

THE HAOLES

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The Haoles of Hawai'i may be regarded as one of the component ethnic groups, since, uniquely in the United States, they are numerically a minority, like every other Island group. The term *haole* implies sufficient separateness, distinctiveness, and identifiability to make it comparable with the other ethnic groups.

"Haole" is by informal consensus the preferred term for "white" or "Caucasian." In official statistics Caucasian is used, except that the U.S. census, since statehood, has applied its Mainland categories, white and other races. There are problems connected with each term, Haole, Caucasian, and white. Haole today has connotations of "upper class" or "upper middle class." It may also connote "outsider" or "person who is not quite local." After annexation, the first U.S. census, in 1900, attempted simply to use its Mainland categories, white and colored, white when applied to Hawai'i, including "for the purposes of the census, Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, Caucasians, and South Sea Islanders," while "colored" covered Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian. This seems to be how Caucasian, a term normally not used in the U.S. census and previously not used in Hawai'i, came to enter the population statistics of Hawai'i. It was a term to separate the "white" Americans and Europeans from the "white" Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, and South Sea Islanders.

This usage of 1900, however, proved unsatisfactory, and so from 1910 on the census dropped the term white for Hawai'i, keeping Caucasian for persons ultimately of European derivation, Americans, British, Germans, Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Ricans, etc. However, because the Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish had come to Hawai'i mainly as plantation laborers and were by economic status and religion different from the people originally from northern Europe, they were listed as distinct groups under Caucasian, leaving these others to be put into the category of "other" Caucasians, who were the core Haole population. Eventually, starting with the 1940 census, separate listing for the Portuguese, Spanish, and Puerto Ricans was dropped, leaving merely Caucasians.

However, in 1960, the one-year-old state was treated by the census like the other states. By "color" the population was divided into white and non-white. The term race "as used by the Bureau of the Census is derived from that which is commonly accepted by the general public. It does not, therefore, reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock, and several categories obviously refer to national origin." The non-white races were Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Aleut, Eskimo, etc. In 1970 and 1980 the part-Hawaiian classification was dropped from the census, and all mixed bloods were allowed to identify themselves with whichever of their component ancestries they wished. Thus our whole mixed population, over a quarter of the total, disappeared into one or another of the so-called pure races.

At present an accurate figure on Haole population is therefore difficult to determine because different ways of classifying and counting people racially are competing. When persons are allowed to classify themselves, a large but unverifiable number of mixed persons choose "white," so that in 1970 the total number of whites was 301,000, 39.2 percent of the whole population. Never had the whites been so numerous nor so large a proportion of the total. No other groups came near them, the next highest being the Japanese at not quite 218,000. It was predicted with enthusiasm by some, with dismay by others, that by the end of the century the whites would be in the majority—the first ethnic group to achieve this since the Hawaiians lost their numerical majority soon after 1885.

Eventually, however, it had to be realized that, in the first place, between 30 percent and 40 percent of this white population is military, in the armed forces or among its dependents, and is, therefore, a temporary part of the white population, and, in the second place, that by self-classification, many persons who were only part white, nevertheless, were identified as white, possibly as many as 50,000 mixed persons, part-Hawaiian and of other mixture. (*Population Report*, #9, 1977, Table 7 and *Population Report*, #11, 1979, Table 2 and prefatory text.) If these mixed Caucasians are eliminated, the pure white population is less than 30 percent, and if the white members of the armed forces and their white dependents are excluded, the caucasian population becomes just 21.4 percent of the total household population sampled by the Hawaii Health Surveillance Program survey of 1977. [*Op. cit.* #11, p. 1.]

We can thus only make judgments about the relative size of Hawai'i's different groups. Counting the military population but subtracting the mixed persons which the census had classified as white, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and making a separate grouping of the mixtures, one could say that three groups are roughly equal, constituting a little more than a quarter each. These are the Caucasian or white, the Japanese, and the mixed population. The remaining small quarter belongs to the Filipinos, the Chinese, the pure Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Koreans, and the Blacks. Some of these smaller groups are at present growing by immigration from the home countries, Korea, geographical and ethnic China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), the Philippines, and Samoa. The mixed group is growing steadily by an increasing proportion of mixed births, now over 50 percent of all births in the proportion of two-thirds part-Hawaiian and one-third persons of other-than-Hawaiian mixture.

The military part of the Haole population, over 100,000, consists, as was mentioned, primarily of temporary residents, mainly on two- or three-year assignment, most living on military bases on Oahu, although many families find housing in civilian residential areas on this island. They are only partially integrated with the rest of the population, even with the rest of the haole population.

On an average day in 1977, Hawai'i had close to 87,000 tourists, of whom the largest number, probably over 75,000, were white. The concentration of these more or less temporary whites on Oahu reinforces the impression people have had from recent U.S. censuses that the white part of the population is becoming dominant. This is not to deny the important social impact of both the military and the tourist element upon Hawai'i and, reciprocally, the influence of their stay in Hawai'i upon them, subjects which deserve intensive sociological research.

Haole, our term in this article, was the Hawaiian word for foreigner. After the opening of Hawai'i to the wider world by Captain Cook all outsiders who came to these shores were foreigners. The origin of the Hawaiian term is not clear, but probably it was descriptive of some trait or action which marked these strangers as different from native Hawaiians. Exactly what the Hawaiians were describing with the word has been lost. *Ha* refers to breath and *aole* is a negative. It is said that commoner Hawaiians, suddenly confronted by chiefs, prostrated themselves as they noisily expelled their breath—and of course

the strangers did not do this. Or it is said that, to the Hawaiians, the newcomers seemed to have expressionless (therefore, breathless) faces. Other terms also were current. For instance, Lucy Thurston, of the first company of missionaries, wrote that the first white women were referred to by the Hawaiians as "long-necks," whose faces were "far in" (perhaps under bonnets). In Hong Kong in the last century the Chinese called Britishers "Hung Mo," Red Heads, because that seemed the predominant color of their hair. The American Indian use of "pale face" for whites is well known. In the other direction, the foreigners variously referred to the Hawaiians as natives, Indians, pagans, and, later, *kanaka*, the Hawaiian term for human being. Today Hawaiian is the preferred term.

Eventually *haole* became the common term among Hawaiians, no matter what the differences among the various foreigners might be. So a *haole* church was a church for foreigners, the "foreign" church. Until the 1870s the dominant foreigners numerically were the whites derived from Europe and America. Occasionally, in the English language, they were actually referred to as white, a term which was certainly known and used in the last century. It is understandable that *haole* thus came to have connotations of white. Later in the last century the whites came to be powerful politically and as enterprisers in a developing economy. They were among the wealthiest persons in the community, adding another connotation to *haole*: influential, upper-class, wealthy. The various overlapping but not synonymous meanings, never "officially" clarified, are the reason questions arose as to whether working-class white immigrants, imported to work on the plantations, such as the Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish— should be regarded as Haole and, as was mentioned, in 1910, 1920, and 1930 three of these groups were counted separately, according to their nationalities, but grouped as Caucasians, while the Haoles were called the "other" Caucasians.

In the last century the term *haole* was more or less confined to speakers of Hawaiian. For speakers of English, the word foreigner was proper and adequate, just as in Japan foreigner applies to all non-Japanese. The use of white was also possible, but not as common as foreigner, or the name of the specific nationality. The use of such nationality terms continued for several decades after annexation in various educational, correctional, and other statistics of the Territory of Hawai'i.

The first white men known to stay in the Islands were two Englishmen, John Young and Isaac Davis, taken captive in 1790 by Hawaiians in reprisal for a massacre of a Hawaiian village by an American captain on whose ships the men were crewmen. They soon became useful to Kamehameha I and were urged to take *ali'i* women as wives. Their progeny became the first known part-Hawaiians. Queen Emma, consort of Kamehameha IV, was the granddaughter of John Young. James Boyd, also English, arrived about the same time and is said by his part-Hawaiian descendants to have built Kamehameha's first Western-type sailing vessel. One of the most colorful of the early white settlers was the Spaniard Don Francisco de Paula Marín, who first came to Hawai'i in 1793 or 1794 and died here in 1837. He became an interpreter for the king, had children by several Hawaiian wives, raised horses and cattle, maintained the first vineyard, and practiced other horticultural pursuits.

An adventurous and observant Scottish youth who had run away to sea as a teen-ager spent some months in Hawai'i in 1809-1810 making sails for Kamehameha. His published account calls attention to another haole element—deserting sailors from American and European ships, including some men escaped from England's penal colony in Sydney. He said their numbers constantly fluctuated but during his stay had reached a high of almost sixty on O'ahu. Most were disreputable, a corrupting influence; many left as suddenly as they had arrived. Ever since then there has been a continuous stream of white beachcombers, remittance men, escapists from civilization—down to the hippies of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The steadier ones, who had such special skills as carpentry and masonry or who were able to manage a little business, stayed and like Young, Davis, Boyd, and Marín married Hawaiian women and raised families. There were no white women until the first missionaries arrived in 1820 with their wives, seven in number.

This first missionary party of nineteen whites and three Hawaiian youths was followed by eleven other "companies," as well as by individuals sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the Congregational foreign mission board in Boston. The total came to 175, including some Hawaiians. Their competitors were Catholic missionaries, mainly from Europe, starting in 1827 but not officially allowed to do their work among Hawaiians until 1839. Mormon missionaries arrived in mid-century, and ten years later Anglicans came from England at the request of Kamehameha V and Queen Emma.

By 1830 there were 300 whites on O'ahu. Some started trading establishments; one, started by James Hunnewell in 1826, survives to this day as C. Brewer and Co., one of the so-called "Big Five."

Many of these pioneers originally had been seafarers—navigators, ship's mates, captains. Their ships were engaged in trade, so because they were also traders, they became the first resident merchants. Some became consular agents for their governments and helped "protect" the interests of countrymen in clashes with chiefs and commoners. In the 1840s Britishers and Germans joined the Americans in establishing businesses.

The possibility of growing crops on a commercial scale was explored by the Englishman John Wilkinson. In the mid-1820s he grew sugarcane and coffee trees in Mānoa, but his early death and other difficulties led to abandonment of this plantation. In 1835 three enterprising young Americans started the first surviving sugar plantation at Kōloa, Kaua'i, now part of McBryde Sugar Co. The Great Mahele of 1848 opened lands for agricultural development, particularly in sugar. Līhu'e Plantation, started in 1849-50 is now one of the largest. This venture brought together a number of Haole pioneers—Henry Peirce, Charles R. Bishop, William Lee, J.B.F. Marshall, all Americans who soon took the American missionary, W. H. Rice, as partner and manager. Upon Rice's death, his German son-in-law, Paul Isenberg, took over management. Peirce started his many-faceted working life on trading vessels. He had a short stint as a resident merchant when he bought out Hunnewell, and a few years later sold out to C. Brewer. Then he began Līhu'e plantation as he passed through Hawai'i on his way to Canton. Later, under Kalakaua's reign, he was U.S. minister and helped in negotiations which led to the reciprocity treaty. These were versatile, enterprising young men, able to see and eager to seize opportunity. Their enterprises brought together as partners missionary and non-missionary Americans and Europeans.

In 1853 when Līhu'e plantation was being founded, there were in Hawai'i 2,119 foreigners, of whom 291 had been born in the Islands. Some of these—364—were Chinese. There were also 983 "half castes," as they were called. The native population was 70,036.

The widely held picture of the Haole as a minority which nevertheless acquired wealth and power has, in the main, been true. The core of *kama'āina* Haoles was in control in 1930, a year which might be regarded

as the climax of this influence, when sugar was indeed king, its plantations and their communities tied together by Big Five corporations, themselves in turn linked by such formal organizations as the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) and the California and Hawaiian Sugar refinery (C&H) on San Francisco Bay, a cooperative of sugar-producing companies. There were interlocking directorates and stock holdings as well as informal ties of friendship, kinship, marriage. These relationships extended to transportation, financing, wholesale and retail merchandising, utilities, the major newspapers, cultural and scientific, social welfare and health activities, and, through well-organized elections and lobbying, to territorial and federal government. The power was concentrated and great for the five decades between the overthrow of Lili'uokalani and World War II.

The Haoles had, of course, introduced Western civilization to Hawaiians who, under their chiefs, made firm commitment to it. Haoles were the agents who brought both the curses and the blessings of civilization. Some of the curses were inevitable but unplanned, such as the gamut of contagious diseases. Foreigners with good intentions, however, also made unwitting mistakes. The Puritanical predilection of missionaries took some of the zest out of life. Contenting factions among foreigners reinforced factionalism among chiefs.

Yet their positive contributions deserve recognition. Haole missionaries not only succeeded very quickly in "reducing" the oral Hawaiian language into a highly usable written form, but also in teaching it, first to chiefs and then to commoners, in schools which they founded. These schools were the beginning of universal public education and made Hawai'i probably the first non-Western nation with universal literacy. Eventually English became the general medium of instruction, even while Hawaiians retained their independence, not because Haoles foisted English on the Hawaiians but because Hawaiians wanted it so.

Haoles who came in the nineteenth century with no firm intention to stay, nevertheless did stay to become permanent residents. The practice of "home leave," so common in European colonies, never became general practice in Hawai'i. Naturally, some Haoles left, never to return, including some missionaries, usually for reasons of health. The children of missionaries and other Haoles were sent away to school, but then returned. A pioneer missionary doctor, G. P. Judd, arrived with his wife in 1828 and spent the rest

of his life in Hawai'i, assuming increasingly important positions with the royal government. These responsibilities, he felt, called for resignation from the mission, and he took the oath of allegiance in 1854 as a subject of the king. He urged former colleagues to do likewise. At mid-century, the Boston board felt it was time for the Hawai'i mission to become independent, forcing the missionaries to find independent means of support and leading to their becoming enterprisers, and their children after them. The second generation participated in the overthrow of the monarchy and forced Hawai'i into annexation by the United States. In the 1950s, research indicates, more than half of the seventy-five missionary couples who came to Hawai'i from 1820 to 1854 had descendants living in the islands. By 1978 Dr. and Mrs. Judd's descendants numbered 804. They were mainly identified with Hawai'i. Some were part-Hawaiian or mixed with other ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

These old-time dominant Haoles, missionary and non-missionary, are the *kama'āinas*. The theater was introduced and supported by them, a small opera house was built in the last century and maintained for a decade and a half into this century. (To be sure, the stricter missionary Haoles at first disapproved, as they did of cosmopolitan social life around the royal court, of ballroom dancing, liquor, and card-playing.)

Indeed, the Haoles in Hawai'i increasingly led a clearly cosmopolitan life—the life of a big city involving intellectuals, artists, scientists, professionals, club life, a life of conspicuous consumption—and the ali'i Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians joined in. Eventually, particularly after World War II, upwardly mobile members of other ethnic groups—those whose lives had been centered in local communities, even ghettos, where they followed their ethnic, religious, and kinship traditions—were able to join the cosmopolites, entering the professions, politics, business, and the arts.

The upper-class Haoles had their own kind of ghetto, though they were not always aware of it. On plantations there were Haole residential areas, sometimes called "haole camps," reserved for them, with markedly better housing. In Honolulu there were Haole districts, where non-Haoles did not live, except as servants. The non-Haoles were excluded, at first because they could not afford to live there and would not have felt at ease; later because they were not permitted to purchase property, a result of informal pressure by

neighbors, or of practices by large landed estates who leased residential plots. Real estate agencies helped maintain such restrictions, simply not showing property available for sale to non-Haoles. Certain upper-class clubs were closed to non-Haoles, although upper-class Hawaiians were members. Admission of Orientals to the Pacific Club in 1968 was the beginning of the end of these restrictions. At one time Punahou School had an informal 10 percent quota for Oriental students, a practice begun in the 1890s when a number of Chinese boys applied and the fear arose that linguistic and academic standards would be lowered if they were admitted and were to be followed by many more. The quota fell by the wayside in the 1950s. The school still has a predominance of Haoles because children of alumni receive admission priority. Once such changes occur, it is soon forgotten that such restrictions ever existed, and that, while they existed, they were accepted without much question, even by those excluded, largely because socio-economic differences were involved, and were as important as ethnic differences.

The boys' half of Mid-Pacific Institute was founded to accommodate the kind of Chinese boy being turned away at Punahou. This school, then called Mills, was later combined with a still older school, Kawaihāo, originally for Hawaiian girls. The combined school eventually had a predominantly Oriental student body and hardly any Caucasian students, only 1.5 percent in the mid-1950s. In the school year 1975-1976, however, the proportion of Caucasians reached 16.1 percent. This increase is perhaps as significant as the increase in non-Haoles at Punahou, although Mid-Pacific is a very much smaller school.

In this article the concern has been primarily with the Haoles who, by origin are from the U.S. and northern Europe, a relatively small part of the population whose influence has been way out of proportion to their numbers.

But we cannot leave out of consideration the wider Caucasian population. These consist of ethnic groups brought in to work on the sugar plantations: Portuguese, Norwegians, Germans, Puerto Ricans, Spanish, Russians, the first three in the late 1870s and 1880s, the latter three after annexation. Most of these groups were small in number and soon merged with the wider Caucasian group or left Hawai'i to live on the U.S. West Coast. Only the Portuguese and the Puerto Ricans, while being counted as Caucasians, maintain

a sort of separate ethnic identity and are covered by separate articles in this issue. A short article on the Germans, originally written for the language section of the Encyclopedia, is also included, as the editor-in-chief of the Encyclopedia felt it belonged in this ethnic section. It represents one of the smaller groups who played a role in Hawai'i. In the bibliographical notes are included some references for those interested in learning more about these and other smaller groups.

Challenges to the Haole power structure came in the 1930s and 1940s when, ironically, Mainland Haole labor leaders organized the waterfront, sugar, and pineapple workers into militant interracial unionism. After the war the Oriental population, achieving mobility as American citizens, entered the political picture. At the same time the economic strength of local non-Haoles has increased and economic challenges from outside Hawai'i have undermined the Haole hegemony. Ethnic militancy, particularly among Hawaiians, has also brought challenges to reckon with.

The feeling about Haoles of both whites and non-whites continues to be quite ambivalent. Recently a newspaper reporter asked some prominent non-Haoles whether Haoles could be "local." Some answered categorically in the negative. The ambiguity about whether the Portuguese are Haoles, while declining, is still noticeable.

It is still largely a fact that whites from the Mainland are not easily integrated. Those in the military services and their dependents often live a life apart on bases which are more "suburbs of Washington, D.C." than of Honolulu. Or, if connected, say, with a company, or with the University, or with a new beachside condominium, their main social associations may be with other Haoles in those organizations and neighborhoods. If they join a predominantly Haole church, again they are thrown with Haoles. If they are artists, musicians, actors, the primary contacts also have been with Haoles. They have a disadvantage in getting a realistic appreciation of the whole community. Even militant or liberal whites who come to Hawai'i act in ways which prevent the entrée into local circles which they so much crave. With the best of intentions, they nevertheless behave like "obnoxious" Haoles. They act and talk as though, out of the wisdom of their Mainland experience, they had the answers for Island problems, for the discrimination which non-Haoles have experienced. They talk too fast, too glibly. Haole students strike local non-

Haole students as wasteful of precious class time with their "empty" talk. Haoles may even appear unclean, smelly. One belief about Haoles, shared by many local people, is that they don't bathe as often as they should, or at least not before they go to bed. For local people, including local Haoles, a bath at the end of the working day is sacrosanct.

Thus Mainland Haoles, with the best of intentions, have difficulty making the grade. They are not easily accepted by local people, even by local Haoles. Haole and non-Haole local people do, however, go out of their way to entertain tourists, Mainland acquaintances, for their lives will not be complicated by abiding social commitments, but it is different when Mainland Haoles come here to live. Local people put off entertaining them. So Mainlanders become isolated, or meet one another and establish their own circles of friends, losing significant personal contact with local people, whether white or non-white. They then may become disillusioned about and highly critical of life in Hawai'i and return to the Mainland.

Local Haoles—second, third, fourth, fifth generation Haoles—still form a sort of local establishment which is recognized by the community, accepted to a certain extent in most circles—also at times resented. In general terms this persistence of a Haole establishment—and community in some aspects—of Hawai'i life could be put in these terms: Whenever a bank, trust company, major corporation, church, or other organization or neighborhood has been Haole over several generations, the breakdown of Haole exclusiveness is, even by those on the inside, difficult to accomplish. It takes time. That breakdown thrives on little exceptions and precedents which become cumulatively important. Local people feel a combination of diffidence, even antagonism, towards Haoles, a fear of not being accepted by them, of not feeling at home with them, of not being sure what kind of behavior is expected. There is also a reluctance on the part of Haoles who "belong" to break up old associations which have come to be expected, accepted, and workable for generations. Another factor which seems to maintain Haole exclusiveness and to retard participation of non-Haoles is the greater leisure for and tradition about "causes" which Haoles have. By contrast, many non-Haoles are engrossed in the struggle to achieve and to maintain a middle-class way of life with its amenities, to provide the best education for their children. Such preoccupation in a community where the cost of living is so high, reinforced by an absence of tradition, has kept them from

participation in community and cultural affairs, from dedication to "causes."

The overall Haole population is, of all ethnic groups, least a single entity. Except for the relatively few who are permanently identified with Hawai'i, they are not unified. Their very diversity makes for movement and change.

One day the Islands' ethnic paradoxes will be resolved by simply doing away with ethnic or racial distinctions. By that time, such distinctions will have become as meaningless as the terms Swedish, Polish, German, Italian are becoming in the Middle West and the West. That day is closer than many people realize, but it is not yet fully upon us.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Haoles. It would be futile to list books on the Haoles because they have pervaded all aspects of Hawaiian life from the time of Captain Cook until today. Major histories by Kuykendall and Daws are widely known and easily available. There are also excellent economic histories. Accounts by and about missionaries and their descendants and about other pioneer Caucasians abound. An excellent comprehensive work is by Bradford Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, J. P. Lippincott, 1956.

Caucasian Ethnic Groups. Unfortunately there appears to be nothing of interest and in detail on the Spanish, the Poles—also called Galicians, the Italians. A study of the history of the Jews in Hawai'i by Morris Freedman was cut short by his death. Our articles on the German, Portuguese, and Puerto Ricans have their own references. A few other minor Caucasian groups may be mentioned:

Greeks. See Helen Geracimos Chapin, "From Sparta to Spencer Street: Greek Women in Hawaii." *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, XIII, 1979, 136-156.

Gypsies. See Stephen Murin, "Hawaii's Gypsies, 1949." *Social Process in Hawaii*, XIV, 1950, 15-37.

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University of Hawaii, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1931.

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