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The Progressive Era and Hawai'i: The Early History of Pālama Settlement, 1896–1929

THIS STUDY ANALYZES the origin, goals, and development of a unique Hawai'i social institution, Pālama Settlement, and examines the settlement's relationship to the broader reform movement that inspired the establishment and proliferation of settlement houses throughout the United States. Historians refer to this period of social consciousness and social reform as the Progressive Era. By placing the origins, philosophy, and development of Pālama Settlement within the larger historical context of what Henry Steele Commager called "one of the great social movements in modern America—the Settlement House movement,"¹ this study will help strengthen our understanding of Hawai'i's role in America's social history.

SETTLEMENT HOUSES IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The late 1800s and early 1900s were a period of widespread social and economic change in American history. The trauma of the Civil War behind it, the United States began shifting national priorities from being a relatively homogeneous, agrarian nation to one modeled after England's industrial revolution. Industrialization, with the promise of jobs and housing, caused a massive influx of agrarian whites and

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immigrants seeking better lives. The new urban dwellers, many of whom were from non-industrial areas of Eastern and Southern Europe, lacked formal education and skills required to succeed immediately in their new country. The Italians, Poles, Russian Jews, Greeks, and others crammed into ghettoized tenements in cities such as New York and Chicago. They faced enormous difficulties and challenges adapting to the foreign environment. Sanitation and health-care problems, educational and recreational needs, and a widening social, economic, and political gap between themselves and the non-immigrant society confronted this new urban population. Historian Robert H. Wiebe provided an apt description of this socially volatile period:

The rush to the cities, swelling established centers like New York and Chicago . . . brought a constant influx of inexperienced newcomers who required jobs, homes, and a sense of belonging. Older residents were inundated. Not only did masses congest the center of the city, but in response to pressures for living space, transportation lines thrust outward, cutting into communities that had existed apart and pulling them into a greater urban area. . . . Each city desperately needed such fundamental services as fresh water, sewers, paving, and transportation, yet the same conditions that made the need so imperative diminished the capacity to meet it.²

The squalid conditions helped give birth to a social consciousness among liberal reform-minded groups and individuals. Within this consciousness was a belief that industrialization had destroyed the fabric of community, causing alienation and hopelessness among individuals and families residing in slums.³ This reasoning led reformers to seek solutions not through revolution or religion-inspired charity, but through education and community rebuilding. It was during the Progressive Era that many foundations of modern social work emerged. Young, educated, and idealistic Americans began living among the impoverished and applied hands-on knowledge, skills, and experiences to improve living conditions.

Historically, this liberal-reform way of thinking, where the “haves” assist the “have-nots,” began as a basically religious impulse. Missionaries and social-gospel leaders gave out charitable aid to indigent peo-

ple in the name of God, brotherhood, and love. By the late nineteenth century, however, this humanitarian urge was coupled with the concept of social efficiency. There was a growing conviction that social intelligence was necessary before social improvement could occur. Humanitarianism and social efficiency, then, gave rise to the field of social work and became important benchmarks of the Progressive Era.⁴

Humanitarianism and social efficiency took on a variety of institutional forms, but perhaps none was as dramatic and enduring as the social settlement house.⁵ The movement began in England in 1884 when a number of university men under the leadership of the Reverend Samuel A. Barnett moved into a building in Whitechapel, a London slum, and sought to live "as neighbors of the working poor, sharing their life, thinking out their problems, learning from them the lessons of patience, fellowship, self-sacrifice, and offering in response the help of their own education and friendship."⁶

Toynbee Hall proved to be a model for other settlement houses in England and, eventually, America. Stanton Coit, an idealistic graduate of Amherst with a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin, who lived for three months at Toynbee Hall, was the first American to borrow the settlement house idea when, in 1886, he established Neighborhood Guild in New York's lower East Side.⁷ Eventually organized by Charles B. Stover and renamed University Settlement, it became, along with Toynbee Hall, the model for perhaps the most famous social settlement, Hull-House in Chicago.

Opened by social workers Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr on September 18, 1889, in a former mansion on Halsted Street in Chicago's West Side, Hull-House became America's most well-known and imitated settlement house. Addams, the driving force behind Hull-House's reform fervor, was a social philosopher whose many writings and speeches instigated and guided the establishment of settlement houses elsewhere.

Addams, in her publications, made clear the difference between charitable organizations and settlement houses. Contrary to charitable organizations based on the premise that the upper classes had a responsibility to help the needy, Hull-House and the settlement house movement were based "on the theory that the dependence of classes

on each other is reciprocal.”⁸ While the charitable organization movement was rooted in philanthropy, the philosophy behind the settlement house movement was reform.⁹

Another major theme in Addams’s writings was the intertwined relationship between settlement houses and progressive education. Educational reform was an important item on the agenda of those seeking social democracy, relevant pedagogy, and a drastic improvement in health, work, and the overall quality of family and community life.¹⁰ To Addams, the settlement was “a protest against a restricted view of education, and make it possible for every educated man or woman with a teaching faculty to find out those who are ready to be taught. The social and educational activities of a settlement are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the existing of the settlement itself.”¹¹ Significantly, the great proponent of progressive education of the time, John Dewey, was a frequent visitor to Hull-House and a member of Hull-House’s first board of trustees. He supported Hull-House’s attempts to broaden the scope of education through experiments with vocational and industrial training, kindergartens, and other recent pedagogical practices. He supported efforts to tailor the school to the needs of the student and, like Hull-House, was committed to expanding the impact of school on community.¹² The settlement houses, according to Addams, needed to take the lead in espousing “socialized education” by directly and forcefully addressing the critical needs of the community’s indigent residents. She therefore instituted at Hull-House boys’ and girls’ clubs, health clinics, day nurseries, recreational activities and facilities, and classes in reading, nutrition, cooking, dressmaking, English, drama, music, machinery, and the like.¹³

Before leaving this discussion of the role of social settlements in the Progressive Era, it is important to emphasize three aspects of these institutions—aspects that help summarize the significance of settlement houses in American history, as well as serve as an introduction to the remainder of this essay.

First, it is important to note that the settlement house was rooted in a geographical community. Expanding on Jane Addams’s assertion that the “dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal,” the settlement house’s purpose was to form a relationship with that com-

munity, to understand it, help develop its potentialities, and secure needed programs and services. Social worker Lucy P. Carner wrote:

The general task of the settlement in the community is a synthesis of education that shall give people some perspective on the problems that press on them and some of the modern tools for getting those problems solved, and of action to better the common lot.¹⁴

Second, as the settlement attempted to identify itself with the life of the community, it became closely involved with the family as its unit of work. Settlement workers felt that it was not enough to look at and deal with individual causes of poverty. Rather, they stressed the social and economic conditions that made people poor. While charity organizations sought primarily to help paupers and the unemployed, settlement workers felt they could help most those above the poverty line, namely, families. "It was not so much the 'poverty of clothes,' as the 'poverty of opportunity' that concerned settlements."¹⁵ In addition to advocating a holistic, family-strengthening approach to social reform, settlement-house workers were strong advocates of child labor laws, union representation, and Social Security.¹⁶

Third, settlement programs needed to be experimental, flexible, and able to eventually relinquish particular programs to other agencies in order to be able to take on new programs as the community's needs arose.¹⁷ In her autobiography, Addams reinforced this point:

The one thing to be dreaded in the settlement is that it lose its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment. It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation. It must be grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is on the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy which will not waver when the race happens to be represented by a drunken woman or an idiot boy.¹⁸

By 1891, Hull-House was one of six settlement houses operating in the United States. Six years later, the number had grown to seventy-

four; by 1900, more than one hundred; by 1905, more than two hundred; and by 1910, there were more than four hundred social settlements established in major cities across the country.¹⁹

PĀLAMA CHAPEL, FORERUNNER TO
PĀLAMA SETTLEMENT: 1896–1906

Meanwhile, across the Pacific Ocean, just before the turn of the twentieth century, the missionary influence was thriving in the Republic of Hawai‘i. On June 2, 1896, Honolulu banker and philanthropist P. C. Jones built a chapel at the corner of King and Liliha streets in Pālama, O‘ahu, as part of the Central Union Church.²⁰ Pālama, an area west of Nu‘uanu Stream, adjacent to downtown Honolulu and Chinatown, was a residential community of prominent and middle-class Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian families and some of the *ali‘i* class, including Queen Lili‘uokalani.²¹ *Kama‘aina* financier Walter F. Dillingham, long active in philanthropic endeavors in Honolulu, once observed of Pālama:

One must picture Honolulu at the end of the century with its mixture of races, their variety of foods, dress, cultures, customs and living habits. All this gave Honolulu a character and personality not duplicated in any American city. The business section was composed mainly of low framed buildings with corrugated iron roofs near the water front. Streets were unpaved, horse-drawn vehicles, with the ox-cart was a common sight. Taro patches, duck ponds and even sugar cane grew in the section of Palama. It was in such a section that Palama Chapel was built and which grew to be Palama Settlement.²²

In the missionary spirit, Jones’s chapel offered Sunday school, prayer meetings, a sewing circle, choral society, boys’ clubs, monthly entertainment and a kindergarten.²³ Accordingly, Pālama Chapel’s directors and administrators came from the Islands’ influential religious community: Hiram Bingham, Jr., the Reverend J. P. Erdman, the Reverend A. C. Logan, and the Reverend Henry P. Judd.²⁴

Then, on January 20, 1900, an incident occurred that changed the role and function of Pālama Chapel forever. Earlier, five cases of bubonic plague were reported in Chinatown, a teeming, rat-infested business and residential area located just east of Nu‘uanu Stream.

Amidst the ensuing panic, the city attempted to eradicate disease by setting fire to plague victims' homes. The fire raged out of control, burning down four blocks of buildings. Left homeless, thousands of Chinatown residents, most of whom were impoverished immigrants from Asia and their families, were forced to seek housing elsewhere, eventually crowding into hastily built frame tenements across Nu'u-anu Stream in Pālama.

Staked with a new, urgent mission, Pālama Chapel began providing health care for these new residents. The task, however, proved overwhelming, and the herculean effort was abandoned in 1904.²⁵ There even was talk that Pālama Chapel should abandon charity work altogether. P. C. Jones, however, remained undaunted. He sought the advice of Dr. Doremus Scudder, an influential official with the Hawaiian Board of Missions, who suggested transferring control of Pālama Chapel from Central Union Church to the Hawaii Evangelical Associ-

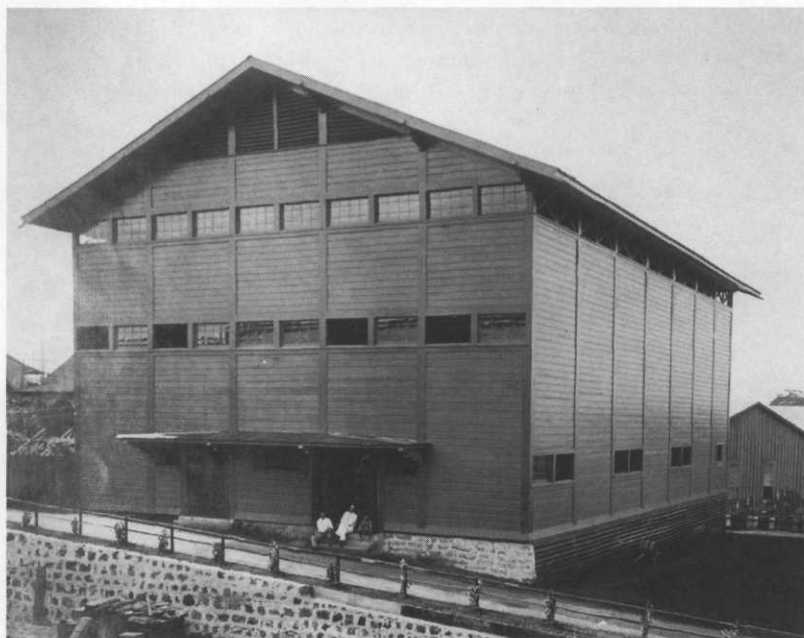


FIG. 1. Original Pālama Settlement at King and Liliha streets circa 1912. Floor 1: Swimming pool and club rooms. Floor 2: Gymnasium. (Pālama Settlement Archives)

ation. This transfer, Scudder reasoned, would set the stage for converting the chapel into a "modern settlement."²⁶

Dr. Scudder next set about the task of recruiting a director, or head worker, to plan and implement programs of a settlement house. In 1905, he wrote to James Arthur Rath, an India-born British social worker in Springfield, Massachusetts, and convinced Rath and his American wife, Ragna Helsher Rath, to live and work in Pālama. James Arthur Rath later wrote of the decision to travel five thousand miles to aid the Hawai'i cause:

With his ever happy faculty of making the most difficult task appear pleasant and worthwhile, he [Scudder] induced my wife and me to leave our home in Massachusetts, and come to Hawaii to work in the Palama neighborhood. Those early days (we arrived on March 1st, 1905) now appear to belong to a previous Reincarnation, and at that time was somewhat discouraging. Our neighbors were suspicious of us and on all sides we heard the word 'Malihini' [newcomer]. This was so often repeated that, at times, we wondered whether it would be possible for a 'Malihini' to do anything in Hawaii; however, this feeling soon gave way to one of friendliness and confidence, and it was not long before we heard that more encouraging title 'Kamaaina' [longtime resident].²⁷

In a pamphlet written in 1921, Rath, while still head worker, reiterated his perceptions of his new neighbors and surroundings:

Our first job was to become acquainted with our cosmopolitan neighborhood, representing Europe, Asia and Hawaii, not an easy task for two young people, one of whom had never been outside of New England prior to coming to Hawaii. Our neighbors, however, were most kind and considerate and in spite of the many discrepancies in methods of expressing ourselves, we became friends with those among whom we lived. The first feeling of suspicion gave way to one of curiosity which in turn lost itself in confidence and friendship. In spite of supposed racial difficulties, we found the boys and girls of the various races among whom we lived much the same as the children in other lands.²⁸

On January 18, 1906, James Arthur Rath addressed a group of business leaders at a local YMCA. A personal account of the address, by Doremus Scudder, appeared as an editorial in *The Honolulu Advertiser*

the next day. It cited the critical need for Pālāma Chapel and its settlement-house approach to area problems:

The title of the lecture was, 'How the Other Half Lives,' and it is no exaggeration to say that the disclosures made were of unusual timeliness and importance to all our citizens. Trained under the able corps of social scientists in the Springfield School, Mr. Rath has taken up the study of Palama on the line made famous by Charles Booth in his epochal volume, *Life and Labor of the People of London*. . . . Mr. Rath entered into a discussion of the life of the various peoples, finally taking up the crucial question of how they spend their leisure time. This led to a most discriminating exposition of the influence of the various recreational and lounging centers of the entire district. . . . The drink evil, gambling and social vice were not glossed over. Perhaps the saddest part of the story was that which dealt with the way in which the portion of the town Waikiki of Nuuanu Stream [i.e., Chinatown] preys upon Palama for its own darker pleasure. It was clearly shown what a menace this and the other evils are to our city and especially to the people who live in Palama. This recital given with the calm details of facts elicited by many hours of patient investigation was startling. But it was offset by the exposition of forces in the district making for better things. It is to be regretted that a large number of our business men could not have heard this address, one effect of which was to cause all who had the privilege to rejoice that so resourceful and devoted social worker lives in the very center of this district. In fact the so-called Palama Chapel which occupies the strategic spot in this the storm center of our city's social problem is a good deal of a misnomer. It is in reality a modern social settlement of the highest type and as soon as our financial leaders realize how it holds the key to the situation, in what excellent hands it is and how splendidly it is helping to solve the problem it faces, there will be no trouble in enlarging and equipping it to the wide work demanded.²⁹

In September 1906, the name Pālāma Chapel was changed to Pālāma Settlement to more closely reflect the broader scope of the work outlined by Scudder. Because of the multiethnic, multidenominational makeup of their Pālāma constituents, the settlement house soon carried out its work as an independent, nonsectarian institution.³⁰ Pālāma Settlement established its own charter and operated with contributions and board of trustees membership from some of the elite members of Island society.

PĀLAMA SETTLEMENT UNDER JAMES ARTHUR RATH: 1906–1929

Consistent with the settlement-house philosophy, the Raths “settled” into the Pālama community, living and rearing their family in a home on the settlement grounds on Desha Lane. In an interview, Robert Helsher Rath, James and Ragna’s youngest of five children, discussed his views on his family’s unique living situation:

. . . they called them “settlement houses,” the philosophy being that the head worker, as they called them, settled in the community. Instead of going in to spend the day working and coming out, they settled in, raised their families there and in that way learned, one, what the people needed, two, gained their confidence so that they could help them fulfill their needs, and then three, went ahead and designed programs for exactly what the people needed. So they were settlers and therefore they called them settlement houses. Which is what the origin of Pālama Settlement was because my father and my mother settled there and all five of us children were born and raised in our home in the settlement.³¹

Robert Rath was born in 1915. His family was a middle-class family living amidst less fortunate nonwhites. Rath’s playmates included Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, and Puerto Rican children. He shared this observation:

We were the only *Haoles* from Nu‘uanu Avenue over. But nobody looked at us like *Haoles*. I went to Punahou School, so it was sort of two different worlds. At Punahou, we couldn’t speak pidgin. When you got off the streetcar at Pālama, you started talking pidgin, or else everybody thought you were being highfalutin.³²

The Raths immediately went to work at the settlement. Soon after arriving, James Rath noted that “Palama is sadly in need of cleaning. I have seen most of the cities of the United States, but I have seen nothing as bad as this anywhere.” He also noted cases of typhoid fever and other diseases associated with the filth.³³ In a 1908 report, Rath publicly expressed the need for better housing in the area to alleviate the sanitation problems in Pālama:

That the tenement life of the city, as elsewhere, is evil in its effect, is without doubt to those who have been its casual observers. Tenements

ought to be prohibited by law as a menace to society. They do not make for clean, healthy citizenship. The Settlement has not, however, contented itself with merely philosophizing [*sic*] on the matter. It has leased sixteen cottages adjoining (the Settlement) which it intends renting to families who need them.³⁴

In addition to low-rent housing, the Raths quickly established centers and programs consistent with the settlement-house philosophy of following a holistic, family-strengthening approach to social reform.³⁵ They established the territory of Hawaii's first public health nursing department, as well as a day-camp for children with tuberculosis, a pure milk depot, a day nursery for children of working mothers, and a night school in English, American history, civics, and geography. In 1908, an indoor swimming pool with hot showers was opened, and a year later, a gymnasium and bowling alleys were built above the pool.³⁶ Later, outdoors, a playground, tennis court, and basketball court were added. In 1914, free dental and medical clinics were established, as well as a "fresh-air camp" built on the North Shore of O'ahu for children and working mothers. In 1916, the Pālama Settlement Athletic Association was formed, sending a girls' basketball team to compete on a neighbor island, as well as organizing the Pālama Swim Club.³⁷ In an interview, Masato Sugihara, who was born in the Pālama district and remembers attending Pālama Settlement as a young boy, related his experiences there, which revolved around the sports program:

They (coaches) had their compassion. You see, there were so many kids over there. . . I mean, they had no training as coaches, so all they did was, okay, what they thought, yeah? They even had a poolroom over there. No paying, but it was well supervised, everybody orderly. And I think one thing too, that although the menfolk who were there working, weren't actually coaches, they tried to keep the young people on the right track.³⁸

In addition to programs, Pālama Settlement also took the lead in conducting studies on tenements, infant mortality, and child welfare.³⁹

In 1911, the Raths, weary from the stress of planning and implementing programs, fundraising, and maintaining life on the grounds of the settlement, took a trip to the Mainland with their three children for rest and recreation and to "study the various methods of wel-

fare work." Ragna Rath described a portion of the trip she found particularly memorable:

We left in May, stopping first in Chicago where we visited the Hull House with Miss Jane Addams, the Commons with Mr. Graham Taylor, and the Stockyard Settlement with Miss MacDonald. These were inspiring visits, especially at Hull House. Interested people in that city were sponsoring a child welfare exhibit, displaying the benefits for, and the dangers against the child from birth to adolescence. There was much agitation at this time against child labor in the shops, and work done at home under all kinds of unsanitary conditions, such as shelling walnuts for package sales and making the long popular plumes for ladies' hats. The exhibit made a deep impression upon all who visited it.⁴⁰



FIG. 2. Interisland Play Day at Pālāma Settlement swimming pool, Vineyard and Pālāma streets, 1938. (Pālāma Settlement Archives)

After a territorywide fundraising effort, Pālama Settlement in 1925 moved to its present location—with nine buildings spread over eight acres of land—on the corner of Vineyard and Pālama Streets. The new facility marked the beginning of another era of Pālama Settlement. Five high-priority programs—medical care, public health nursing, dental service, recreation, and community camp—were either begun or expanded during this time.⁴¹ Medical care facilities included clinics for venereal disease, birth control and sterilization, and the coordination of weekly child health conferences. The public health nursing program continued to reach out to other agencies performing similar work and took closer steps toward consolidation with the Territorial Board of Health. The dental program expanded tremendously after 1925, thanks to generous support from Mrs. Helen Strong-Carter, wife of the former governor of Hawai'i, George Robert Carter. The Strong-Carter Dental Clinic, which treated mainly neighborhood children at virtually no cost, became a hallmark program of Pālama Settlement.⁴² Music, art, and vocational classes were also expanded or added at the new facility. Recreational programs, which meant everything from group work to clubs and classes, organized sports and swimming classes, and the socializing function that movies and circuses provided, continued to thrive after 1925.

Sadly, the beginning of the new era in 1925 also marked the end of the old. In 1929, James Arthur Rath died at the age of fifty-nine. The directorship⁴³ was assumed by Dr. Philip S. Platt.

EPILOGUE: PĀLAMA SETTLEMENT AFTER 1929

Although this early history of Pālama Settlement ends at 1929, it should be stated that Pālama Settlement, which still operates today at the same location established in 1925 on Vineyard and Pālama Streets, continued to experience the ups and downs of an institution created for the purpose of social reform.

After World War II, services once considered critical were either no longer so or were taken over by other agencies. Other services required more resources than Pālama Settlement and its staff were capable of handling and were involuntarily dropped. Successful programs, such as the public health nursing program and the medical clinic, were eventually turned over to the Territorial Board of Health

in 1943⁴⁴ and the City and County of Honolulu in 1947,⁴⁵ respectively. The Strong-Carter Dental Clinic continued to serve the community until well into the 1980s.

As new immigrants arrive from the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia, together with changing values and mind-sets associated with postwar society, Pālama Settlement must address new issues. Substance abuse, domestic violence, gang involvement, teen pregnancy, and at-risk youths now utilize much of the settlement's limited resources. The settlement is, as always, challenged by the need to raise funds to continue operations.

The tasks facing Pālama Settlement, then, are not much different from those it and other settlement houses throughout America faced a century ago: establishing and maintaining programs and services for indigent adults and children residing in the community. Still, times have changed. The head worker and his or her family, who no longer reside on the settlement grounds, are increasingly distanced from the community spiritually as well as physically. Schools and other agencies have taken over much of the settlement's functions. The family unit, once the focus of settlement programs, has been redefined. And the settlement's continuing nonprofit, nongovernmental agency status means that funding is and will be an overriding concern. Sixty-nine-year-old Moses W. Kealoha, who was born and reared a stone's throw from Pālama Settlement and is still active with fundraising efforts for the settlement, concludes this history with these words of Pālama's past, present, and future:

To conduct the program at the level of achievement that you had in the past, you gonna have to have more people. 'Cause today's people don't have the heart that they had in the old days. We did everything by heart. Today, you do everything by compensation. Right now it's critical. But we need to be assured that, yeah, we can go for another 50, 100 years. That's my really big concern. What we did no mean nothing. What we have to do in the future is everything, and I always talk about that. . . . I'm not saying it's a perfect place, but it's very commendable for a non-government-funded agency. When I look at the future, I say, well, how long will this last? How long will the memories and the teachings, the doctrines of the Rath family, how long is it gonna last? That's a big question we have to answer ourselves.⁴⁶

NOTES

- ¹ Henry Steele Commager, foreword to Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1961).
- ² Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967) 12-13.
- ³ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961) 60.
- ⁴ John J. Carey, "Progressives and the Immigrant, 1885-1915" (Ph.D. diss., U of Connecticut, 1968) 2-3.
- ⁵ Cremin, *Transformation of the School* 59.
- ⁶ Cremin, *Transformation of the School* 59.
- ⁷ Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP, 1984) 8.
- ⁸ Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements," in *Philanthropy and Social Progress: Seven Essays by Miss Jane Addams, Robert A. Woods, Father J.O.S. Huntington, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, and Bernard Bosanquet* (1893; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries P, 1969) 1.
- ⁹ Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 18.
- ¹⁰ Cremin, *Transformation of the School* viii.
- ¹¹ Addams, "The Subjective Necessity of Social Settlements" 10.
- ¹² Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 57-58.
- ¹³ Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 60.
- ¹⁴ Lucy P. Carner, "Why New Settlements?" in *Readings in the Development of Settlement Work*, ed. Lorene M. Pacy (New York: Association P, 1950) 273.
- ¹⁵ Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 18.
- ¹⁶ HA June 2, 1996.
- ¹⁷ Carner, "Why New Settlements?" 273.
- ¹⁸ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* 98.
- ¹⁹ Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 12.
- ²⁰ HA June 2, 1996.
- ²¹ Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath." Unpublished ms., Palama Settlement, Honolulu, 1956 (photocopy), 1.
- ²² Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath," 1.
- ²³ James Arthur Rath, "Palama's Progress," Palama Settlement, Honolulu, 1925 (photocopy), 8.
- ²⁴ Palama Settlement, *Golden Anniversary Report* (Honolulu: Palama Settlement, 1946) 1.
- ²⁵ HA June 2, 1996.
- ²⁶ James Arthur Rath, "Palama's Progress," 24.
- ²⁷ James Arthur Rath, "Palama's Progress," 24.
- ²⁸ James Arthur Rath, *The Little Lane* (Honolulu: Palama Settlement, 1921) 7.
- ²⁹ Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath," 73-75.
- ³⁰ Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* 15. Despite the social reform movement's roots in Christian evangelicism, settlement-house workers such as Jane Addams, Gra-

ham Taylor, and Robert Woods realized that in predominantly immigrant Catholic or Jewish neighborhoods, the settlement must avoid all impressions of proselytizing and that the settlement could not become an instrument of reform if it had a religious label.

- ³¹ Center for Oral History, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, *Reflections of Pālama Settlement*, 2 vols. (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, 1998) 93.
- ³² HA June 2, 1996.
- ³³ Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath," 58.
- ³⁴ Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath," 109.
- ³⁵ HA June 2, 1996.
- ³⁶ James Arthur Rath, *The Little Lane* 10.
- ³⁷ "Palama Settlement Centennial Time Line (Abbreviated Version)," Palama Settlement, Honolulu, 1996 (photocopy).
- ³⁸ Center for Oral History, *Reflections of Pālama Settlement* 234.
- ³⁹ "Palama Settlement Centennial Time Line (Abbreviated Version)."
- ⁴⁰ Ragna Helsher Rath, "Palama and James Arthur Rath," 135-36.
- ⁴¹ Philip S. Platt, "Honolulu's Hull House," *Hygeia, The Health Magazine* (December 1941):2.
- ⁴² Walter Ehlers, "History of Palama Settlement." Unpublished ms., Palama Settlement, Honolulu, 1959 (photocopy) 177.
- ⁴³ Although the board of trustees eventually dropped the title "head worker" in favor of "director," James Arthur Rath continued to refer to himself by the former term throughout his tenure at Pālama Settlement.
- ⁴⁴ "Palama Settlement Centennial Time Line (Abbreviated Version)."
- ⁴⁵ Ehlers, "History of Palama Settlement," 362-63.
- ⁴⁶ Center for Oral History, *Reflections of Pālama Settlement* 364-65.