

The Effect of World War I on the German Community in Hawaii

Sandra E. Wagner-Seavey

In his introduction to *Kamaaina—A Century in Hawaii*, William A. Simonds states that the founders of American Factors were “European,” but immediately assures the reader that “today the business is 100% American.”¹ The founders of American Factors were, in fact, German, a point which he later acknowledged. The choice of the word “European,” however, is interesting, because American Factors has downplayed the role of its parent organization, H. Hackfeld and Company, which American Factors took over during World War I.² Indeed, since that war there has been little interest in the contribution of German immigrants to the history of Hawaii, Dr. Bernhard L. Hörmann’s Master’s Thesis, “The Germans in Hawaii,” being the only real exception.

This paper does not pretend to concern itself with the total German experience in Hawaii, but will confine its inquiry to an exploration of World War I’s significance in the life of the German community in Hawaii. In order to do this, I shall briefly describe the German businessmen who established themselves in Honolulu, then the plantation community they sponsored on Kauai. The discussion of World War I’s impact, however, will center on the Honolulu community with little emphasis on Kauai. This focus is a reflection of the relative importance of the two communities, and the availability of information.

* * * * *

In order to understand the changes which World War I brought to the German community, it is necessary to begin with a look at its origins and previous position within the larger community. The most prominent

Sandra E. Wagner-Seavey is a graduate student in the History Department at the University of Hawaii. This paper won the first Donald D. Johnson Prize in History, 1980.

symbol of the German community was H. Hackfeld & Company. Heinrich Hackfeld, a native of Bremen, Germany, arrived in Honolulu in 1849 and established the firm³ which became an immediate success. In 1853 Hackfeld became a sugar factor, when Dr. Robert Wood engaged the firm to provide commercial and business services for Koloa Plantation on Kauai. That same year the partnership of H. Hackfeld & Company, Limited, was established, Hackfeld and his brother-in-law, J. Charles Pflueger being the partners. Hackfeld then moved the firm's retail transactions to a subsidiary headed by his nephew, B. F. Ehlers, which later became B. F. Ehlers and Company.⁴ The company had its hand in several other operations as well, including Pioneer Mill Co., Ltd. (1895), Kekaha Sugar Company (1898) and the Oahu Sugar Company (1899).⁵ In 1900 the firm spent \$320,000 for their new business building on the corner of Queen and Fort Streets.⁶

According to Thrum's *Hawaiian Almanac & Annual for 1913*, there were then three prominent German firms; H. Hackfeld & Co., F. A. Schaefer & Co., Ltd. and Hoffschlaeger & Co. The men who established and managed these firms exercised great influence on Hawaii's business and social life, but they did not come to Hawaii with the full intention of making it their permanent home. Rather, they were men who were able to achieve much greater success in Hawaii than would have been possible in their native Germany. They never cut their ties with the Fatherland, however, and often returned "home" to live out their final years.⁷

An outstanding example of an impoverished young German who made his fortune in Hawaii is Paul Isenberg. Isenberg was a pastor's son from a large family. In 1858, Hoffschlaeger & Co. hired him to come to Hawaii as an agriculturalist; H. Hackfeld & Co. employed him soon after his arrival. Isenberg established himself quickly as a plantation manager, introducing the concept of irrigation to the sugar fields of Lihue Plantation in 1862. The previous year he had married Hannah Maria Rice, thus allying himself with an established kamaaina, missionary family.⁸ In 1871 Isenberg bought a half interest in Koloa Sugar Plantation, and he was also a partner with H. Hackfeld & Co., serving as the active head of the firm. Isenberg did not neglect his community obligations; he served as a member of the House of Nobles for Queen Liliuokalani, was later involved in the insurrection against the queen, and, in 1894, served as a member of President Dole's Council of State.

Under Paul Isenberg's leadership, H. Hackfeld & Co. became intimately connected with a second German community, one composed of plantation laborers. The impetus for the importation of German laborers was Hawaii's Reciprocity Treaty with the United States (1876).

Isenberg, then in Bremen, acted as an agent for the Hawaii Board of Immigration, and often signed as an immigrant's employer.⁹ Applicants were screened to determine their agricultural experience, and most came from the area around Hamburg-Bremen with which the Hackfeld firm was most familiar. The first group of German immigrants arrived on July 18, 1881, aboard the *Cedar*; the last group arrived in 1884. About 560 German men came to work on the plantations, many bringing their families (286 women; 491 children). The approximate distribution of the new laborers was as follows: Kauai, 922; Oahu, 50; Maui, 102; Big Island, 139.¹⁰ The majority of married Germans were assigned to either Lihue Plantation, Grove Farm, or Koloa Sugar Mill, all on Kauai.¹¹ These plantations had close ties with the Isenbergs, who developed a paternalistic attitude toward their countrymen which, in turn, led to the establishment of a strong German community on Kauai.

It is important to note that these German immigrants were farmers who entered the labor force as agricultural workers and retained that status. They were not seeking to change their vocations, but desired independence and their own land. The latter goal was not feasible in Hawaii, and many immigrants went on to the West Coast after completing their initial labor contracts.¹² Typical plantation jobs included hoeing, irrigating and stripping the cane. Those who stayed on the plantation gradually moved into skilled labor positions, and by 1920 many served as plantation overseers, referred to in Hawaii as *lunas*.

In speaking of the Germans on Kauai, Dr. Hörmann states that Hawaii became "a real home to them" as much as possible "like the one they had left in the fatherland," but one in which they improved their economic position.¹³ Hörmann determined that it was the active encouragement of their employers which built this insulated community on Kauai and noted that it brought tangible benefits to both the workers and their patrons. Not only was Kauai relatively untroubled by strikes, but Lihue Plantation was able to keep two to three generations of workers on the plantation.¹⁴

The focal point for the German community on Kauai was the church and school at Lihue. As the immigrants began recreating their homeland, they wanted their children to be taught in the German language. Thus, in 1882, Carl Isenberg, then manager of Lihue Plantation, recruited Friedrich Richter, a theological student, to establish the school. Richter made the ideal German village school his model and used both German and Hawaii public school textbooks. Paul Isenberg insisted on the study of English which led to bilingual instruction; some days in English, others in German. The school maintained high standards, so that those students who later went on to high school had no difficulty in adjusting.

Until Hawaii became a Territory, school funding was divided between the Hawaiian government and Lihue Plantation; after Hawaii gained territorial status, the Isenberg family replaced Hawaiian government funding, since federal law prohibited public support of private schools.

Richter also established a German congregation. Until Richter's ordination by a chaplain of the *Leipzig* in 1883, a Hawaiian Congregational minister presided at sacramental functions. Relations of the Lutheran and Congregational churches were cordial, the Congregational ministers perceiving the German church as fulfilling a special language function.¹⁵ The church building was prefabricated in Germany and dedicated at Lihue in 1885.

Richter returned to Germany in 1887, and Hans Isenberg who was then visiting Hawaii with his wife, Dora Rice Isenberg,¹⁶ accepted the pastorate and remained at Lihue until his death in 1918.

The Germans on Kauai kept up their customs, many having even brought tinsel from the Fatherland for the celebration of Christmas. They observed German holidays with gusto, and prior to America's entry into World War I, celebrated German victories at "elaborate" suppers of "boiled ham, potatoe [sic] salad, Swiss cheese, German sausage, bread, cakes and cigars," as they sang old military songs and toasted the Kaiser.¹⁷

The German community in Honolulu was much more sophisticated than its Kauai counterpart. H. Hackfeld & Co. by virtue of its prominence in the business community and its large number of German employees was its focal point. In 1899, on the 50th anniversary of the firm, Paul Isenberg and Johann F. Hackfeld each gave \$25,000, for the establishment of a German church in Honolulu.¹⁸ With this boost, the *Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinder zu Honolulu*, [sic] always referred to as the German Lutheran Church, was established under the strong influence of H. Hackfeld & Co. The president of the Board of Trustees was usually also the manager of H. Hackfeld & Co. and the German Consul. Members of the 1900 Board of Trustees were J. F. Hackfeld, president; F. A. Schaefer, first vice-president; H. W. Schmidt, second vice-president; Carl du Roi, secretary; H. A. Isenberg, treasurer; Paul Lemke, auditor; and Paul Isenberg, member. The church building stood on Beretania Street at Miller and Punchbowl with seating for 150 people. The construction cost was \$10,000.

Pastor Willibald Felmy became the church's first minister. Felmy's English was not very advanced, which did not present a problem in his ministry to adult members of the congregation, but was a problem with the children who were assimilating into the English-speaking community. They needed to understand German in order to receive religious

instruction. Felmy, therefore, established a German language school which met four days a week after regular school.¹⁹ He also began a kindergarten and a social group which met to preserve the German language and culture. It was never his intention, however, in any way to keep the German community totally isolated and aloof from other cultural groups.²⁰

In 1912 Felmy formally affiliated the German Lutheran Church with the Prussian State Church which placed it under the Supreme Church Council of Germany in Berlin. This was done as a matter of convenience so that Pastor Felmy could maintain his German contacts and also to facilitate the selection of future pastors; this did not directly affect the life of the Honolulu church.

Emil Engelhardt served the congregation from 1912-1914. In a book written after his return to Germany, *Auf deutschem Vorposten*,²¹ he stated that his primary purpose in accepting a call to Hawaii was to foster the German community and *Kultur* in Hawaii. Engelhardt believed the German community was being eroded by assimilation and American materialism. He was disappointed with Congregational leaders (see above) and accused them of being more concerned with their social life in the general community than with their duty of providing leadership for the German community. Engelhardt worked hard to expand the school, built up its library, and initiated evenings devoted to German music and literature. He also pinned his hopes on developing a strong youth group which would lead to German marriages and keep the community alive. The task was insurmountable, and Engelhardt's frustration made him increasingly difficult to work with. He was finally forced to resign his pastorate for medical and personal reasons, and he returned to Germany with the firm belief that the cause of German religion and *Kultur* was lost in Hawaii.²²

Engelhardt's failure was largely due to the fact that it was not the policy of the church's Board of Trustees to encourage an isolated German community. They were strongly attached to their German heritage, but did not want to retard the assimilation process. Their support of the German church and community should be seen as an attempt to aid the immigrant German laborers in their adjustment to their new home. It was a form of their civic duty required by their high social standing.²³

The task of replacing Pastor Engelhardt was somewhat difficult due to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe.²⁴ The congregation called Dr. Arthur Hörmann, a native American born in Wisconsin of German parentage. Dr. Hörmann had received his graduate education in Berlin and married a native German girl. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*

(hereinafter referred to as the *Advertiser*) included a family portrait in its coverage of the new pastor's inauguration on July 23, 1916.²⁵

The outbreak of European hostilities in 1914 presented an interesting situation to the German community in Honolulu. They were free to display their pride in the Fatherland's military successes, even as the general community became outraged at alleged German atrocities in Belgium and France.

There are several illustrations of this dichotomy. One of these is the problem of refugee ships. When the war broke out, three belligerents, Japan, Britain and Germany, had ships in Pacific waters. All headed for cover, venturing out only when they felt a possibility of safe arrival in the next port. Hawaii, as a neutral port, attracted this sort of activity. Britain and Japan soon established control of the Pacific, so that by October 12, 1914, Hawaii was hosting eight German merchant ships.²⁶ These ships presented no problem since under the Neutrality Laws merchant ships could stay in American ports for an indefinite period of time.

A new development occurred on October 15, when the German gunboat, *Geier*, came into port with her collier, *Locksun*. The Neutrality Laws did not allow belligerent warships to remain in port more than twenty-four hours unless they were in need of repairs. Captain Karl Grasshof declared the *Geier* needed boiler and machinery repairs. After an inspection, the State Department granted him three weeks to make the repairs. At the end of that time the warships had to leave or be interned for the duration of the war. While repairs were being made, two Japanese warships, *Hizan* and *Asama*, appeared outside of Honolulu harbor, intending to wait until the German ships tried to leave. On the day scheduled for the *Geier's* departure, a crowd of spectators, many of whom were Japanese, came to watch the confrontation. They were disappointed, however, because Captain Grasshof turned his ships over for internment.²⁷

Honolulu gave the men of the *Geier*²⁸ a hearty welcome to the islands, and until the U. S. entered the war, relations between the crewmen and Honoluluans were very cordial. The *Advertiser* apparently stated the majority opinion regarding these men in a December, 1914, editorial; "It is said that somebody is objecting to the sailors of the . . . *Geier* [sic] having shore liberty. If this be so there is 'somebody' in Honolulu who has the soul the size of a peanut." Having dealt with the opposition, Editor Matheson went on to say that "The sailors on the *Geier* are a lot of clean cut young gentlemen. They have committed no wrong. By the fortune of war they are our guests."²⁹ The men of the *Geier* became a part of the Honolulu scene. The German community especially tried to

make them feel at home and sponsored Christmas parties for them in 1914 and 1915 at the Phoenix Lodge on Beretania and Fort Street. Gifts were exchanged, carols sung to the music of the Royal Hawaiian Band, and Georg Rodiek, German Consul and Hackfeld manager, led the toasts to the Kaiser. The *Geier* returned the hospitality. In celebration of their successful completion of English classes at the YMCA, the *Geier's* crew invited the entire German community to an evening which included music and athletic exhibitions.³⁰

The German community took more than a social interest in the war. Many of the German immigrants were still members of the German army reserve and, thus, subject to recall. The German government sent the official notice of the state of war to Consul Rodiek on August 4, 1914; it included the order that "All German subjects belonging either to the army or navy, including reserves . . . are hereby ordered to immediately proceed to Germany and join the colors."³¹ Hans Soltau, a section *luna* at the Pioneer Mill Co., Lahaina, was the first German reservist to answer the call. There was evidently a sizeable response, because on August 6, H. Hackfeld & Co. published an announcement in the *Advertiser* that those "German reservists who came to Hawaii and were now called back must pay their own transportation cost."³²

The German community also began an immediate effort to support the German Red Cross Society. In September, 1914, residents subscribed to a \$7500 fund to which Germans on Kauai pledged \$5000. The German Lutheran Church held a benefit concert which featured the choir from the *Geier*. Other fund raising groups included the *Deutsche Frauen Verein von Hawaii*, Hermanns Soehne, and the German-American Alliance. In May, 1916, Mrs. Margaret du Roi estimated that a total of \$110,000 had been sent to the German Red Cross Society. Funding ceased upon U. S. entry into the war, and no final report was made.³³

Honoluluans were not greatly disturbed by the support of German immigrants for their homeland. Other immigrant groups, e.g., the British and the Japanese, were equally interested in their respective country's performance. As the war proceeded, however, public sentiment turned away from the Central Powers. There was a growing realization that if and when the United States entered the war, it would be on behalf of the Allies. This brought up the question of divided loyalties among Germans in America.

A dramatic example of this dilemma occurred in May, 1915. Lance Corporal Jose Martin Grune of the Hawaii National Guard was about to take the examination for second lieutenant. Prior to taking the test, however, he informed his commanding officer, Captain Gustav E.

Schaeffer, that he could not take the officer's oath, because he could not bear arms against Germany. When asked how, in view of these feelings, Grune was able to take the oath of citizenship and that for entry into the National Guard, both of which provided for defending the United States against *all* enemies, he replied that he had not believed "the United States and my country would ever come to war." Grune was honorably discharged. The incident led the *Advertiser* to editorialize that too many did not realize the ramifications of their oath of loyalty to the Constitution at the time they took it.³⁴

There seems to have been quite a public debate on the loyalty of these hyphenated Americans which gained recognition on the *Advertiser's* editorial page in November, 1915. Editor Matheson called the hyphen a description of both nationality and citizenship, but not an "implication of treachery" or "excuse for the rantings of demagogues." One Henry A. Taylor agreed this was the case when discussing British-Americans, but wrote in a letter to the paper that it did not apply in the case of German-Americans who placed loyalty to the German state above all else.³⁵

The following July, the *Advertiser* again defended hyphenated Americans in response to a letter from Henry E. Walker, the proprietor of Walker's Rice Mill, who said that no Japanese, Englishman, Frenchman or German would fight their own countries. "Blood is thicker than water." Editor Matheson responded that "America has not sunk so low as to put up forever with expressions such as this."³⁶

As America entered 1917, there was a growing sense of urgency brought on by the imminence of war. The question of loyalty became more pressing, and many Germans in America did not show great sensitivity in dealing with it. In this heated atmosphere one organization in particular, the National German-American Alliance, did great harm to its constituency. A branch of the organization was formed in Hawaii in 1915, for the purpose of promoting German-American unity, furthering their communal welfare, encouraging better American citizenship qualities, and sponsoring German literature, language, art and gymnastics.

On February 5, 1917, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles W. Ziegler, president of the Alliance's Honolulu chapter, said there was no doubt of the fact that the duty of Alliance members lay with the United States. There was some question of this, however, when a meeting took place on February 8, at which Dr. Frank Schurmann, a local osteopath, was to present a resolution on behalf of the organization's national president, Dr. C. J. Hexama, which read in part that "In the interest of peace the undersigned members of the National German-American Alliance and citizen voters of the United States of America respectfully petition

Congress to provide that before any declaration of war be made . . . such proposed action be referred to the citizen voters.”³⁷ This was the advance text given to the newspaper, but it was not fully delivered at the meeting. The *Advertiser* responded to this situation with two editorials. The first absolved the Alliance members from responsibility for those portions of the speech not actually presented, without delineating what those portions were. Schurmann had contended the purpose of the speech was to promote peace, because he believed most Americans did not want war. Editor Matheson found the speech to be “seditious and bordering on treasonable.”³⁸ In a second editorial, the *Advertiser* found the entire speech to be in bad taste, especially since most Alliance members on the Mainland had already come out for President Wilson and the government. The editor went on to say that “there can be no divided allegiance. All who are not for the United States are against her.”³⁹

These activities of the German-American Alliance caused a great deal of anti-German sentiment, much of which appeared in letters to the editor. Lieutenant-Colonel Ziegler came under public scrutiny for his affiliation with the Alliance. One letter signed by a “Full-Fledged American” said that such duplicity was unacceptable from an officer of the National Guard and only proved the worthless quality of any oath taken by a German. The *Advertiser* defended Ziegler as an “efficient officer and a loyal citizen.”⁴⁰ The general harassment of Germans continued and motivated one Rudolf Brandt to write a letter asking how he could teach his children about American justice when their German descent brought so much abuse.⁴¹ That March the Honolulu branch of the Alliance discovered that, Hexama’s remarks notwithstanding, the majority of Alliance branches in the nation had voted to back the American government.⁴² Unfortunately, the revelation came too late to remove the seeds of doubt planted in the minds of the general community.

The controversy regarding the German-American Alliance might not have been so threatening had it not occurred in conjunction with the attempted destruction of the interned German vessels by their respective crews. The U.S. severed diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, 1917. On February 4th Honoluluans discovered that several days previously all the German crews had systematically destroyed as much of the machinery on their respective ships as possible so they could not be used by U. S. forces. The 14th Naval District took immediate control of the warships while civilian officials dealt with the merchantmen. The crews were taken to the Immigration Station where they could be held without formal charges. H. Hackfeld & Co., as agents for the German shipping lines, immediately began efforts for the recovery

of the merchant ships and the release of their respective crews. Through their connections with the German Consul, the firm also became involved with matters pertaining to the warships.⁴³

The matter rested there for about a month. Then, in early March, the *Advertiser* began to express concern that the Germans, who had since been returned to their ships, might attempt to damage or block the harbor. This fear grew after the *Lebenfels* was sunk deliberately in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The Board of Harbor Commissioners wanted H. Hackfeld & Co. to post a \$500,000 bond for the *Pommern* and *Setos*. The firm refused on the advice of their attorneys. The Board then suggested that H. Hackfeld & Co. remove the crews and turn the ships over to Board watchmen or have them towed out of the harbor. The firm again refused on the grounds that removing the crews would be tantamount to abandoning the ships, but offered to move them to a new location. Finally, an agreement was reached whereby two civil guards were placed on each vessel in order to insure the moorings were not cut, thus preventing the ships from drifting into the channel where they could be sunk to the detriment of the harbor.⁴⁴

A final resolution of the problem came after the U. S. declared war on Germany on April 5, 1917; U. S. officials then seized all interned ships. Matson Navigation Co. received the contract to tow the merchantmen to San Francisco for repairs, while the *Geier* and the *Locksun* went to Pearl Harbor for renovations and later joined the U. S. Navy. Ironically, the *Geier* was rechristened the *Schurz* that same year in honor of a German-American who had served with distinction in President Lincoln's cabinet.⁴⁵

The German attempt to disable the interned vessels and the fear that they might attempt to disable the harbor created a feeling that these men had betrayed the community's trust. The Spanish Consul who was now handling German affairs wanted the District Attorney to prosecute the *Advertiser* for calling the *Geier's* officers "worthless" and thereby impugning their honor. The paper retorted that the Germans had already demonstrated their complete lack of honor by accepting Honolulu's hospitality and then abusing it.⁴⁶ No more was heard of German honor.

The newspaper had come a long way from its initial response to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Then, just as the community had been sympathetic to the refugee ships, tolerant of local German pride, and ready to honor prominent local Germans such as Heinrich Berger, director of the Royal Hawaiian Band; so, too, the newspaper had worked hard to prepare fair and balanced reporting on the war. When the *Advertiser* ran a series by Ernst Richard on "The German Point of View

of the War," Editor Roderick O. Matheson commented that the German side was entitled to be heard.⁴⁷ Dr. Schurmann wrote "The War Seen Through German Eyes" specifically as an *Advertiser* series.⁴⁸ Johann F. Hackfeld, residing in Germany, wrote with some influence in an attempt to refute the atrocity charges being made against Germany. Now, however, there was a more general inclination to believe Mrs. Dorothea Emerson's letter which "proved" the truth of the allegations.⁴⁹ Also, the Grune case had caused some mild concern regarding the conduct of German-Americans which the German-American Alliance had not calmed.

In the wake of the furor over the German-American Alliance and the *Geier* incident, a new tone emerged, one of barely controlled hysteria. President Wilson's proclamation of April 6, 1917, emphasized that so long as alien enemies conducted themselves in accordance with the law, they should be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their occupations.⁵⁰ The *Advertiser* supported the proclamation, in that, even as it declared that there must be no more mental reservations about the war, it also insisted that allegiance had nothing to do with ancestry.⁵¹

There was a reason for that insistence. From the time the U.S. declared war on Germany, local Germans, whether of German or American birth, and regardless of citizenship were judged on the basis of guilty until proven otherwise. What follows is a presentation of selected cases taken from the two Honolulu daily newspapers which gives an idea of the extent to which war hysteria had replaced calm and reasonable thinking.

On April 7, 1917, army guards arrested one Carl Koessler on suspicion of being a spy, simply because he lacked a satisfactory explanation for being on the waterfront. This occurred while the *Geier* incident was fresh in people's minds. There was no follow-up story. In May, authorities determined that alien enemies could continue their use of Kapiolani Park, public baths and beach hotels despite their proximity to military fortifications.⁵²

A more serious matter was a court-martial held at Schofield Barracks in June 1917 when U.S. Army Private Luisz Sterl was convicted for violation of the 96th Article of War. Sterl had commented that "It wouldn't do any good to send United States troops to France. They wouldn't be worth a damn." He had also stated that he refused to fight in France. For this "treasonous" statement Sterl received a dishonorable discharge and three years at hard labor. The *Advertiser* hoped this action would discourage any other pro-Germans who looked on the army as a meal ticket for their propaganda.⁵³

A devastating anthrax epidemic in Hawaii brought suspicions of

German participation in the initial infection. One Max Weber, the timekeeper at Pioneer Mill, was arrested in Hilo, when a search of his bag revealed a bottle of poison (which authorities believed contained anthrax germs), German warbonds (which were easily purchased before the U. S. entered the war), and four cartridges. The distraught Weber could not make an explanation. Authorities later discovered that he possessed no anthrax germs. Two days later the *Advertiser* commented that although there was no proof that Germans or their allies were infecting Hawaiian cattle, it was a viable suspicion, because there were "more or less authenticated instances in other countries" of such activity. Examples of such treachery were not provided.⁵⁴

Yet another case concerned Queen's Hospital. Superintendent Werner Roehl discharged two nurses, Miss Agnes Collins (later Mrs. William Moe) and Miss Zoe M. Osborne. Collins went to the *Advertiser*, claiming Roehl's motivation had been her association with an American enlisted man, Sergeant William Moe, to whom she was engaged. She further alleged that the hospital was run by Germans who hated American soldiers, that Roehl supplied food to the interned *Geier* men and that the hospital kitchen had prepared a *luau* for them. George W. Smith, president of the Hospital Board of Trustees, denied the anti-military charge and said that what food had been given to the *Geier* men was on humanitarian grounds. Roehl denied feeding any *Geier* men at all, and stated that Osborne was asked to resign in the interests of "peace and harmony."⁵⁵

There was a simultaneous investigation going on concerning the death of Miss Florence Berg, another Queen's Hospital nurse, from an illegal abortion. At the inquest Mrs. Moe, the former Miss Collins, testified that Roehl dismissed her for temporarily assigning Berg to the position of head nurse. Nurse Osborne took the occasion to corroborate Moe's earlier charge that the hospital was run by Germans.

Roehl, himself, testified at the inquest that the father of Berg's child was probably an officer of the *Geier* that she met at the hospital. He then wrote a letter to the *Advertiser* stating that though of German ancestry, he and his employees were either native Americans or had been naturalized citizens for over twenty years, with the exception of one employee who was still a German citizen.⁵⁶

Despite Roehl's protestations of innocence, and the support of the Board of Trustees, Roehl bowed to community pressure and resigned from his position at Queen's Hospital in December, 1917. Several other personnel changes then took place. There was some community support for Roehl; one letter signed by "An American" urged the hospital not to accept a resignation caused by the "hysteria of a few people."⁵⁷

In January, 1918, the ubiquitous Dixie Doolittle (see below) accused the Board of Trustees of being insincere in their acceptance of Roehl's resignation since he had moved into hospital property. Smith responded that the resignation was final and that Roehl's residence had begun while he was still employed, and was a temporary measure until repairs were completed on his house.⁵⁸ Here the matter of Werner Roehl and the German control of Queen's Hospital was closed.

Another career ruined by the war was that of George Roenitz, a civil servant who had been an American citizen since 1899. Unlike most German-Americans, Roenitz had refused to be a part of the German community. U. S. Commissioner for the District of Hawaii, George S. Curry, believed Roenitz to be guilty of from two to four charges of espionage occurring while he was secretary to naval Captain George R. Clark, commander of the 14th Naval District. Apparently, Roenitz's problem stemmed from a mixing of his personal papers with official classified documents. On October 16, 1917, Roenitz pleaded guilty to the second count of espionage, that of obtaining unauthorized documents and sketches to gain a knowledge of U. S. defense capabilities to which he was not entitled. Roenitz did not seem to realize what had happened, and said he had no wrongful intent, but realized he had been "indiscreet." His "indiscretion" cost Roenitz \$250 plus one year of hard labor. Federal Judge Joseph Poindexter commented that Roenitz was fortunate the deed occurred prior to U. S. entry into the war.⁵⁹

Later that same month "Pro Patria," a letter writer, discovered Kauai was a hotbed of intrigue. The writer declared that hundreds of German-Americans there were "as much to be trusted as a rattlesnake."⁶⁰

One of Dr. Hörmann's informants recalled the effect of the war on her life on Kauai. She stopped teaching her children German, but she was still accused of being pro-German and her husband constantly feared losing his job. One day she "went out to a Red Cross tea, to help sew." As she entered "the room, several women took a picture of the Kaiser . . . tore it to pieces and sat on it." The informant told them that such an action was not an effective way of hurting the Kaiser.⁶¹

Into this simmering cauldron fell the revelations of *Geier* Captain Karl Grasshof's diary which was discovered in December, 1917, several months after the *Geier* was seized. The betrayal by those "gentlemanly" sailors had been greater than hitherto imagined. Messages had been sent to Germany via the *Geier's* wireless which was supposed to have been sealed upon internment. The Germans were also involved in smuggling sailors back to Germany. Perhaps most damaging of all was the documentation concerning the India Conspiracy (see below), which destroyed what was left of Georg Rodiek's credibility.⁶²

The editorial response of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (hereinafter referred to as the *Bulletin*) drove home the point that "nothing but the most ceaseless vigilance will serve to protect Hawaii . . . from the ceaseless conspiracies of the enemy." Everyone now knew the "faithlessness of the German word."⁶³ J. F. Brown in a letter to the *Bulletin* added the thought that "Americans must regard every German as a potential spy unless loyalty proven beyond doubt."⁶⁴

Ready to stir the cauldron which was now bubbling nicely was Dixie Doolittle, whose paid advertisements appeared from November, 1917, to February, 1918. Dixie made it his practice to attack Germanism wherever he found it. One day he found it in the Elks Lodge, and the ensuing libel trial unveiled Dixie Doolittle as none other than Richard H. Trent, president of Trent Trust Company, of whom more will be said later. Trent had attacked the Elks, because their club served liquor, and he considered liquor a German weapon. The court acquitted Trent of the charges, but the advertisements did not reappear.⁶⁵

Honoluluans began to pay greater attention to German firms doing business in Hawaii. In November, 1917, John A. Balch, chairman of the District Draft Board for the Territory of Hawaii, called attention to rumors concerning Carl du Roi, the manager of B. F. Ehlers and Company. Balch accused du Roi of being present at a gathering which celebrated the sinking of the *Lusitania*, of cheering the *Geier* sailors when they were arrested, and of allowing toasts to the Kaiser to be drunk in his presence. E. S. Goodhue, a veteran letter writer, expressed his support of Balch's accusations, and wanted to know if B. F. Ehlers and Company was owned by a Mr. Ehlers living in Germany. (It was.) In December, du Roi was further accused of wearing a ring that had an emblem representing the Iron Cross. At this point, District Attorney Huber investigated du Roi's claim that he had received the ring after giving \$1.00 to the German Red Cross Society prior to America's declaration of war on Germany. After finding the governor's name on the same subscription list, Huber declared himself satisfied with du Roi's loyalty.⁶⁶

Probably the most well-known case of anti-German feeling directed against an individual was that involving Minna Maria Heuer, an assistant professor who taught German and French at the College of Hawaii.⁶⁷ In an effort to end rumors that the college was pro-German, the Board of Regents distributed a loyalty letter among the faculty which asked the following questions:

1. In what country were you born?
2. Are you a citizen of the United States?
(a) by birth (b) by naturalization

3. Are you unequivocally and unreservedly loyal to the country in which you were born?
4. Do you support in thought, word and . . . in deed the President's message to Congress of December 4, 1917?

Answers were due by December 13th.⁶⁸

There were only two incorrect answers. One was from Elizabeth Matthews, a domestic science professor. She opposed U. S. entry into the war, but believed it was her duty to support the decision of the majority of Americans. She also presented her Pilgrim heritage as the basis of her belief in democratic government.⁶⁹ Miss Matthews was not judged to be a major threat to loyalty at the college.

Maria Heuer's response to the questions was not so easily overlooked. She first pointed out that her birth and nationality were obvious since she had been engaged while still in Germany. Miss Heuer's response to the last, key questions was lengthy and sincere. She did not believe in war, and, therefore, was not loyal to any country engaged in it. Rather, she followed her own conviction of "Truth." "If there would be any suspicion of my attempting to influence the students at the college I can only say that I would never attempt to poison young minds with thoughts of hatred and discord for in so doing I would be false to my own ideas of Truth."⁷⁰

It is difficult to be loyal to humanity over nationality in times of peace; it is virtually impossible in a time of war. The average American's idea of Truth then was absolute loyalty to President Wilson and the government; it was not concerned with whether or not the war was just in and of itself. The Board of Regents, chaired by W. F. Farrington,⁷¹ did not know how to respond, and asked Attorney General Ingram L. Stainback for advice. His reply was balanced and reasonable, suggesting that although Americans must guard against aliens giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy, they should be treated justly. He cautioned that "we should not waste our energies in making public charges of those who are not a menace to the community."⁷² As an aside, he reminded the Regents that Heuer's contract was only verbal.

The matter might have ended there, but Regent Fred L. Waldron resigned in protest. He believed that any alien unwilling to pledge loyalty to the United States should be immediately eliminated from the faculty.⁷⁴ Waldron's British citizenship may, in part, explain his adamant stance. The *Advertiser* also called for Heuer's dismissal on the basis of extremely unpolitic remarks she made during an interview. "This member of the faculty openly states that she is not in sympathy with the United States. . . . She infers that she does not care what our president had to say concerning America's reasons for entering the conflict, that

she refuses to permit herself to know the diabolical nature of the warfare carried on by her nation." Since the woman was obviously not for us, she must be against us.⁷⁵

College of Hawaii President Arthur L. Dean saw no evidence that Heuer was influencing her students or aiding the enemy, nor did he follow the *Advertiser's* logic that since Heuer was not pro-American, she was pro-German and, therefore, responsible for every atrocity committed by German troops.⁷⁶ On December 27, 1917, the *Advertiser* asked editorially why Heuer was still on the faculty. Students stopped attending her classes.⁷⁷ On December 28th, Farrington commented that there was no question about Heuer leaving, but only of how. He believed a forced withdrawal would only "make a German woman the center of German persecution propaganda." For this reason Farrington believed Waldron's resignation, by its lack of restraint, played into the Kaiser's hand, especially Waldron's attempt to tar the entire German community with the Heuer brush.⁷⁸ Farrington received the administrative resignation he desired before the end of the year. Heuer later became affiliated with the Lihue German School (see below).

One of the more prominent American officials whose job involved rooting out Germanism was U. S. Marshal J. J. Smiddy. An article appeared on December 19, 1917, saying that he was hot on the trail of two pro-German propagandists. One was a salesman who interjected his pro-German comments into his sales pitch; the other was a woman who went door-to-door offering to pray for the Allies. When the victim agreed, she prayed for the morale and good disposition of German forces. It is not recorded whether or not he caught these desperadoes. Later that month, an editorial in a Catholic newspaper published in Ohio, but distributed in Honolulu, incensed Smiddy to the point of vowing that any "publications that smack with sauerkraut and lieberwurst will . . . be barred from Honolulu."⁷⁹

The new year, 1918, saw a continuation of the constant vigilance against the enemy at home. Parents were relieved to learn that the public school teachers were loyal, for all replied in the affirmative to the statement that "the principle [sic] function of the public schools of the Territory of Hawaii is to produce loyal American citizens. Good American citizenship is more important than scholarship."⁸⁰ Perhaps due to the recent Heuer case, there were no explanations accompanying the affirmative answers. Remarkably, the few teachers listed as "German" on school records were not asked for further proof of their loyalty.

In February, 1918, a case developed which was similar to the Heuer case by virtue of the fact that one vocal person was able to arouse sufficient public indignation to force a resignation without just cause.

This time the victim was L. Weinzheimer, the manager of the Pioneer Mill Co. On February 12, the *Bulletin* reported that John A. Balch, a prominent citizen who was a stockholder in the company and, coincidentally, a member of the Hawaiian Vigilance Corps,⁸¹ wanted Weinzheimer dismissed for disloyalty and for his former affiliation with the German army. The *Bulletin* speculated that Balch was probably less concerned with Weinzheimer's army career than the fact that he employed Andrew Gross, who had been dismissed from Wailuku Sugar for alleged interference in a Liberty Bond drive. It seems Gross had advised a laborer that in view of his low income, the laborer might be wiser to pledge \$1000 rather than \$2000 to Liberty Bonds. Weinzheimer responded to the *Bulletin's* inference by stating that his assistant had been the one to hire Gross, though Weinzheimer also supported Gross' innocence.

Two days later Balch appeared at the stockholders meeting to press his charges of disloyalty. He claimed Weinzheimer had toasted the Kaiser after the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and that Weinzheimer made disparaging remarks about President Wilson. C. K. Bull, at whose home the alleged toast took place, denied the allegation. Balch also charged that the fact that Weinzheimer allowed the baptism of his child aboard the *Geier* was further proof of his pro-German duplicity.

On March 26, the *Advertiser* published the findings of an Investigating Committee which looked into the matter. The committee found that Weinzheimer had been totally loyal from the time of the *Geier* incident, and that although the baptism had occurred after the U. S. entered the war it was done only at the insistence of his wife. The committee could find no grounds for Weinzheimer's dismissal. The *Bulletin* did not agree, writing that the lack of evidence documenting Weinzheimer's disloyalty did not prove his loyalty.

The Board of Directors met on March 31, to determine Weinzheimer's future, but he resigned prior to the meeting on the grounds that the media continued to insist that the public did not want Weinzheimer to continue as manager, "presumably because I am of German birth."⁸²

After March, 1918, the newspapers began revealing more incidents and ideas which had as little or less substance as the charges made by Balch. Some of these related to the problem of alien registration. The law required each alien to come to Marshal Smiddy's office and provide personal photographs, fingerprints, and certain family records. In return the alien received a permit containing his photograph, fingerprints pertinent information and special endorsements; if found without his permit, the alien was subject to immediate arrest.

Karl May did not register, because he could not afford to buy the required photos and, therefore, was unable to register. He was the sole support of a Puerto Rican wife and six American children. There was official agreement as to his poverty which was caused by the war. Nevertheless, May was interned with the colony of stranded German nationals at Oahu Prison for failure to register.

Registration also brought a new definition to the term "German." American wives of German nationals were classified as Germans and had to register as such. Only by death or divorce could they return to their former American status. One woman said she would rather divorce her husband than be a German.⁸³

In another case, Judge Horace Vaughan sentenced Charles Spillner, *luna* for the Oahu Sugar Co., for obstruction of recruitment for the National Guard. Spillner allegedly told potential recruits that the Germans would make "corned beef" out of them. The judge called this a true expression of a "German heart."⁸⁴

It should be evident that during the course of World War I charges against German-Americans had a decreasing basis of actual physical evidence, and a correspondingly increased reliance on verbal and hearsay evidence. There was also less distinction between whether the alleged act occurred before or after Congress declared war on Germany. In June, 1918, the *Advertiser* reprinted an editorial from the *Los Angeles Times*. The editorial noted that many recent suicides had been attributed to the persecution of German-Americans for their alleged disloyalty. The *Times* was not impressed. They believed it was not the persecution which caused the suicides, but the reaction of the accused to the charges. The reaction was one of remorse; therefore, those who committed suicide were admitting their guilt.⁸⁵ The *Advertiser* agreed wholeheartedly.

Having considered the plight of individual members of the Honolulu German community, it is not difficult to understand that the anti-German campaign also had a profound effect on the institutions and customs of that community. One very basic element was the use of the German language. As indicated above, some parents stopped teaching it to their children. The community at large had a great fear of the German language as a language which was "intimately associated with butchered babies, mutilated children, ravished girls, dishonored wives and mothers, fiendishly tortured prisoners."⁸⁶ Consequently, both public and private schools discontinued the instruction of German.⁸⁷

Since German social groups usually spoke German, they were held under extreme suspicion. Most conducted their affairs in English during the war, but a few held out and suffered for their choice. One of these

organizations was Hermanns Soehne, a fraternal club for the preservation of the German language and customs which also provided benevolent functions for its members.

The group tried to demonstrate its patriotism by raising money for the Red Cross, but in January, 1918, the Knights of Pythias ejected Hermanns Soehne from their hall, because they suspected Hermanns Soehne of having disloyal members. In April, several members moved to change the organization's business language to English; motion defeated. They then moved that an executive committee be appointed to handle necessary business so that general meetings could be suspended for the war's duration; motion defeated. The same members then tried to resign, and were not even allowed to do that. There was, however, no strong response to this issue from the public.

In September, Robert W. Breckens, Hawaii's Republican National Committeeman, discovered that Hermanns Soehne still used German at its meetings. He thought this state of affairs was "incredible" and with the support of the press and the Vigilance Corps generated enough public interest for Governor McCarthy to revoke Hermanns Soehne's charter on October 8, 1918.⁸⁸

The German Lutheran Church also suffered a loss of credibility during the war which caused the church to drastically change its orientation away from its original semi-exclusive ministry to the German community. The German Lutheran Church also raised funds for the American Red Cross, and as late as December, 1917, the *Advertiser* was favorably impressed by an organ concert played by Werner Roehl of Queen's Hospital fame. The event raised \$85.00.⁸⁹

That same month Marshal Smiddy investigated a rumor that the German Lutheran Church had a wireless. The informant heard a humming sound whenever someone played the organ. The sound turned out to be an electric motor which drove the bellows.⁹⁰ Pastor Arthur Hörmann had the experience of a fellow clergyman urging him to stop preaching in German. Hörmann refused to do so until his congregation ceased to pray in German.⁹¹ However, in January, 1918, he began to "Americanize" his congregation.

The war already had brought some fundamental changes to the German Lutheran Church. Many of the wealthier Germans moved their church affiliation to Central Union or St. Andrew's Cathedral, causing some financial difficulty. The congregation remaining followed Hörmann's leadership away from German affiliations. The church began to emphasize its Lutheran doctrine rather than its ethnic composition in an effort to attract new members. Hörmann introduced regular English services, and by 1921 the Christian education program was conducted

entirely in English, though German services continued on a bi-monthly basis. The church severed its relations with the Prussian State Church, and although vestiges of the church's origins remained, it was no longer a focal point of a German community.⁹³

The continuing existence of private German language schools attached to the Lihue and Honolulu German Lutheran churches led to greater public furor than the churches themselves. The language school in Honolulu was not of great concern, because Hörmann had reduced the school to two afternoons a week with instruction in English as soon as America entered the war. In March, 1918, however, former Hawaii Governor George R. Carter, as spokesman of the Hawaiian Vigilance Corps, attacked both the Honolulu and Lihue schools, claiming they aided German propaganda. Hörmann denied the charge,⁹⁴ but Carter received public support, one letter declaring that every German school was a blow at American democracy and part of the pan-German machine.⁹⁵

The situation at the Lihue School was complicated by the presence of Maria Heuer, who taught home economics at the school after leaving the College of Hawaii. Heuer was accused of disrespect for the American flag and for the American national anthem. The former charge was based on the fact that she refused to take down the flag at the end of the school day, but had the Filipino janitor do it. The newspaper reports seem more upset by the fact that the janitor removed the flag, than by Heuer's apparent decision not to remove it. The morning flag ceremony was conducted by the principal, Carl Moser, and there was no controversy over Heuer's lack of participation in the mornings or over Moser's absence in the afternoons. The problem seems to be one of who is better suited for such a patriotic duty, a white (German) woman or a Filipino man.⁹⁶

Heuer's second and more serious crime was her alleged failure to stand for the national anthem at a local movie theater. In this instance, R. W. Wilcox came to Heuer's defense; stating that she was with Wilcox and his daughter, that they rose for the entire anthem and sat when the flag was removed and variations on the anthem began. Dora Rice Isenberg also defended her employee, and refused to fire her. Superintendent of Public Instruction Henry W. Kinney responded to the allegations with an investigation.⁹⁷

Carter jumped into the controversy, exclaiming that Heuer's presence created a respect for Germany and German institutions, and she, therefore, must be dismissed. Carter also made the statement that it was acceptable to teach the German language so long as it did not inculcate German ideals. This latter statement may have been in response to

Isenberg's assertion that her students bought Liberty Stamps and were active in Red Cross work. She also defended the school on educational grounds, reminding officials that instruction was given in English and that her students did well at Lihue High School.⁹⁸

Since Mrs. Isenberg refused to fire Heuer, Carter suggested that she should close the school. She declined to do so on the grounds that if she voluntarily closed the school, the closure would give support to the allegations being made against both the school and its employees. Isenberg, however, did mention that if the Superintendent of Public Instruction ordered the school closed, she would do so. Kinney responded to public pressure and Isenberg's statement by ordering her to close the school at the end of the current term, which she did.⁹⁹

By 1918 the German community had lost the leadership of both its church and its language schools. These were not, however, its greatest loss. That distinction belongs to the demise of H. Hackfeld & Co. That traditional backbone of the German community in Hawaii, which had also provided leadership for the general business and social milieu of Honolulu, was not able to rise above the charges of Germanism which were leveled against it.

H. Hackfeld & Co. had initially maintained its patriotic sanctity through Vice-President J. F. Carl Hagens. From the beginning, Hagens had been concerned that there be no doubt of his own loyalty and patriotism. On March 21, 1917, one day before America entered a state of war against Germany, Hagens, then president of H. Hackfeld & Co., was elected as president of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce. The *Advertiser* warmly defended him against those who said a German should not hold such a position, and pointed to his twenty year record as an American.¹⁰⁰ In the capacity of such an inherently American office, Hagens could echo his non-German associates in stating that there was "only one course for an American to steer today, and that is straight behind the president."¹⁰¹

When anti-Germanism began to heat up in December, 1917, Hagens tendered his resignation from H. Hackfeld & Co. on the grounds that he wanted to be free of business alliances in case he was called to service in his capacity as a captain in the Officers Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army.¹⁰² Hawaiian historian Ralph S. Kuykendall points out that Hagen's resignation occurred just as H. Hackfeld & Co. was undergoing heavy attack for the involvement of two of its officers in the India Conspiracy. Such timing suggests that Hagens' probable motive for his resignation was a desire to disassociate himself from anything which might bring his Americanism into question.¹⁰³

Georg Friedrich Rodiek, vice-president and manager of H. Hackfeld

& Co.,¹⁰⁴ president of the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, and German Consul, was involved in what became known as the India Conspiracy. Rodiek's involvement in this case, coupled with that of Heinrich Augustus Schroeder, an employee of H. Hackfeld & Co. and former secretary to the German Consul, brought H. Hackfeld & Co. into disrepute.

The India Conspiracy occurred in 1915, two years prior to America's entry into the war, and was a rather elaborate plot to ship German arms to Indian revolutionaries who would then revolt against their British masters. Rodiek and Schroeder's involvement was in their capacity as German officials. The plot called for the *Annie Larson* to leave San Diego with a shipment of arms, and then transfer her cargo to the *Maverick* which would then proceed to India. The ships failed to make their connections off the Mexican Coast, and the *Maverick* went on to Hilo. Here, Schroeder visited the ship and gave the captain new sailing orders. The *Maverick* eventually arrived in the Dutch East Indies without having made her connections with the *Annie Larson*.

The role of Schroeder and Rodiek in these procedures was interpreted as grave violation of American neutrality. The Department of Justice began making arrests of those involved in the conspiracy shortly after war was declared, two years later, and the indictments of Rodiek and Schroeder were among those issued by the San Francisco Grand Jury in July, 1917. On December 6, both the *Advertiser* and the *Bulletin* carried the story that both Rodiek and Schroeder had pleaded guilty to a technical violation of the Neutrality Laws. The *Bulletin* published their statement in which the defendants declared that their involvement in the *Maverick* incident was purely commercial and consisted only of provisioning the ship and transmitting her sailing orders. They claimed to be unaware that they were violating American neutrality; Rodiek, in particular, insisted that he did not "concede any disloyalty to [the United States] or lack of devotion to its institutions."¹⁰⁵

Between Rodiek's guilty plea on the 6th and his testimony two weeks later came the discovery of Captain Grasshof's diary (see above) which turned public opinion against the defendants. This backlash came both as a result of this "proof" of German duplicity and from the presence of numerous references to Rodiek and Schroeder within the diary. The inference made was that Rodiek had been fully aware of the *Maverick's* mission, a charge he denied during his testimony at the trial.¹⁰⁶

The court fined Rodiek \$10,000 and confiscated his rights as a citizen. Schroeder suffered a \$1,000 fine. Honoluluans thought they both had gotten off lightly,¹⁰⁷ and in the ensuing hysteria took their vengeance out on any individual deemed "German," a term designating anyone even

remotely connected to Germany, regardless of their subsequent loyalty to the United States.

The firm of H. Hackfeld & Co. also suffered as a result of the firm's officers being convicted. The firm immediately lost the use of both cable and radio communication as a result of the U. S. government's conviction that H. Hackfeld & Co. was the center of German influence in the Pacific.

The management and stockholders of H. Hackfeld & Co. took immediate steps to change the American government's policy; the alternative was the destruction of the firm. Thus, they began the process of reorganizing and Americanizing the largest German firm in Hawaii by cabling Rodiek a demand for his immediate resignation, an act the *Advertiser* said renewed "one's faith in the average German-American."¹⁰⁸ In January, 1918, John F. Humburg, third vice-president, announced that Hackfeld's management was "proceeding with the development for the reorganization of Hackfeld and Company" which he was certain would "meet with the entire approbation of the community." He hoped that Hagens could be prevailed upon to stay with the firm, and assured the public that all German and/or pro-German employees would be terminated.¹⁰⁹

The firm was reorganized by confiscating the 12,647 shares of stock owned by J. F. Hackfeld, Limited which was normally controlled by the manager of H. Hackfeld & Co., and selling 11,000 of those shares to solid American businessmen. The stockholders then elected a new Board of Directors which removed all former officers except Humburg and Hagens.¹¹⁰

The *Advertiser* was delighted, and stated that "if there be anyone in Hawaii not satisfied with the good faith of those who have reorganized Hackfeld and Co. as an American firm . . . that person is beyond reason and incapable of satisfaction."¹¹¹ The business community was pleased also, especially as H. Hackfeld & Co. made good the pledge to remove employees who were German sympathizers. All employees were required to sign a loyalty pledge or face dismissal. Walter U. W. Nicol, a German national employee, was fired, and F. J. Lindemann replaced Carl du Roi whose loyalty had been questioned as manager of B. F. Ehlers and Company, the firm's retail outlet.¹¹²

February, 1918, was an ominous month for the future of the reorganized company. Although the government restored telegraph service to the firm for the first time since America entered the war, there were also reports that the government might not approve the reorganization, because not enough control was in American hands.¹¹³ This question arose partly as a result of the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act which Congress passed in October, 1917, and which the new management of

H. Hackfeld & Co. had not taken into consideration. Former Hawaii Governor Walter F. Frear went to Washington to confer with A. Mitchel Palmer, the Alien Property Custodian, with the result that the first reorganization was rescinded. It was believed that the government misunderstood the motivations for the reorganization and that the firm's return to the *status quo ante* would restore the new owners' good faith. The *Advertiser* commented that it remained "to be seen whether there can be a better plan evolved for the immediate Americanization of" H. Hackfeld & Co.¹¹⁴

There then followed the transformation of H. Hackfeld & Co. into a completely American firm which bore little resemblance to its parent and whose origins have never been satisfactorily explained. When in March, 1918, H. Hackfeld & Co. returned to the *status quo ante*, Richard H. Trent of Dixie Doolittle fame, as representative of the Alien Property Custodian, took over the shares of J. F. Hackfeld, Limited and other "enemy" owned shares until he held 27,000 shares out of a total of 40,000 shares. He thus held the company under his virtual control. The stockholders elected a new Board of Directors on April 20, 1918.¹¹⁵ These directors were expected to become the principal stockholders in the new corporation that would replace H. Hackfeld & Co. once Congress gave its approval to an amendment to the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act allowing the Custodian to dispose of alien enemy property. Custodian Palmer later testified that it had been predetermined that no matter who purchased stock, these new directors would maintain control of the company.¹¹⁶

When Palmer received approval for the sale of enemy property, he valued the enemy holdings in H. Hackfeld & Co. at \$7,500,000 with the buyers assuming the firm's \$6,500,000 debt. If the company could not be sold, it would be dissolved. The first recorded offer was from a *hui* headed by John A. McCandless which came in \$2,000,000 short of the asking price. Palmer later said he rejected the McCandless *hui*, because its members were not experienced in managing such an enterprise, and he suspected they would, therefore, restore Hackfeld's prior management. This further convinced him that only a reorganized Board of Directors could run the company in a satisfactory manner.¹¹⁷

Georg Rodiek and other German-born stockholders in Honolulu proposed a higher value for the enemy stockholdings. The suggestion was rejected out of hand. On the issue of price Hagens later testified that it was a fair price. More harmful to the German stockholders' cause, however, was the fact that it was Rodiek who voiced the complaint. This only served to remind the public that Rodiek was a primary cause for

the need to Americanize Hackfeld, and that any attempt to aid German stockholders was an attempt to aid the "enemy."¹¹⁸

The situation was finally resolved on August 20, when the business of H. Hackfeld & Co. was formally transferred to American Factors, Limited. The Hackfeld Board of Directors bought the controlling stock and offered remaining shares for public sale to American citizens who were required to take an oath not to associate with those opposing the sale of the company. J. F. Hackfeld, Ltd., Johann Hackfeld's personal holdings, was dissolved. B. F. Ehlers and Company already had been reorganized as Liberty House on August 2, a new store without the "slightest taint of Teutonism."¹¹⁹

Members of the Isenberg and the Hackfeld families who were in Germany at the time of the sale brought suit against American Factors after the war. Hackfeld, in particular, stressed that he became an American citizen when Hawaii became a territory in 1900. The suits continued into the 1940s and various financial concessions were made. Hackfeld, for example, received \$3,700,000 in damages, but the firm remained American Factors.¹²⁰

It is difficult to convey the intense anti-German hysteria which swept through Hawaii after America's entry into the First World War. As the United States became more committed to the Allied cause, the definition of "German" became broader, expanding from a newly arrived immigrant to include American citizens of German ancestry. The newspapers certainly played a part in this. At times they displayed sympathy with hapless Germans such as Karl May, and at times they defended certain Germans, most particularly Hagens. On the whole, however, their tone was inflammatory, and their attitude was one which both fed and was fed by the mounting hysteria. Historian Kuykendall credits the newspapers with showing the world where Hawaii stood during the war, and this they did.

It appears that Hawaii was far more anti-German than the West Coast, though there is no readily available information to sustain this statement. Hawaii's intense anti-Germanism may have been caused by the desire of her residents to be recognized for their patriotism. The multi-racial quality of the islands had called the loyalty of Hawaii's citizens into question. Hawaii residents were upset that the Hawaii National Guard was not allowed to participate in the war largely due to disciplinary problems with its Filipino enlisted men.

Hawaii's citizens also felt betrayed by the actions of Germans they knew and trusted. The India Conspiracy was especially frightening, because if the Germans were trying to incite brown Indians against their white English masters, they might also incite racial strife in Hawaii.

Island whites saw the India Conspiracy as an especially devious and ungentlemanly plot.

The interned German seamen were also believed to have behaved in an ungentlemanly manner. Honoluluans were shocked that those nice young men, so much a part of the community, had behaved with duplicity the entire time. The men from the *Geier* were a part of the community just as the local Germans were. If they had behaved in such a dishonorable manner, it was natural to assume that all Germans in Honolulu would behave in the same way.

Then President Wilson declared that Americans were fighting a "Holy War" against the Germans. He did not specify which Germans. It is significant that Wilson made this speech in December, 1917, the same month when outrage over the India Conspiracy was at its height, the same month Grasshof's diary became public. It is also the same month of the Heuer hysteria. December, 1917, then, represents a turning point in relations between Germans and non-Germans in Hawaii.

By the end of the war there was no longer a German community in Hawaii, as there once had been. Germans had lost their jobs,¹²¹ church, leadership, and the respect of their neighbors. Many had migrated to the West Coast to escape persecution. Those who remained assimilated into the greater *haole* community, some by anglicizing their names. Young Germans after the war did not renew their cultural ties to Germany. They kept no German publications or customs, spoke no German, and did not even use German gestures. Their homes were 100% American and so were they.¹²² The German community simply disappeared.

There are only a few vestiges of that community remaining. The Lutheran Church of Honolulu still carries a few names of these Germans on its membership roster, but they are far outnumbered by non-German names. There is once again a "German" community which speaks proudly of Hawaii's German past, but they were not a part of that past and have no connection to it. Most of the present "German" community came to Hawaii after statehood and have created only loose social ties with their fellow Germans.

The German community of plantation workers and their leaders will never return. Even if they had been able to adjust to the unthinkable situation of war between their native and adoptive countries, it is doubtful that they could have escaped the backlash of America's war hysteria. In the aftermath of such a demoralizing experience, German-Americans wanted only to prevent its recurrence and, therefore, sought to de-emphasize their cultural heritage by melting into the general Caucasian population of Hawaii.

NOTES

- ¹ William A. Simonds, *Kamaaina-A Century in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Privately Published by Amfac, 1949), p. 7.
- ² Both of the official histories of Amfac, *Kamaaina* by Simonds and *Dynasty in the Pacific* by Frederick Simpich, Jr., pass quickly over the Hackfeld period; they make little mention of the transition of H. Hackfeld & Co. into American Factors, Ltd. Amfac's files on the subject are not open to public inspection.
- ³ Captain Hackfeld's first encounter with Hawaii was as the passenger of Captain John Dominis aboard the *Swallow* while in transit from Canton to Bremen. Hackfeld became interested in Hawaii's business opportunities during his stay in Honolulu as Dominis' guest.
- ⁴ The Ehlers store became known to Hawaiians as *Hale Kilika*, or Silk House.
- ⁵ Simonds, p. 51.
- ⁶ PCA [Honolulu]. January 1, 1900.
- ⁷ German businessmen generally retired to Germany, some at very young ages. Paul Isenberg, for example, retired to Germany at the age of 40, though he returned every two years to fulfill his governmental duties. The Hackfelds, Pfluegers, Ehlers, and Isenbergs all returned to Germany after middle age, living off the profits of their Hawaiian companies. Johann Hackfeld incorporated his Hawaii holdings as a separate company, J. F. Hackfeld, Limited, which held the majority of shares in H. Hackfeld & Co.
- ⁸ Paul Isenberg became more than a son-in-law to Mother Rice who relied heavily upon him. She was with him in Germany at the time Isenberg met his second wife, Beta Glade, and encouraged the marriage. (Isenberg's first wife, Hannah Maria Rice Isenberg, had died in 1867.)
- ⁹ When Dr. Bernhard Hörmann was writing his thesis, Ambrose Wirtz of the American Factors, Ltd. told him that there were no documents still in existence detailing the relationship of Hackfeld & Co. to the German immigrants.
- ¹⁰ Bernhard L. Hörmann, "The Germans in Hawaii" (Master's Thesis. University of Hawaii, 1931), pp. 63, 51. Figures are approximate and taken directly from the thesis.
- ¹¹ Those Germans who were assigned elsewhere, most of whom were single men, became assimilated into the surrounding community. The lack of German brethren encouraged the rapid adoption of the prevalent language and lifestyle. (Hörmann, "Germans" p. 129).
- ¹² Ethel M. Damon, *Koamalu* (Honolulu: Privately Printed, 1931), Vol. 2, p. 769.
- ¹³ Hörmann, "Germans" p. 113.
- ¹⁴ There were two strikes in 1883, one on Kilauea Sugar Plantation owned by Mr. McPhee, and one at Koloa. Hörmann, "Germans" p. 125, 154. P. Isenberg had once been involved with Kilauea, and wrote in 1884 that he was glad to be rid of it. Damon, p. 779.
- ¹⁵ Previously, German businessmen had joined the Congregational Church. The Lutheran Church also ministered to Norwegians, Swedes and Finns. A statement made by Dennis Kastens in a discussion of the "Influence of Germans on Hawaii" made at the Hawaii Historical Society in January, 1972.
- ¹⁶ Hans Isenberg was Paul Isenberg's youngest brother; Dora Rice Isenberg was Paul's daughter. Damon, pp. 813-814.
- ¹⁷ Hörmann, "Germans" p. 99.
- ¹⁸ Other disbursements were \$1000 apiece to the Strangers Friend Society, German Benevolent Society, American Relief Fund, British Benevolent Society, Hawaiian Relief Society, Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Society, Ladies Portuguese

Charitable Association, Catholic Benevolent Union, Japanese Benevolent Society, Charitable Society of Hawaii.

- ¹⁹ Mrs. Marie Hackfeld sent \$3000 from Germany to aid in establishing the school. An additional \$3000 was raised by a bazaar.
- ²⁰ Bernhard L. Hörmann, *The Lutheran Church of Honolulu: Four Score Years* (Unpublished Manuscript), p. 19.
- ²¹ I was unable to obtain a copy of *Auf deutschem Vorposten*, and am basing my knowledge of it on Dr. B. Hörmann's references to it at various times. This reference is from the panel discussion at the Hawaii Historical Society in 1972. A tape recording of this discussion is in the possession of Dr. Bernhard Hörmann.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ The German churches were open to non-Germans provided they understood that the churches' primary ministry was to German speaking people. Special services could be performed in English. Dr. Isenberg used the English Book of Common Prayer for this purpose. The Honolulu church had programs for the community at large including instruction in the German language, musical recitals, etc.
- ²⁴ The interim pastor between Pastor Engelhardt and Pastor Hörmann was a Pastor Schafhirt who was enroute from Australia to Germany.
- ²⁵ PCA, July 23, 1916, p. 5.
- ²⁶ Six ships were in Honolulu: *Pommern, Prinz Waldemar, Gouverneur Jaeschke, Setos, Staatssekretär Kraetke, Loongmoon*. Two ships were in Hilo: *Holsatia, O. J. D. Ahlers*. PCA, September 23, 1914, p. 1; October 13, 1914, p. 11.
- ²⁷ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *Hawaii in the World War* (Honolulu: The Historical Commission, 1928), pp. 3-5. PCA, November 5, 1914, p. 1; November 9, 1914, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ²⁸ At this point "*Geier*" becomes a collective term covering all German ships and/or men in port, unless otherwise indicated.
- ²⁹ PCA, December 24, 1914, p. 4.
- ³⁰ PCA, December 29, 1914, p. 1; December 28, 1915, Sec. 1, p. 3; August 24, 1916, Sec. 2, p. 12.
- ³¹ PCA, August 5, 1914, p. 1.
- ³² PCA, August 5, 1914, p. 10; August 6, 1914. That same day D. P. R. Isenberg expressed his concern over the war since four family members were German officers.
- ³³ PCA, September 3, 1914, p. 10; December 19, 1915, Sec. 1, p. 6. Kuykendall, p. 235.
- ³⁴ PCA, May 8, 1915, Sec. 2, p. 1; May 9, 1915, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ³⁵ PCA, November 28, 1915, Sec. 1, p. 4; November 29, 1915, Sec. 2, p. 1. Even the Japanese newspapers deal with this question. An article appearing in *Nippu Jiji* on April 22, 1916, quotes K. Kakehi, editor of *Tomo*, as saying the time for German-Americans to show their true spirit would soon come. PCA, April 23, 1916, p. 3.
- ³⁶ PCA, July 9, 1916, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ³⁷ PCA, June 20, 1915; February 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 3.
- ³⁸ PCA, February 9, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ PCA, February 10, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; February 12, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² PCA, March 23, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7.
- ⁴³ PCA, February 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1; February 6, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7. Kuykendall, pp. 7-9. Among the immediate consequences of the German treachery was the fact that although the first vessel to use a pier normally christened it, Pier 8 would not be christened by the *Geier*. PCA, February 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 2. The crewmen

- of the *Pommern* and *Prinz Waldemar* who had been keeping small farms had to sell immediately, thus flooding the market with poultry and pigs. One sailor disposed of 50 "fine chickens" for only \$8.00. PCA, February 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 2.
- ⁴⁴ PCA, March 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; March 8, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 9; March 15, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1; March 17, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 9; April 1, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7.
- ⁴⁵ PCA, April 6, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1; May 4, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; May 5, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; June 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶ PCA, July 12, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ PCA, August 24, 1914, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁴⁸ Schurmann continued to circulate his book after America entered the war which cost him his naturalized citizenship. Kuykendall, p. 424. HSB, August 22, 1917, p. 1, 2:30 ed. PCA, August 28, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ⁴⁹ PCA, February 25, 1915, p. 1; February 28, 1915, p. 8.
- ⁵⁰ Kuykendall, p. 417.
- ⁵¹ PCA, September 4, 1917, p. 4; November 15, 1917, p. 4.
- ⁵² PCA, April 7, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; May 30, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7.
- ⁵³ PCA, June 16, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 5.
- ⁵⁴ PCA, July 29, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 9; July 31, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁵⁵ PCA, July 23, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7.
- ⁵⁶ PCA, July 22, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; September 14, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 3; HSB, September 7, 1917, p. 1, 3:30 ed.; September 13, 1917, p. 1, 2:30 ed.
- ⁵⁷ In defense of Roehl's loyalty, Smith recounted that upon seeing an American flag on the hospital flagstaff, he inquired as to its cost. Roehl replied that it was his personal flag which he loaned the hospital. HSB, December 1, 1917, p. 2, 3:30 ed. Those leaving with Roehl, who had been an American citizen for sixteen years, included Carl Daub, a German citizen; A. Rabaneau, Roehl's brother-in-law; Anna Kuhlman, a Danish citizen married to a German; and August Bombke. PCA, December 12, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 5; December 5, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; a letter signed by "An American." Another lengthy letter supporting Roehl said that an explanation for the high number of German speaking employees was that Roehl was simply more comfortable speaking German than English. Roehl was an active member of the German community and served as organist at the German Lutheran Church. PCA, December 10, 1916, Sec. 2, p. 8.
- ⁵⁸ Doolittle also said that Roehl claimed he could have saved the hospital money if he did not have to use a set purchasing system and that the legislature, as a funding agency for the hospital, should look into the matter. Smith denied this, and said the legislature had not supported the hospital since 1907. PCA, January 1, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 2; January 3, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 3.
- ⁵⁹ Marine Private Melvin Olson stated that three of the four "illegal" photographs found on Roenitz had been sold on post. The first, third, and fourth counts of espionage were dropped due to insufficient evidence; one wonders if there was sufficient evidence for the second count. PCA, February 16, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 8; May 6, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; May 8, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; June 1, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; October 13, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 6; October 16, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; October 17, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 9.
- ⁶⁰ PCA, October 22, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁶¹ The woman was a German married to the son of a German immigrant. Hörmann, "Germans" p. 139. Mrs. Maria Hörmann commented at the panel discussion of 1972 that the Lutheran Church Ladies Guild was not allowed to make bandages for the soldiers, because people thought the German ladies would put glass in them.
- ⁶² Kuykendall, pp. 427-428. HSB, December 13, 1917. PCA, December 21, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 3.

- ⁶³ HSB, December 13, 1917, p. 6, 2:30 ed., An Editorial.
- ⁶⁴ HSB, December 14, 1917, p. 2, 2:30 ed.
- ⁶⁵ PCA, February 2, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; April 12, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. HSB, April 10, 1918, p. 1, 2:30 ed.
- ⁶⁶ PCA, November 27, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; November 28, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; December 16, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 7.
- ⁶⁷ Pastor W. Felmy of the German Lutheran Church taught German at the College of Hawaii until Miss Heuer arrived in 1915.
- ⁶⁸ HSB, December 21, 1917, p. 1, 2:30 ed.
- ⁶⁹ In a letter to the *Bulletin* three days later, Hoon Wo Wong said both teachers were innocent, and blamed the war for causing an overreaction to their dissent, but the letter chiefly exonerated Matthews on the basis of her Pilgrim ancestry and gave little defense for Heuer. HSB, December 24, 1917, p. 14, 2:30 ed.
- ⁷⁰ HSB, December 21, 1917, p. 1, 2:30 ed.
- ⁷¹ It is interesting to note that the *Bulletin* gave more informative, balanced news on this issue and did not resort to blatant hysteria. Farrington's connection with the newspaper as well as his position on the Board of Regents may account for this.
- ⁷² HSB, December 21, 1917, p. 1, 2:30 ed.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Waldron's emphasis on "aliens" effectively excluded Matthews from future stigma.
- ⁷⁵ PCA, December 22, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁷⁶ PCA, December 28, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁷⁷ PCA, December 27, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ⁷⁸ HSB, December 28, 1918, p. 1, 3:30 ed.
- ⁷⁹ PCA, December 19, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 3; December 30, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 8.
- ⁸⁰ PCA, January 5, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 5; January 31, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 8.
- ⁸¹ The Hawaiian Vigilance Corps of the American Defense Society was organized by former Governor George R. Carter on January 2, 1918, after he returned from a visit to the East Coast with the conviction that Hawaii did not realize the great importance of the European struggle. The organization promoted patriotism and opposed German propaganda. Membership was by invitation only and a virtual certificate of loyalty. Carter served as their president; Balch as treasurer.
- ⁸² PCA, March 31, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; February 15, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; February 26, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. HSB, February 14, 1918, p. 1, 2:30 ed.; March 26, 1918, p. 6, 2:30 ed.; February 12, 1918, p. 1, 3:30 ed.
- ⁸³ PCA, February 1, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 3; March 12, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 5; May 5, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; June 9, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ⁸⁴ PCA, August 13, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 6; August 15, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 18; August 18, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 5.
- ⁸⁵ PCA, June 11, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁸⁶ PCA, July 5, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁸⁷ PCA, September 15, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 7; December 19, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; June 15, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; August 16, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4. After Heuer was dismissed, German was not taught at the College until Maria Hörmann was engaged in 1927. Kuykendall, pp. 438-439.
- ⁸⁸ PCA, September 17, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4; December 27, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 1; January 4, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4; April 23, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 5; September 24, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. Kuykendall, p. 440.
- ⁸⁹ PCA, December 17, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 6; December 18, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁹⁰ PCA, December 19, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1. Hörmann, *Lutheran Church*, p. 38.

- ⁹¹ Hörmann, *Lutheran Church*, p. 39.
- ⁹² Statement by Edna Bechert. Personal Interview. September 18, 1979.
- ⁹³ Hörmann, *Lutheran Church*, pp. 41, 45. Hörmann, "Germans" p. 17. The Lutheran Church Council minutes were not written in English until 1930. German language was not eliminated until World War II and can still be heard socially. Pastor Hörmann supported a name change to an English name and suggested St. John's Lutheran Church. This was not accepted by the congregation. PCA, March 20, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. In 1941 the name finally was changed to Lutheran Church of Honolulu.
- ⁹⁴ PCA, March 20, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. Statement made by Peter MacDonald during the panel discussion in 1972.
- ⁹⁵ PCA, March 21, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ⁹⁶ HSB, March 22, 1918, p. 1, 2:30 ed. Statement made by P. MacDonald during the panel discussion in 1972.
- ⁹⁷ PCA, March 27, 1918, Sec. 1, pp. 2, 5.
- ⁹⁸ HSB, March 28, 1918, p. 10, 2:30 ed. PCA, March 27, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 5.
- ⁹⁹ Kuykendall, p. 438. Statement made by P. MacDonald during the panel discussion in 1972. It is not known what Heuer's immediate fate was, but Maria Hörmann reported meeting her in Berlin in 1945.
- ¹⁰⁰ PCA, March 22, 1917; Sec. 1, p. 4; Sec. 2, p. 9.
- ¹⁰¹ PCA, September 9, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 9.
- ¹⁰² PCA, December 19, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ¹⁰³ Kuykendall, p. 429.
- ¹⁰⁴ Johann F. Hackfeld had returned to Germany prior to the war due to his wife's poor health and made Rodiek manager of the firm in his absence.
- ¹⁰⁵ HSB, December 6, 1917, p. 2, 2:30 ed. Rodiek also mentioned the fact that he bought $\$3/4$ million of Liberty Bonds with both personal and business funds. PCA, December 6, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ¹⁰⁶ PCA, December 21, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 1.
- ¹⁰⁷ PCA, December 23, 1917, Sec. 1, pp. 1, 4. Kuykendall, pp. 425-428.
- ¹⁰⁸ PCA, December 28, 1917, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁹ PCA, January 13, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁰ The stock was sold to F. J. Lowrey, W. F. Dillingham, A. J. Campbell, A. W. T. Bottomley, G. P. Wilcox—2,000 shares apiece; H. L. Scott, the American-born manager of Hackfeld in New York—1,000 shares. The new Board of Directors: J. F. C. Hagens, president; J. F. Humburg, A. J. Campbell, H. L. Scott, vice-presidents; A. W. T. Bottomley, treasurer; F. J. Lowry, G. P. Wilcox, W. F. Frear, members.
- ¹¹¹ PCA, January 12, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4; Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ¹¹² PCA, January 13, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; January 26, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 6; January 31, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 8. HSB, January 16, 1918, p. 1, 3:30 ed.
- ¹¹³ PCA, February 17, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 3; February 13, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁴ PCA, March 5, 1918, Sec. 1, p. 4; Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ¹¹⁵ Board of Directors: G. C. Sherman, president; R. A. Cooke, C. R. Hemenway, F. J. Lowrey, vice-presidents; R. H. Trent, treasurer; F. C. Atherton, secretary; A. W. T. Bottomley, W. F. Dillingham, G. P. Wilcox, members; Hagens, general manager. Thus the new board represented the interests of Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer, Castle & Cooke (who also handled the interests of Matson Navigation Co.)

- ¹¹⁶ Oscar Sutro. *Argument of Oscar Sutro on Behalf of the Defendants*. (San Francisco: Pernau-Walsh Printing Co., 1925), p. 64.
- ¹¹⁷ PCA, July 10, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. Sutro, pp. 67-68.
- ¹¹⁸ PCA, July 19, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1. Sutro, p. 94.
- ¹¹⁹ Kuykendall, p. 433. PCA, July 13, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1; August 2, 1918, Sec. 2, p. 1.
- ¹²⁰ A significant factor in considering the verdicts of these suits may well have been the necessity of upholding the actions of the Alien Property Custodian throughout the country. If similar actions took place elsewhere, the government would have to rectify all irregular actions.
- ¹²¹ HSB, April 9, 1918, p. 6, 2:30 ed. The *Bulletin* published an editorial on the increasing numbers of unemployed and destitute Germans as Americanization progressed. The editor suggested a public farm to support them. The German Lutheran Church and German Benevolent Society gave these unfortunates some financial aid.
- ¹²² Hörmann, "Germans" pp. 120, 150.