

Hawaiian Nationalism, American Patriotism, and Re-franchising Women in Post-Annexation Hawai'i, 1912-1920

Rumi Yasutake

Although the woman suffrage movement in post-annexation Hawai'i has not received much attention, there was indeed a viable woman suffrage movement during the early twentieth century. American missionary women began their "uplifting" and civilizing endeavors toward Hawai'i and Hawaiians in 1820, and their "cult of womanhood," which intensified in the face of politically active Hawaiian women, gradually undermined the political leadership and authority assumed by Hawaiian chiefesses and paved the way for the spread of American systems of capitalism and "democracy." By the end of the nineteenth century, the islands had embraced a large number of Asian immigrants as a workforce for its booming sugar business. With the deposition of Queen Lili'uokalani that ultimately resulted in the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i, franchise became strictly a male privilege of Caucasians as well as native-born who were well versed in Anglo-American and/or Hawaiian cultures. Local *haole* (white) women were still ambivalent toward the woman suffrage cause, while mainland white suffragists, who treated woman suffrage as an indicator of "civilization," came to the islands promoting their movement without realizing that Hawaiian women of the chiefess rank had once shared political and economic privileges equivalent to their male counterparts. This article examines contentions and collaborations among mainland suffragists, Native Hawaiian women, immigrant women, and *haole* women of missionary heritage in the development of Hawai'i's woman suffrage movement between the years 1912 and 1920.

In late October 1912, Carrie Chapman Catt, a former president and influential member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the current president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), made a brief stopover in Honolulu on her return from a world tour.¹⁾ There, she was asked to give a lecture at a meeting held under the auspices of the

Woman's Equal Suffrage Association of Hawai'i (WESAH). The WESAH had been newly formed specifically for this occasion and was under the leadership of Wilhelmine K. Widemann Dowsett, a daughter of a German planter father and a Hawaiian mother of chiefess rank.²⁾ While Catt was a prominent white woman from the mainland, *haole* elite women in general were hesitant in welcoming this world-reknowned woman suffragist. According to an English newspaper article announcing Catt's lecture meeting in Honolulu, "though a large number of women prominent in the social circle of this city are interested in Woman's Suffrage, few of them have come forward to take any important part in the work."³⁾ Noticeably, it was Native Hawaiian women of the privileged class, especially those born to a Hawaiian mother and non-Anglo-Saxon father, who played a central role in welcoming Catt and generating a woman suffrage movement to regain their lost right. Catt recorded in her diary that she was welcomed at the dock by two "half cast," and was greeted by a "Hawaiian selection sung by a trio of Hawaiian women" at the Opera House. One of the two women, who greeted Catt on her arrival at the dock, was Wilhelmine K. W. Dowsett who made the arrangements for Catt's lecture in Honolulu.⁴⁾

On October 28, Catt, without fully understanding the historical background of the territory, gave a lecture to a small but representative audience, including territorial governor Walter F. Frear and his missionary-descendent wife Mary Emma Dillingham Frear (1870-1951). In mapping the world by the parameter of women's enfranchisement, Catt granted the leading position to Scandinavian countries and argued that the American movement was staggering because they had to rely on male voters, many of whom were naturalized foreigners. She insisted that it was strange that "a man from Italy who (had) remained in the United States long enough to become a citizen should have the right to vote on a ballot for

women when the daughters of the revolution whose ancestors came to America hundreds of years ago (should) not.” In her view, women would vote in a “womanly,” or non-partisan, way independent of her husband, and she argued that she knew of “a man who (was) a republican, his wife a democrat and his daughter a prohibitionist.” For Catt, the coming of woman suffrage was “as certain as the rising of the sun,” and she urged the women of Hawai‘i to get their vote while Hawai‘i was still a territory, because it would be “far easier to do so now” than to do so when Hawai‘i became a state with a larger population.⁵⁾

Presumably, in the historical context of Hawai‘i, Catt’s argument appealed to Native Hawaiian women, but not to *haole* men or women who were more likely to fall into the category of “naturalized foreigners” whom Catt criticized, because Asians who composed the dominant majority of recent immigrants in the islands were barred from naturalization and thus, also from voting. Furthermore, the prospect of having traditionally politically-active Hawaiian wives of Republicans voting for Democrats was a real concern of the *haole* oligarchy, and thus, driving *haole* Republican men to be even more dubious about woman suffrage. On the other hand, Catt’s lecture assured the legitimacy of Native Hawaiian women, especially those of the commoner class, in demanding their right to vote in the territory’s new political system.

Although Catt grouped Polynesians and “Negroes” together and placed them way down in her Social Darwinist worldview of racial hierarchies,⁶⁾ Native Hawaiian suffragists were willing to receive her assistance for their newly formed organization and movement. According to Catt, “the society formed” in Honolulu was “composed of native women mostly,”⁷⁾ and she instructed the WESAH in revising their constitution and promised to represent the new organization as a part of the NAWSA at its upcoming convention of 1912. Nonetheless, the NAWSA required its affiliate to have a membership of at least fifty,⁸⁾ and it was not until the NAWSA Convention of 1913 that its records wrote “for the first time Hawai‘i took her place among the auxiliaries.”⁹⁾

Hawaii’s emerging woman suffrage movement, under the leadership of Dowsett, was willing to transcend the boundaries of race, class, and party, uniting “all women” with American citizenship. Thus, the movement had the

potential to be a force in challenging the male, Republican, and predominantly *haole* oligarchic rule in operation in Hawai‘i. Dowsett was once reported to be a Democrat, and among her fellow Democrats was a Hawaiian patriot and journalist Mrs. Emma ‘Aima Ai‘i Nāwahī (1854–1934) from Hilo, the Island of Hawai‘i. Emma A. Nāwahī was also a Native Hawaiian whose mother was a Hawaiian of the chiefess rank, and father, a Chinese sugar miller. In the 1890s, to preserve the sovereignty of their own nation, Mrs. Nāwahī, along with her late husband, Joseph Nāwahī (1842–1896), president of the *Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Aina* (Hawaiian Patriotic League), and Mrs. Abigail Kuaihelani Maipinepine Campbell, president of the *Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Aina o Na Wahine* (Women’s Hawaiian Patriotic League), led the anti-annexation petition drive among the people of the island of Hawai‘i. After the annexation, in an attempt of protecting the interest of colonized Hawaiians within the U.S. representative political system, she contributed to organizing the local Democratic Party in 1889.¹⁰⁾ Asked by Dowsett for cooperation and advice in generating a woman suffrage movement in Hawai‘i at the time of Catt’s visit, Emma A. Nāwahī called for cooperation among “all women” in Hawai‘i in October 1912.

All women throughout the Territory, who are American citizens, from the highest to the lowest, from the richest to the poorest, the whites, the Portuguese and the Hawaiians, should stand shoulder to shoulder and advance together with accord and harmony. All memorials, signed by the women of Hawaii, will be presented to Congress by our Delegate, be he Republican, Democrat or Home Ruler, because this is a public matter, touching a whole class, and one in which all the women are interested, be they Republicans, Democrats or Home Rulers. When we have become successful and have obtained the franchise, then it will be time enough for each one of us to choose from among the political parties of our husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons. But if we squabble among ourselves and do not act in unison upon this great question, we will be sorry at the uselessness of our attempt to obtain this privilege. I have the belief that the question of woman’s suffrage is a very important one, and that it will play an important part in political history in Hawaii.¹¹⁾

Noticeably, this statement emphasized whiteness in the identities of Native Hawaiian women of the privileged class, as of the early 1910s. Although Emma A. Nāwahī herself was biologically part-Chinese, she did not refer to

Asian women, who composed over half of the population in Hawai'i but most of whom, having recently arrived as plantation workers in the islands,¹²⁾ were barred from naturalization and citizenship. Nāwahī saw the importance of generating a democratic women's movement uniting Native Hawaiian and *haole* women of all ranks, including not only commoner Hawaiians but also Portuguese who had once been considered "less" than whites, as many of them were imported to the islands as contract laborers. Nonetheless, her concept of "all women" left out Asian immigrants on the islands.¹³⁾

Nonetheless, through their experiences in World War I and struggles for the suffrage cause, Native Hawaiian women leaders gradually transformed their identities and concept of "all women" to generate a women's mass movement. Ironically, throughout the 1910s and 1920s, however, the power imbalance, which emerged in post-annexation Hawai'i of *haole* women of missionary heritage versus Native Hawaiian women of the chieftess class, tilted further in favor of the former. With the outbreak of World War I in Europe and the U.S. participation in the war, Native Hawaiian women leaders, who had once resisted *haole* men responsible for the illegal takeover of their lands and nation, were compelled to cooperate with *haole* women of missionary heritage who remained faithful in supporting their husbands and male relatives. Accordingly, efforts by women's organizations under the leadership of *haole* women of missionary heritage, as well as Native Hawaiian women of the privileged class, ended up appropriated by *haole* oligarchic men, who took advantage of the wartime frenzy for Americanization and patriotism in consolidating their rule over multiracial residents of the U.S. territory.

One good example was the Americanization and masculinization of multinational Red Cross wartime movements in the islands. When the war erupted in Europe in 1914, women in Hawai'i with connections to warring countries started making hospital garments and collecting donations to be sent to the Red Cross of their homeland, such as British, German, Portuguese, and Japanese Red Crosses. Concurrently, *haole* women of missionary heritage also began similar efforts to support the American Red Cross. Like their husbands and male relatives, whose business enjoyed windfall profits from the surging price of sugar due to the war, *haole* women

were eager to turn the international emergency into an "opportunity" to make a showcase of island-wide humanitarian endeavors and to promote the positive image of Hawai'i, nationally and internationally. In fact, their efforts became a force to integrate multi-racial and multi-national war-relief and war-support endeavors into one territorial endeavor.¹⁴⁾

In coordination with the U.S. wartime endeavor, *haole* oligarchs' attempts soon turned into top-down pressure for patriotism and conformity in generating a male-led and American wartime effort in Hawai'i. On the U.S. mainland, when President Woodrow Wilson created the Council of National Defense in 1916, the Women's Committee was also organized as its advisory body, headed by Anna Howard Shaw, who had served as the NAWSA president from 1904 to 1915. To support the male-led Council's work under the U.S. government supervision, the Women's Committee integrated a variety of women's voluntary efforts throughout the nation under the patriotic cause.¹⁵⁾ The women's Red Cross work in the territory of Hawai'i was no exception. The multinational women's Red Cross movements, along with other women's war-relief and war-support activities in the islands, were first brought under the supervision of *haole* women of missionary heritage who came to compose the Hawaiian Allied War Relief Committee. With the U.S. participation in the war in 1917, this Women's Committee changed its name to the Allied War Relief Auxiliary and became the women's auxiliary to the male-led War Relief Committee of Hawai'i that was organized in 1914 and would soon be incorporated into the American National Red Cross Hawaiian Chapter. Missionary grandson Alfred Lowrey Castle (1884-1972) became the secretary and executive officer of this male-led Hawaiian Chapter and his sister Beatrice Castle (1888-1931), the chairman of the women's auxiliary.¹⁶⁾

The Americanization and masculinization of the leadership of Hawai'i's Red Cross movement were symbolically illuminated by a ceremony held on the steps of 'Iolani Palace in September 1917, in which Territorial Governor Lucius E. Pinkham, "on behalf of former queen Lili'uokalani" presented a hand-sewn Red Cross flag to the women's auxiliary.¹⁷⁾ Presumably, as the wartime pressure for 100 percent Americanism was brought to the territory, Native Hawaiian women of high rank, espe-

cially those of German heritage such as the Widemann sisters, were compelled to contribute to this American and patriotic Red Cross work that had fallen under the control of the *haole* elite of American missionary heritage. Hearing that “the boys of Hawai‘i” that had been transferred to the mainland were suffering from the cold weather, Emilie K. Widemann Macfarlane (a sister of Wilhelmine K. Widemann Dowsett), assisted by Emma Ahuena Davison Taylor (Mrs. Albert Pierce Taylor), started a unit to knit for them, while Princess Kawanakoa (wife of the late Prince David who was a brother of Prince Kūhiō) secured wool during her visit to the mainland. With the alleged endorsement by Lili‘uokalani of the American Red Cross work, knitting units successfully mobilized the mass of commoner Native Hawaiians, including not only women and girls but also boys as well as men. Princess Kalaniana‘ole (wife of Prince Kūhiō who served as the territorial delegate to U.S. Congress from 1902 to 1922) came to head a unit known as the ‘Iolani Unit. When the “Hawaiian Knitting Unit” was organized in March 1918, Wilhelmine K. Widemann Dowsett became its president.¹⁸⁾

Ironically, pressed with the need to prove their community’s loyalty to the United States, local *haole* women of missionary heritage led the development of trans-racial and trans-national networks of elite women representing various ethnic communities in Hawai‘i. Involving not only the privileged class of Native Hawaiian women but also Portuguese and Asian immigrant women, the influence of these elite women’s networks reached down to the people of each ethnic community, squeezing contributions from the masses. As *haole* women leaders were faithful in supporting their male family members, the entire networks were brought under the ultimate control of *haole* male oligarchs.

Concurrently, the increasing connection with mainland movements and the consolidation of such power structures in Hawai‘i affected the local woman suffrage movement under the leadership of W. K. W. Dowsett and her WESAH. During WWI when the woman suffrage issue became secondary to the war-relief and war-support endeavors in Hawai‘i, mainland suffragists’ attention and pressure fueled the movement’s activities in the islands. Nonetheless, mainland suffragists who endeavored to facilitate a victory in Hawai‘i were mere novices at the

islands’ peculiar political conditions, and thus, fell short of achieving their goal before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. For example, when mainland suffragist and peace advocate Alice Locke Park of Palo Alto, California, visited Hawai‘i to investigate the islands’ situation in early 1915, she reported that she found “no excitement and no objection” on the issue of woman suffrage in Hawai‘i. Recognizing similarities between Hawaii’s condition and those prior to Arizona’s victory,¹⁹⁾ Alice Locke Park wrote:

Both political parties have endorsed equal suffrage, so the amendment has no political opponents. The situation is similar to that in Arizona a few months before the suffrage victory. There is no excitement and no objection. People say in a matter-of-fact way that the women of the territory will vote just as soon as the necessary legal steps have been taken once.²⁰⁾

Indeed, by the end of 1915, local parties in the islands pledged themselves to support votes for women, and the territorial legislature adopted a joint resolution to request Prince Kūhiō, the territorial delegate to U.S. Congress, “to urge upon Congress the passage of an amendment to the Organic Act of this Territory, so that the right to vote be extended to women.”²¹⁾ Prince Kūhiō, brought the resolution to Congress, but it did not receive any attention at the national level. Two years later, the amendment to the Hawaiian Organic Act was still pending. On the other hand, another optimistic observation on the territory was made by a mainland suffragist, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman of Brookline, Massachusetts. Pitman was married to a Native Hawaiian whose mother was a chiefess of Hilo on the Big Island and had deep interest in Hawaii’s situation. She visited Hawai‘i in early 1917 and conversed with nearly all the members of the Legislature at its opening. Pitman reported that she found them unanimously in favor of the woman suffrage bill and that the Legislature had adopted “strong resolutions calling upon Congress to sanction it.”²²⁾

By the time, Hawaii’s woman suffrage movement initiated by a small group of Native Hawaiian women was gaining momentum, participated by a variety of women, including, once-hesitant elite *haole* women of missionary heritage. Describing the circle of local women who gathered to meet her, Pitman recalled a large reception given by “Madame Nakuina, who was known as the Court historian.” Among “all the women of the highest social cir-

cles in the Islands” who attended the reception were W. K. W. Dowsett, Emma Ahuena Davison Taylor, and missionary granddaughter Harriet Angeline Castle Colman (1847–1924). Importuned by them, Pitman held her first meeting at Dowsett’s residence, followed by two more meetings; “one attended mostly by the middle class and the other by high caste Hawaiians and the ‘missionary set,’ which, perhaps, we might style their ‘400.’” Pitman was deeply impressed at their fluency in English, world knowledge, and strong desire for franchise of women. She promised to meet their request of investigating the status of Hawaii’s territorial resolution on women’s vote as soon as she returned home and wrote to “her chief,” Carrie Chapman Catt.²³⁾

Ironically, however, mainland suffragists’ efforts in assisting these socially-established and influential women in Hawai‘i in their suffrage campaign instead ended up in assisting the islands’ oligarchic men in avoiding federal intervention. In other words, it only placed the woman suffrage issue in the hands of the territorial government, which was under the strong grip of the local *haole* male oligarchies. In Washington, based on the information provided by Pitman, Maud Wood Park, chairman of the NAWSA’s Congressional Committee, brought the issue to Senator John F. Shafroth, chairman of the Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico. While Prince Kūhiō himself presented still another resolution from the Territorial Legislature, Shafroth introduced the bill on May 21, 1917, asking to “grant the Legislature of the Territory of Hawai‘i additional powers relative to elections and qualifications of electors” in order to enfranchise women. The Senate passed the bill without any discussion on September 15, but the House referred it to the Committee on Woman Suffrage, chaired by Judge John E. Raker. The Committee held a hearing on April 29, 1918, in which Maud Wood Park, Anna Howard Shaw, and Pitman were present.²⁴⁾ On behalf of women of Hawai‘i, Pitman argued;

I, as stranger and an American, was in a position to feel the pulse of the Hawaiian people in regard to the enfranchisement of their women. . . . In the days of the monarchy, Hawaiian women took great interest and could be effectively active in politics. The women are today, as heretofore, the possessors of great wealth and hold a large share of the property. Their men fully appreciate the wisdom, public spirit, and executive ability of their

women, both the native and missionary classes, but since the monarchy ceased to exist and Hawaii became a Territory of the United States, they have been obliged to take their place beside their American sisters of the unenfranchised states.²⁵⁾

Just like Alice Park, Pitman believed that Hawai‘i would enfranchise women if it were left in its own hand. She publically made her impression known in a speech given at the hearing. At the same time, Anna Howard Shaw, in her attempt of avoiding strong opposition, emphasized that the bill was not asking Congress to enfranchise women of Hawai‘i but to “permit the people of Hawai‘i to decide this question for themselves.”²⁶⁾

The Committee recommended the passage of the bill. It became law, signed by President Wilson in June 1918. Territorial Governor C. J. McCarthy then recommended that the Legislature of Hawai‘i use its power to confer woman suffrage.²⁷⁾

With this development in Washington, enfranchising women in Hawai‘i became a territorial issue. The territory indeed appeared ready to enfranchise women but in reality there was a “strong undercurrent” against woman suffrage. As the year 1919 unfolded, mainland suffragists diverted their attention away from Hawai‘i, while suffragists in the islands gathered together in the seemingly last stage of their movement so that they would be franchised in time for the approaching county and primary election in May 1919. In February, Democrat territorial governor Charles J. McCarthy (in office, 1918–1921), an advocate of statehood and woman suffrage, urged the legislature to enfranchise the women of Hawai‘i without calling for a plebiscite vote on the subject.²⁸⁾ Accordingly, Senator Stephen L. Desha introduced a woman suffrage bill to the Senate, but during deliberations at the Senate judiciary committee, members such as Senators Pacheco and Baldwin came up with an amendment to make the resulting law be effective on July 1st after the upcoming county and primary election. According to Senator Harry Alexander Baldwin (1871–1946), a missionary son elected from the island of Maui who favored the postponement, he was for woman suffrage but felt that the time for registering women for the county election would be too short.²⁹⁾

By then, Native Hawaiian women leaders of the privileged class had learned of the power of people from their

wartime experience in mobilizing the Hawaiian communities for the patriotic cause, and were ready to use the extended women's network through their wartime work to generate a women's mass movement for the suffrage cause. To demand the passage of the original bill so that women would be able to vote in the coming election in May, W. K. W. Dowsett successfully held a women's mass meeting at the capital building in the morning of the Senate voting day, March 4, 1919.³⁰⁾ At the meeting, which gathered representatives from the various ethnic communities, Dowsett declared the regeneration of the dormant woman suffrage organization,³¹⁾ and advocated cooperation of "all" women, not only Native Hawaiians of both the chiefess and commoner ranks and *haole* women, but also foreign and Asian women. According to a newspaper article about the meeting, Dowsett, "speaking as a Hawaiian Woman," said:

Sister Hawaiians, our foreign sisters are with us. Senator Wise asked us yesterday if the so(-)called "society women" were leading us, and we told him that this was not so. We are working all together, and we want the legislature to know this. And we must also remember our Oriental sisters, who are not here today but who will also unite this great cause.³²⁾

According to a newspaper report, the Senate, having "several hundred women" in its chamber, passed the bill in its original form (the Desha Bill) on that day, thus eliminating the amendment that would bar women from voting at the upcoming primary election.³³⁾

On March 6, 1919, Dowsett and her organization called another women's mass meeting at the throne room of the capital, to expedite the House passing the Senate suffrage bill. There, they adopted a resolution demanding the House to grant women with the right and privilege of participating in the upcoming primary in May and the regular elections in June in 1919. The speakers of the meeting were so-called celebrity women; Native Hawaiian women such as Emilie K. Widemann Macfarlane, Princess Kalaniana'ole, and Lahilahi Webb, as well as *haole* women of American missionary heritage such as Mary E. Dillingham Frear. Importantly, however, there were also newly-arrived mainland suffragist professionals such as Margaret Knepper from California who had recently joined the faculty of McKinley High School.³⁴⁾ Nonetheless, instead of promptly adopting the Senate

Bill, the House was introduced to another bill that referred the woman suffrage question to a plebiscite (the Jarrett Bill). According to this bill, the suffrage question would be submitted to the electorate at the primary in May 1919 but be voted on at the general election in 1920.³⁵⁾

Dowsett, representing the island of O'ahu, joined by Mrs. Louise MacMillan from the island of Hawai'i, conducted a mass agitation in the House chamber on March 23, 1919. According to an English newspaper report, "nearly 500 women" of "various nationalities, of all ages" crowded into the floor of the House, carrying "a huge banner bearing the words 'Votes for Women.'" Before the session opened, they were in order on the floor and out on the *lanais* (terrace). Consequently, the House decided to have a two-hour hearing on the woman suffrage issue, inviting both supporters and opponents, on the following day.³⁶⁾ On that evening, the suffragist leaders, speaking for the cause, gathered a large crowd at A'ala Park. Among the noticeable speakers at the meeting were Dowsett, MacMillan, Lahilahi Webb, Emilie K. Widemann Macfarlane, Princess Kalaniana'ole, and Margaret Knepper. Noticeably, Mrs. Atcherley, most possibly Mary Kinimaka Ha'aheo Atcherley who ran for office during 1920 and 1922 elections after women were granted with voting rights but when their rights to hold office was still debated, was also present at the meeting.³⁷⁾

Although Hawaii's woman suffragists successfully fanned the public's sentiment for their cause, the legislatures engaged in bitter "word wars" on the issue, and thus, the ultimate question of enfranchising women or not became secondary to such questions as to who would be voting on the issue, and how and when. Consequently, this further delayed women of Hawai'i to officially participate in territorial politics.³⁸⁾ By early April in 1919, woman suffragists of Hawai'i began losing patience with the territorial legislature. Dowsett began efforts to draw up their own plea for woman suffrage and to present it to the U.S. Congress through their territorial representative Prince Kūhiō. To realize woman suffrage in the new U.S. political system and to prepare themselves for the vote, suffragists in Hawai'i began organizing precinct clubs.³⁹⁾ As deliberations at the two-house territorial legislature dragged on, however, suffragists them-

selves came to be divided over the question of, how and when to decide the woman suffrage question,⁴⁰⁾ which male politicians took advantage of in order to further delay granting women the suffrage.⁴¹⁾

Meanwhile, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, prohibiting the federal government and each state from disfranchising women, passed both houses by June 1919 and was ratified by three-fourths of the states in August 1920. This amendment, proclaimed by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby on August 26, 1920, included the women of U.S. territories. Only through the Nineteenth Amendment were women citizens in Hawai'i finally granted the right to vote.⁴²⁾

Historian Roger Bill, who examined the statehood movement in Hawai'i, argued that the early debate on statehood that emerged in the 1910s along with woman suffrage, soon "submerged beneath a common concern: how to avoid or at least delay the triumph of the non-Caucasian majority in politics, economics, and society" in the islands. While a few *haole* elite women of missionary descent were present in the scenes of the woman suffrage movement in Hawai'i, it would not be surprising if many of this group of women had never fully eliminated their anxiety of being a minority, like their husbands, nor fully liberated themselves from the cult of womanhood. Indeed, mainland anti-woman suffragists were also arriving in Hawai'i to promote their cause, as Massachusetts suffragist Mrs. Pitman recorded that "almost the first person" she saw in the islands during her visit in early 1917 was the field-secretary of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women.⁴³⁾ In February 1919, it was reported that among seventy-five women of the Outdoor Circle, a women's club in Honolulu under the leadership of *haole* women of missionary heritage, only twenty supported the woman suffrage cause, with ten opposing and the rest undecided. Apparently, a substantial number of influential *haole* women of missionary heritage remained hesitant about enfranchisement of woman citizens in Hawai'i.⁴⁴⁾

Retrospectively writing about her observation of politics in Hawai'i in her diary, Alice Locke Park discussed the "peculiar situation" in Hawai'i, where Asians, comprising more than half of the population, were disfranchised and "nip and tuck in politics" existed between Hawaiians and whites. According to Park,

The Hawaiians see that it will be to their advantage to have votes for women and double their total vote — the solid vote. The whites all claim to be in favor of suffrage — some times — but are not eager to see it immediately in Hawaii. They are torn with conflicting emotions — for they can't oppose the movement when it is advancing all over the world. If the whites could restrict the vote to whites, both men and women, they would do so at once. But there is an awkwardness in the political situation, when the whites know that equal suffrage would double the solid Hawaiian vote, and give the whites a lesser number of new voters, and these of various opinions.⁴⁵⁾

Nonetheless, the suffrage cause did not divide women of Hawai'i along the color line. In fact, Native Hawaiian women of the privileged class were in the midst of learning how to herd commoner Hawaiians in the face of the growing Asian immigrant population. There was also the factor of party politics. Arguably, the collaborative relationship among key figures of the *haole* elite of missionary heritage and of Native Hawaiian women of the highest rank enabled the sustenance of *haole* oligarchic rule in early twentieth-century Hawai'i.

Notes

- 1) Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920*, (N.P.: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 6: 716-719.
- 2) "Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 October 1912; The Papers of Carrie Chapman Catt, Reel 1, 40, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
- 3) "Noted Suffragist to Speak Here Tonight," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 October 1912, 1.
- 4) The Papers of Carrie Chapman Catt, Reel 1, 40, 42; "Mrs. Chapman Catt Speaks to Hawaii Audience on Suffrage," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 29 October 1912.
- 5) "Mrs. Chapman Catt Speaks to Hawaii Audience on Suffrage."
- 6) The Papers of Carrie Chapman Catt, Reel 1, 43.
- 7) "Woman Suffrage in Non-Partisan Sense," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 31 October 1912; The Papers of Carrie Chapman Catt, Reel 1, 42.
- 8) At the time of Catt's visit in Hawaii in 1912, the WESAH had only twenty-two active members, four life members, and two annual members. See "Mrs. Catt to Help Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 October 1912.
- 9) Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage 1900-1920*, (N.P.: National American Woman's Suffrage Association, 1922), 5: 381-382.
- 10) Women of the West Museum, "Emma 'Aima Nāwahi (1854-1934)," http://theautry.org/explore/exhibits/suffrage/nawahi_full.html (accessed 21 December

- 2013).
- 11) "Woman Suffrage in Non-Partisan Sense," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 31 October 1912.
 - 12) In 1910, Asians composed 58.9% of the population in Hawaii. Among them were Chinese (11.3%), Japanese (41.5%), Koreans (2.4%), and Filipinos (1.2%). As for other substantial ethnic groups were Hawaiians (13.6%), Part-Hawaiians (6.5%), Portuguese (11.6%) and other Caucasians (7.7%). Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), 27.
 - 13) "Woman Suffrage in Non-Partisan Sense."
 - 14) Ralph S. Kuykendall, *Hawaii in the World War*, (Honolulu: Honolulu Historical Commission, 1928), 91-118, 215-238.
 - 15) "Women in the Progressive Era-National Women's History Museum," <http://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/progressiveera/worldwarI.html> (accessed 11 September 2011).
 - 16) Kuykendall, *Hawaii in the World War*, 91-170.
 - 17) *Ibid.*, 121-122; "History of the Red Cross in Hawaii," http://www.hawaiiiredross.org/about_us/abus_history.html (accessed 10 December 2010).
 - 18) Kuykendall, *Hawaii in the World War*, 149-150. Also refer to "Emma Ahuena Davison Taylor," <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=36125975> (accessed 2 January 2013).
 - 19) Alice Park, "Moving Towards Women Suffrage," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 3 March 1915, in Alice Park Papers Scrapbooks, 1: 108, The Huntington Library, San Mateo, CA.
 - 20) *Ibid.*
 - 21) *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Eighth Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, Regular Session 1915*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1915), 457, 1019, 1043.
 - 22) Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage 1900-1920*, 6: 716-718.
 - 23) *Ibid.*, 717.
 - 24) *Ibid.*, 718.
 - 25) House Committee on Woman Suffrage, *Woman Suffrage in Hawaii*, 65th Cong., 2d sess., 1918, H. Rept. 536.
 - 26) *Ibid.*
 - 27) Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, 6: 716-717.
 - 28) McCarthy was a strong advocate of attaining statehood and territorial delegate Prince Kūhiō introduced the first statehood bill to in U.S. Congress. "Statehood Urged by McCarthy for Hawaii," *The Maui News*, 21 February 1919, 3.
 - 29) "Bill to Raise Maui Salaries Is Introduced," *The Maui News*, 7 March 1919, 2; "Baldwin Opposed to Rushing Suffrage Bill," *The Maui News*, 7 March 1919, 3.
 - 30) "Senate Puts Crimp in Suffrage," *The Maui News*, 7 March 1919, 3.
 - 31) She was referring to the same woman suffrage association organized at the time of Carrie Chapman Catt's visit in 1912. Presumably its Hawaiian name was then translated as the Woman's Equal Suffrage Association of Hawaii (WESAH), but this time as the Woman's Suffrage Association (WSA) as it appeared in newspaper articles of 1919.
 - 32) "Hawaiian Women Join With Haoles to Work for Vote," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 5 March 1919, 1.
 - 33) "Bill to Raise Maui Salaries Is Introduced" and "Note," *The Maui News*, 7 March 1919, 2; "Women Win Out in Senate," *The Maui News*, 7 March 1919, 3.
 - 34) "Women of City Want Vote for Next Election," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 7 March 1919.
 - 35) "Suffrage Plebiscite is Sought," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 11 March 1919; "Democratic Candidates Fails in Discrediting Record of Baldwin," *The Maui News*, 10 March 1922, 1.
 - 36) "Vote of Measure Deferred," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 24 March 1919.
 - 37) "Women Stage Suffrage Meet at A'ala Park," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 March 1919. This newspaper article reported that Mrs. Kamanoulu, Mrs. Mignonette Miller, Mrs. Clara Miller, and Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson also spoke at the meeting.
 - 38) For example, see "Compromise on Suffrage Meets With Opposition," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 March 1919; "City Hall is Much Excited Over Suffrage," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 25 March 1919; "Plebiscite Favored by Solons," 26 March 1919; "Vote on Suffrage End in Deadlock," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 March 1919; "Suffrage Bill Due To Come Up Again in House," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 31 March 1919; "Action on Suffrage Delayed," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1 April 1919; "Political Steam Roller Defeats Suffrage Bill," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 2 April 1919.
 - 39) "Ask Congress For Suffrage," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 3 April 1919; "Women Form Clubs To Get Into Politics," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 April 1919.
 - 40) "Women Divided on Election to Decide Suffrage: Some Favor Plebiscite at June Vote, Others Want it Next November," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 18 April 1919.
 - 41) "Women Are Losing Suffrage Interest; Divided on Policy," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 19 April 1919.
 - 42) Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage 1900-1920*, 5: 719.
 - 43) Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, 1900-1920*, 6: 717.
 - 44) "Honolulu Women Not Sure About Suffrage," *The Maui News*, 14 February 1919, 5
 - 45) "Park Travel (manuscript)," Alice Park Papers Scrapbooks, Book 1, Clippings 21, 11, The Huntington Library, San Mateo, CA.