another to 20,000 different members of the military forces on the Island of Oahu in the form of dances, theatricals, open houses and teas, and sight-seeing. In view of the aggregate number of men stationed in the Islands, these figures appear somewhat less impressive. (Ed.)
SOCIAL EFFECTS OF INCREASED INCOME OF DEFENSE WORKERS OF ORIENTAL ANCESTRY IN HAWAII

YUKIKO KIMURA

Extent And Nature of the Movement

The urgency of the defense program has called forth the labor of any able-bodied citizen in the Territory eighteen years of age or over. The payment, ranging from sixty cents to one dollar per hour, is a great attraction to young people of Oriental ancestry. Those who have been earning from $650 to $300 or more per month. Overtime work is paid at least one and one half times as much as regular work. Even those without any skill and without any overtime work have an income of at least $115 per month, and many boys who have some skill earn from $250 to $350 or more per month. Consequently a great number of young men leave their previous jobs in order to work defense projects. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association states that there has been a decrease of 800 plantation workers in the Territory during the four months from January to the end of April thus year. Some of this decrease may be due to the return of Filipinos, who are not American citizens. There have, however, been over 300 fewer Filipinos going to their homeland during the six months ending June 30 than during the previous six months, a partial indication that there have been more jobs for them, either on defense projects or jobs vacated by other young men accepting defense employment. At any rate the general loss of the young workers on the plantations is chiefly due to their movement into defense industry.

Not only on the plantation but in the city of Honolulu a great many carpenters, machinists, welders, truck drivers, stevedores, and even unskilled laborers have gone into defense work. "We simply can't get carpenters" is a painful cry of every contractor. Contractors cannot compete with the high wages offered on defense projects. "Only old carpenters and painters remain to meet the needs of the civilian residents." Because of the shortage of these services, there is an increasing importation of skilled artisans from other islands. According to a real estate man, however, these men stay only for a month or so before they return to defense work. Consequently, in spite of the prevailing boom, there is no noticeable increase in the building of private homes.

According to the largest loan company in Honolulu, there was a 30 per cent increase in loans for home building last year over the previous year. But this year owing to the shortage of carpenters, there is no noticeable increase.

In business and industry, work requiring heavy labor is greatly affected by the defense program since the available girls cannot replace men. There is a real shortage of truck drivers. One large transfer company has lost all drivers of Chinese and Japanese ancestries, although they have not suffered a shortage because "there are plenty of Filipino men to replace them."

One of the dairies reports raising the wages of their workers in order to keep them. Although their wages are still below that offered for defense work, the permanency of employment has kept men with families. In restaurants, a great many waiters of Chinese and Japanese ancestries have been replaced by girls as well as by Filipino men.

One taxi company has employed fifteen girls as drivers to replace the men. One automobile service company has employed ten girls to do the service formerly performed by men.

Not only those already employed but a great many of the high school students and graduates have gone into defense work during the month of June. Two hundred students at McKinley High School indicated their intention before school closed to work but the estimated number actually engaged is much greater. Farrington High School estimated 200 students as a conservative figure in addition to those working only during the summer. From Roosevelt High School approximately 70 boys have gone into defense work. The number from rural high schools is not available but it is reported that boys old enough would prefer defense work to that on the cane fields or in the pineapple canneries. While the private high schools show a smaller number, there is a definite trend to go into defense work instead of other seasonal jobs. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company reports 60 per cent fewer University students applying this year for a summer work, which they consider due to the high wages of defense work.

As already indicated, the defense program attracts not only the young men of Honolulu and the rural areas of the island of Oahu but also those of other islands. According to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, 15,000 more of passengers from other islands have remained in Oahu during the past year than during the previous year. We must admit, of course, that this number includes women and children and others not engaged in defense work, undoubtedly. The greater part of the increase can be ascribed to the urgency of defense program and its economic attraction.

Such an exodus of young men to Oahu inevitably affects the communities from which they came. Correspondence from Maui,
Hawaii, and Kauai to the relatives and friends on Oahu reveal a general depression in business. A decrease of about 20 per cent in the sale of household appliances is reported from Hawaii. The beer halls are empty and amusement places have lost their youthful customers. "We have no young men. We are short of truck drivers and carpenters. We know that we are going to have a real problem in the coffee picking season this fall," write teachers from the Kona District on Hawaii.

Married men usually come alone and send their families part of their earnings, but after a few months many of them call their families to Honolulu. The effect of the exodus of families is not silent. One Japanese language school on Hawaii had to be closed, and two on Maui are on the verge of closing, owing to small attendance and lack of supporters.

The influx of such a great number of people to Oahu has naturally created a serious problem of housing in already crowded Honolulu.5 Houses are rented even when only the foundations are completed. But for many families there is no house available. Relatives and friends are obliged to share their lodgings with them, often converting the living room and every available space into bed rooms. Boarding houses, rooming houses and cheap hotels, particularly those in the Palama and River Street districts have tripled and quadrupled their usual capacities, and they are greatly overcrowded.

**Economic Effects**

What does this tremendous increase of income mean to the young people earning it? Does it mean more saving or more investment or more spending? Banks indicate approximately 50% increase in savings during the past six months. While an accurate racial classification is not available, Orientals have increased in about the same proportion as others. One insurance company indicated a 25 percent increase in life insurance premiums among the Orientals during the past six months, but another company considers the present increase as quite normal.

The interviews with defense workers revealed that many of them do attempt to save. They all have in mind that this boom is only temporary. The following statement reveals the general attitude of those who save: "I used to earn $30 a week, I spent most of it on girls. Now I earn $75 a week. At first I thought of buying a house and renting it to some one else. I still live with my parents but I would like to prepare for my future. But I changed my mind and I save instead. I am not going to get married for a couple of years. But I can prepare for it. I know this boom is temporary. I must prepare myself for the bad times coming after this." Saving naturally occurs more commonly among the young men residing with their own families who warn them about the temporary nature of the boom. Saving occurs also among the married men, although they commonly invest first in modern household conveniences such as refrigerators and washing machines and, in the rental of better houses.

Many of the boys increase their contributions to their parents. Two brothers send about $150 each month to their parents on one of the other islands, and the father, feeling prosperous, comes to see his sons frequently, sometimes even by airplane. Three brothers in another family have increased the family income from $250 to $1,000 per month. They bought a car, an electric refrigerator, washing machine and other modern conveniences. In another family where three sons are in defense work, the father has retired from active work. Young boys just out of high school usually give from one-half to two-thirds of their earnings to their parents. In some cases where they give the entire earnings to their parents they receive an allowance of $5 or so per week, and the parents save or spend the increased income. In most instances the parents also buy electric or gas refrigerators and washing machines. In some cases the increased income is saved for the education of the younger members of the family.

Occasionally, however, contributions to the family are decreased or discontinued. This seems to occur more commonly among the boys from other islands. This is perhaps not surprising in view of the individualizing influence of city life. "Since A came to Honolulu, he hasn't sent a penny to his parents," or "the boys who were earning $60 or $70 per month gave their parents $10 or $15." "Now they don't increase their contribution but instead they give them no more," are remarks frequently made by older relatives or friends of deserted families on other islands. On the other hand, one hears that "boys who don't think of their parents come away to Honolulu, "only those who seek good times and freedom leave their islands," boys are not satisfied to stay at home. They always want to come to Honolulu to get better jobs," indicating that the boys coming to Honolulu were ambitious or restless or deviates before they came, although the bohemian atmosphere of city life, particularly that of the rooming house and cheap hotels may have increased their degeneration.

**Lavish Expenditures**

As already indicated, young people have "a lot of money to spend" even after they put aside a generous amount for savings and family contributions. But in many cases young people have more interest in spending than saving because they know that "the big money is coming in next week." This spending seems to be more conspicuous at the beginning, "because it is the first time that they have so much money at their disposal." The following statements reveal their attitudes toward their increased pay. "We say to each other better to save for the rainy day! but we don't save, because we know that the money is coming next week." "When I received my pay check, I thought of all things I could get hold of." "I felt exalted when I received my first pay check. The first thing which came to my mind was how to spend it. I don't know how but I spent it all." "I used to earn $15 per week. Now I get $35 per week. What to do with..."
this money was the first thing which came to my mind. I buy things twice as expensive now. I eat out freely.” “After I received my pay check I bought a wrist watch costing $50 for myself, for my wife, for my father and mother. Then I decided to buy a refrigerator and piano on installment. Now I have to pay the bill for these.

Buying cars seems to be one of the most popular things the boys do with their increased income. This is more evident among the local boys than those from other islands because of the lack of parking space around the rooming houses and cheap hotels.

Another reason may be that as newcomers to Honolulu, the boys have few friends, particularly girls, to entertain. While most of the girls are bought on instalments, payments of $40 or more monthly have become quite easy for the Oriental boys. The used car companies report an increase of 70 per cent in business among Orientals during the past five months, a great deal of it in the exchange of old cars for better ones.

Clothing sales have also increased among Orientals during the six months from January first, or approximately 15 per cent according to first class and second class clothing dealers. The increase has been in the sale of suits and sports wear rather than slacks, and in more expensive qualities as well as better styles. The boys state: “I used to pay from 85c to $1.50 for a pair of my working trousers and shirt but now I pay from $1.50 to $2 and quarter.” “Now we pay about $35 to $50 for a new suit, or a pair of pants $13.” “We buy better shoes and more expensive shirts.” However, the boys show far less interest in clothing than in other things and one reason may be that they can not dress too well for the groups with which they associate. Dressing up has to be in accordance with the level and prevailing style of the group to which one belongs. If aloha shirts and slacks are the level of the group one can acquire better qualities of these. Fifth Avenue styles would be most out of place. The climate and outdoor life of the Islanders require simple attire.

The movie theaters report that moving picture attendance has not increased among Orientals. The increase is due to the service personnel. According to the management of the theaters the boys will not go to the movies not because they have money but because the pictures appeal to them. The manager of a theater showing Japanese pictures exclusively, states the films available now are not popular among the young American-born Japanese. The Japanese government does not allow the production of frivolous pictures, and the pictures imported are too stiff for the second generation boys and girls. A great many boys, however, stated that they could go to a different movie every night if they had nothing else to do, but one would do this “not because the show is interesting but there is no other place to go.” Spending their leisure at the movie theaters seems to be more general among the boys from other islands, who are staying at the rooming houses and hotels. Among all Oriental boys, the average attendance is between two or three times a week.

Among other recreations, bowling and pool show increased participation. According to the largest bowling alley in Honolulu the number of customers has been doubled during the five months from January and most of them are young Orientals. The management of the two largest pool rooms reported about 25 per cent increase in customers and from 80 to 100 per cent in monetary business among the Orientals as well as service personnel during the same period of time. They stated that there was a definite sign of prosperity among the customers.

Taxi dance halls are mentioned by some of the Oriental boys. “When there is no place to go it is not bad to go there,” they say. They state that taxi dance halls are as expensive as other dance halls, since it costs ten cents per dance lasting about one minute, and if they dance steadily for an hour, it often amounts to six dollars. Most of the Honolulu boys, however, do not go to taxi dance halls. There is a definite attitude of contempt toward taxi dance halls and those attending. For a great many boys dancing provides an opportunity to have a good time with their friends or to meet “nice girls.” It is not just a recreational satisfaction but dancing has a social meaning. Therefore, they prefer other public dance halls where dinner may be served such as Kewalo Inn, Waiakea Golf Club, or Lan Yee Chai. Those places indicated about 25 per cent increase in business among young Orientals during the five months period from January to May. However, there is a contrary trend also. According to the management of one popular “Dine and Dance” place, there is almost an entire disappearance of their former Oriental customers who have been mainly displaced by service personnel. This seems to be due to the fact that the Oriental boys feel out of place among the predominantly haole group and have gradually ceased to come. A similar situation is revealed by the management of another resort. The 25 per cent increase in business there among the Orientals is mainly for luncheons and dinners sponsored by groups. Very few individuals come to the regular dance and those who do are very hesitant about entering.

The boys usually spend an average of $10.00 for a dinner dance which includes service of liquor. “We drink whisky and mixed drinks. They cost from 35c to 50c an ounce or a glass. Some girls drink seven or eight glasses and boys have to cope with that in order to be sociable.” Without dinner, it costs from $2.50 to $3.50 per couple. Drinks between dances increase the expense. The cost of a rented car per evening is $10. It seems to be a necessity to have a car when they invite girls.

Eating at restaurants is more frequent among Oriental boys than formerly. Those from other islands staying in the cheap hotels and rooming houses report that they spend from $40 to $50 per month for their meals. The boys also indicated a tremendous increase in the cost of food at the restaurants within the past few months. However, there is much more extravagant expenditure on food. “We eat out more freely.” is their typical expression. The downtown restaurants indicated from 50 to 100
per cent increase in business among the Orientals. In this connection the increase in drinking is quite significant. Those places where liquor is served reported a 50 to 80 per cent increase in drinking. They stated that the young people go from one restaurant to another and drink at several different places in an evening. Boys indicated that even in the daytime, particularly on pay days, they drink. One boy stated “in order to cash our check we go to a liquor store nearby and buy a bottle costing about $4. Most of the time we drink a few glasses right there. We often stop on our way back from work and have a drink.” “Let’s have a drink,” is our common form of greeting now.”

There is also an indication of extravagance in tipping. Instead of 10 per cent of the cost of the food, they pay about 25 per cent, at least 25c for a tip even when their meal costs only 40 cents or 50 cents. There is not only an increase in drinking but an increased consumption of costly liquor. One boy stated “when I was earning $15 per week, I helped my parents out of that and I still knew how to enjoy evenings. I was satisfied with $1 a bottle liquor. Now I buy whisky costing at least $2.50 a bottle.”

The manager of a liquor concern also reported that the second generation Orientals who used to buy $2 a bottle liquor buy $3 to $4 a bottle liquor now. He also stated that 70 per cent of the liquor consumed by the second generation Japanese is liquor such as whisky, gin, brandy and rum. Only 30 per cent is beer. None of them drink “sake” unless invited to a wedding party where it is served as part of the ceremony. He also indicated an increase in private house parties where hard liquor is served. There is also some increase in tea house parties, although it is mostly among the older second generation who state that it costs from $6 to $10 per person just for a gay party. Those who are earning $300 or more a month go there often, about once a week on pay day. Those who earn less go sometimes for an adventure.

Gambling also is greatly discussed in connection with the increased income of the defense workers. According to the report of the Police Department the number of arrests for gambling in April and May shows a noticeable increase over the previous three months. This, however, can not be ascribed wholly to the defense workers of Oriental ancestry, but includes the increased population from the Mainland United States. A great many, of course, escape arrest so that the figures do not indicate the full extent of gambling among the Oriental boys. The following statements give some understanding of the problem. “My friend A spends all his money on gambling and goes home broke every pay day.” “Yes, some fellows gamble and lose the whole day’s pay plus the next week’s. Lucky ones gain as much as $100 to $120 even in the lunch hour. They usually gamble in a car or a nearby place outside the defense site, or sometimes at home.” “Yes, many lose all their week’s pay on pay day. Three-fourths of the single men indulge in gambling.” “Sometimes they become the victims of the professional gamblers, some of whom came from the Mainland while some are from other islands. They rent houses or rooms in town, to which they invite the inexperienced. They let the amateurs win the first few times and let them have a good time before they suck every penny out of them.”

Sociological Significance

What is the sociological significance of these phenomena? First of all this exodus of young men from the other islands is a type of mass migration, although it is individually motivated. The economic advantages derived from defense work are strong enough to counteract the traditional family resistance to mobility. Under normal conditions, the Americanized younger generation has little opportunity for personal advancement under the limitations of the rural situation. Convention demands that he place family obligations foremost. Moreover, the economic situation is such as to provide little opportunity for financial or social advancement. But under the stress of the present emergency, a much higher valuation is placed upon his abilities, whether they are those of a skilled artisan or merely an unskilled laborer. Under these unusual circumstances, the widespread, but frequently unexpressed and even unsuspected, desire to break away from the provincial atmosphere and parental restraints is accorded social approval, since the young man can thereby advance the family interests.

It is probably true, however, that the more ambitious, the more satisfied, and the more restless young people are those who respond most readily to the expanding opportunities of the city, while those who are conservative or satisfied or less ambitious remain at home. Naturally this selection is reflected in the behavior of the defense workers in the city.

The call to defense work is a stimulating experience for the young men. The demand for workers seems to be unlimited, and here, for the first time, they appear to be indispensable. Thus they acquire a new valuation of themselves, a new sense of self esteem. The common expression of young Oriental defense workers, “I got a great thrill when I received my first pay check,” is not merely in response to the greater economic power which the check provided, but is an evidence of the personal satisfaction derived from controlling their own affairs. When they were working at home under their parents or their neighbors, there was always a certain amount of traditional social control over their behavior. They were part of the traditional family group and their contribution was shared within the group. Now their employment is individualized and their attitudes likewise have become individualized.

There is an inevitable change in the status of the defense workers at home as a consequence of their increased economic value to the family. Such expressions as “The folks treat us like kings now,” “Their parents have no control over them now,” “They won’t listen to their parents,” indicate the changing status and role of the young people in their families, whether they are away from home or not. Their ability to earn more than their parents and to expend this money at their own will naturally
what to do with our evenings, so we go out and wander about the streets. We naturally stop at the beer halls and up with drinking," reveal the efforts made to overcome their boredom or loneliness. Drinking and Gambling seem to serve as a means of relief.

There has been some disposition for certain of these detached individuals to gravitate into congeniality groups which develop standards of conduct compelling upon the members. The experiment of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. among island defense workers reveals a strong desire of these young men, even these who seemingly manifest a great degree of devotion and independence, for companionship and wholesome recreation. Such casual remarks as "I don't gamble Friday evenings any more because I come here," "I think I would change if I came here a few more times. I feel it. The crowd I meet here is different. I thoroughly enjoy it. That's why I come back," reveal an unconscious identification of the workers with the new group and at the same time a certain standard of behavior to which they unwittingly conform.

The paramount problem confronting the defense workers is not the sudden increase of income per se although it undoubtedly an important effect upon the individuals and families, psychologically as well as financially. The greater problem is the sphere of social contact and the associated control. The sudden change of environment and the loss of family and neighborhood controls without the appearance of any new group associations capable of defining conduct for the individual is a more fundamental problem for this community to solve.
A NOTE ON SOCIAL WORK TRAINING IN HAWAII
FERRIS LAUNE

It might be said that social work has been consciously practiced in the Territory of Hawaii since the arrival in 1820 of the first boatload of missionaries. Of course, the primary objective of the mission was to preach the Gospel and get converts, but along with that worthy purpose was the vague one of making life better for the residents of this island paradise. The techniques used paralleled a considerable extent those of the social settlement of a later day, and the "social workers" were the wives of those stoned and earnest exponents of the Word of God. Teaching of sewing, health education, care of the sick, child care—all of these were included. All these, however, were in the nature of "ministrations to the poor rather than the application of planned techniques to the solving of social problems."

It was not until 1919 that the concept of specific training for social work as a profession began to emerge. At that time Miss Margaret Bergen was brought to Honolulu to assist in a reorganization of the Associated Charities, which later became the Social Service Bureau, still later the Family Consultation Service, and, since the first of this present year has been known as the Child and Family Service Association. Miss Bergen, whose background included a wide experience in social work practice both in England and the United States, supplemented some training in schools of social work, returned to Honolulu in 1919 and became the director of the Associated Charities. At about the same time an island-born resident Miss M. L. Cattoon completed the course of the New York School of Social Work and began to apply in actual practice the principles and techniques in which she had received training. Mr. Clinton Childe, Director of Alexander House, Mano, who also came to the Territory during this same decade had also prior training in social work. For several years these three were the only workers in the Territory with specific training in this field of work.

With practical schools so far from the Islands, it was practically impossible for island residents to go away for training even though there was a growing recognition of its desirability. Miss Bergen attempted to give up by her own educational opportunity by giving such training as was possible to members of her staff. The Hospital Social Service Association, of which organization Miss Cattoon was the executive secretary, established a definite policy of requiring professional training for persons in professional positions. Following this lead, and encouraged by the United Welfare Fund, trained social workers were from time to time brought to Honolulu to fill vacancies as they occurred in the private welfare agencies. At the same time there was on

1 For several years during the interregnum, Miss Bergen officiated in a course on practical positions of social work offered in the business department of the University. Beginning in 1929 Miss Bergen offered an education course in social work at the University of the State in Hawaii. (54)
be given. Dr. Marion Hathway, Executive Secretary of the Association, was designated as advisor to our school during this probationary period. Arrangements had already been made by the University for Dr. Hathway to give courses here during the 1941 summer school.

It is expected that twelve students will have completed the one year curriculum in June of this year. These students will then be eligible, under the classification standards of the Department of Social Security, to enter territorial employment. Twenty seniors at present taking the orientation course in social work have indicated an intention of going on with graduate social work training.

Admission to the school is to be limited to graduate students selected by a qualifying committee of the faculty and representatives of cooperating social agencies. Students are expected to have completed not less than thirty semester hours of social and psychological science including not less than five semester hours in each of the fields of sociology, economics, political science and psychology, or equivalents approved by the director of the course. The number of students to be accepted will be limited by the number of field work assignments available.

It would seem that the Territory has made a good start toward training workers for the welfare work of the Islands and although the University course is of only one year, that one year will compare favorably with the one year course of most schools on the mainland. As to openings for trained workers in this field, it is likely that the demand will continue for many years. In many fields of social work here in Hawaii we are just beginning to demand trained workers. In the schools, the courts, the hospitals, and the recreation agencies there will from time to time be additions to the staff requiring personnel trained to deal with the adjustment of social problems. With the one year graduate training course at the University and with provision for scholarships for the most promising workers for further study, the Territory will soon find itself in the forefront of United States communities in its provisions for qualified personnel for social service work.