

Book Reviews

Fragile Paradise: The Impact of Tourism on Maui, 1959–2000. By Mansel Blackford. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001. xiv + 278 pp. Illustrated. Maps. \$35 cloth.

Mansel Blackford, a history professor at Ohio State University, brings a valuable perspective to this study of 20th-century Maui as a specialist in business history and the history of the American West. Blackford's credentials include two award winning books on a long resume of research and writing. His interest in Maui developed as a result of having lived and worked part-time on the island during the last several years.

The University Press of Kansas selected *Fragile Paradise* for their Development of Western Resources Series, "an interdisciplinary series focusing on the use and misuse of resources in the American West. Written for a broad readership of humanists, social scientists, and resource specialists, the books in this series emphasize both historical and contemporary perspectives as they explore the interplay between resource exploitation and economic, social and political experiences." This aptly describes what Mansel Blackford set out to do when writing *Fragile Paradise* about the island of Maui.

As the sugar and pineapple industries continued to decline in the last half of the century, Mauians looked to what they hoped would be a major economic resource, the beauty of its land and climate. Certainly this luxury commodity could be sold to tourists.

As Blackford points out early in the book, historian Hal K. Rothman labeled tourism "a devil's bargain," emphasizing the many tradeoffs a community makes when involved in the development of a visitor industry. It is the tradeoffs on Maui that the author examines for the reader. He considers how var-

ious groups, including environmental organizations, labor unions, business associations and Native Hawaiians, reacted to the developmental, social, cultural, and environmental changes that occurred so rapidly on Maui after Statehood. In 1956, the number of visitors on Maui numbered only 29,000; by 1970 the number had risen to 400,000. Today, the figure exceeds two million. And Maui's popularity is not waning. Enthusiastic readers of *Conde Naste Traveler* have voted Maui "the best island in the world" each year for the past several years.

Blackford explores the divisions that separated Mauians regarding developmental and environmental matters and how Mauians tried both successfully and unsuccessfully to bridge those divisions. An important parameter in this study, particularly at the outset of Maui's tourist development, was the island's small population. Only 42,576 people lived on the island in 1960. As Blackford points out, "More than in large, impersonal cities, Maui was a place where face-to-face, personal contact remained important. It was a place where people could disagree strongly on specific issues yet remain friends, or at least acquaintances—a place that encouraged, despite strongly held differences of opinion, a climate of compromise. Ultimately, everyone had to live on the same island, the same speck of land."

The author lays the groundwork for his presentation in the first two chapters in which he analyzes the economic development of Maui from the time of first Western contact. In these chapters and throughout the book, Blackford carefully places Maui's experience in context, when appropriate, with the larger picture of what was going on in Hawai'i, in the Pacific and in Western America. Blackford devotes later chapters to the history of Maui's land use, water rights issues, and the development of electric power generation and transportation, particularly the expansion of the Kahului Airport. He then outlines how these issues affected the development of two contrasting communities, the resort area of South Maui and the residential/agricultural Upcountry region. The conclusion focuses on the recent past and offers comparisons to other communities outside of Hawai'i.

Ask any long-term Maui resident about the issues considered in *Fragile Paradise*, and you are guaranteed to get an opinion, frequently strong and impassioned. These have been the hot-button concerns for decades, not only for activists, but also for residents who did no more than regularly read a local paper. Blackford has done an admirable job of presenting those viewpoints, a task made difficult by a wide range of opinion, often emotion-laden. It is important to note what you don't see in *Fragile Paradise*, which is Blackford's own opinion on these issues. This is not a work of advocacy.

Rather than as an advocate, Blackford approaches his topic with the dis-

passion and thoroughness of a scholar. His 33 pages of notes reveal the depth and breadth of his reading and research, including interviews with dozens of key individuals. He also offers a three-page bibliographic essay on Maui's history. Blackford's approach guarantees that his study can be relied upon by students and scholars in the areas of 20th-century Hawaiian history, tropical tourism, and community decision-making.

However, *Fragile Paradise* was not written with only that use in mind. Through clear organization and jargon-free prose, Blackford succeeds in offering a book of interest to the general reader, particularly those interested in Hawai'i's history since Statehood. The book offers much even to Mauians who lived through the events examined by this study, as Blackford provides a view from different vantage points, distant from the time many of the events occurred, academically impartial, and as a resident of the mainland.

Though being an outsider has its advantages in such a study, it also offers challenges. In this case, neither the author nor his proofreader/copy editor was familiar with Hawaiian words and place names and therefore provided a disconcerting number of misspellings, both with standard letters and Hawaiian diacritical marks.

Seven maps and a number of photographs supplement the text of *Fragile Paradise*. Though the maps are excellent supportive materials, the photographs on the whole do not meet the same standard.

Blackford probes Maui's most sensitive and controversial issues. Inevitably there are those who will disagree with his conclusions, or even the facts he presents. However, there is no doubt that Blackford has accomplished what he set out to do, outlining how the people of Maui made difficult choices in planning the future of their island. As he puts it, "It was in a hot mix of business, environmental, and Native Hawaiian organizations, along with governmental bodies, that decisions about economic and environmental matters were worked out on Maui. The combination could be explosive, as disagreements boiled over. Yet it was a mixture that often led in the end to meaningful cooperation and the hammering out of workable compromises—as over time, many residents of Maui came to realize their seemingly diverse interests actually had a lot in common."

Were the choices that were made wise? Maui's current mayor, James "Kimo" Apana, reflects the attitudes of many Mauians when he remarked, "In the long run, did we gain? I think the jury's still out."

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The Story of Kōloa, A Kaua'i Plantation Town. By Donald Donohugh. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001. xii + 292 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$18.95 softcover.

A graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Dr. Donald Donohugh's background is in medicine and the Navy. He practiced as an internist and taught at the University of California at Irvine before retiring to Kōloa, Kaua'i. He has published at least two books prior to the title being reviewed here: *The Middle Years, A Physician's Guide to Your Body, Emotions & Life Challenges*, and, with his wife, *Kaua'i: A Paradise Guide*. Although his residency in Kōloa is more recent, he was a curious visitor to the town as early as 1942 and has been an intrepid explorer on the island's south shore, both on the 'āina and in the pages of its history ever since. *The Story of Kōloa, A Kaua'i Plantation Town* is the result of these explorations and of his obvious love for the community of which he is now a part.

The book is divided into twelve chapters, the first eleven of which are an attempt at history and the last, and by far the longest, is a guided tour of the Kōloa district. Like the *Koran*, the chapters run from shortest (three pages) to longest (eighty-five pages). Luckily for the reader, they also tend to get better. The first five chapters, which deal with the formation of the island, the arrival of the first Polynesians, the culture and customs of the Hawaiians, discovery by Westerners and the conquest of Kaua'i by the Kamehameha dynasty, have little to say about Kōloa—with good reason: not much is known. No foreigners settled in Kōloa until the 1830s, so few written records and virtually no oral traditions are available. Donohugh deals perfunctorily with the archaeological record and revisits it piecemeal in his final chapter.

We begin to learn something of Kōloa itself in the following three chapters, "Sandalwood and Whales," "Puritans in Paradise" and "Tall Cane," although much of the focus of these chapters is on Waimea, which remained the center of contact between Hawaiians and foreigners on the island until the 1830s. Most of the information found in these chapters is available and probably better told in Ed Joesting's, *Kaua'i: the Separate Kingdom*. Donohugh does provide an interesting and convincing explanation for the establishment of Kōloa as the major port for the island of Kaua'i from the 1830s—a most improbable site from the perspective of most landlubbers. His description of the development of Kōloa Plantation during the early decades of the 20th century is also useful.

"Sojourners and Settlers" enumerates the various ethnic groups that came or didn't come to work and live in Kōloa. This is perhaps the worst chapter in the book, first because many of the groups described—sometimes in considerable detail—had little or no impact on Kōloa, and second because Dono-

hugh's proclivity to digress is at its worst. For example we get a three page linguistic lesson on pidgin English, two pages on African Americans [none of whom worked at Kōloa] "who had little [culture] to bring" to Hawai'i (123), another two pages on the Germans, who did come to Kōloa but whose influence there by the 1930s "was nebulous" (119) and then an additional paragraph on "one German who was never on Kaua'i, let alone in Kōloa" (120), Henry Berger. Berger's story, like many of Donohugh's digressions is potentially interesting, but has nothing to do with the story of Kōloa. Moreover, some of Donohugh's conclusions: "[t]here was no segregation or discrimination [in Hawai'i]" are just plain silly (121).

Although I have some reservations about his perspective, his chapter on "Plantation Life" is among his best. Here he tries to recreate life in Kōloa in the 1930s. He has picked 1935 because he has figures from both the plantation and the U.S. Census Bureau that allow him to estimate the plantation workforce and the population of the town by race. To complete the picture he relies on informal interviews and stories he has heard from the old-timers from Kōloa. We learn here of the daily lives of the town's residents: their work, leisure activities, housing, their food, and their music. In addition, Donohugh provides an excellent description of the layout of the community, the location of the various camps, stores, recreational facilities, roads, and the railway line that took the laborers to the fields or to the mill to work.

This chapter and his last one, "A Tour of Kōloa and Po'ipū Today," are the most valuable in the book because they include a good deal of material not easily available elsewhere. Donohugh's discussion of Kōloa Town Associates (KTA) and its recent fabrication of "Old Kōloa Town," the tourist center that today constitutes the heart of Kōloa, created largely by demolishing what remained of the real old town of Kōloa, was especially interesting. Donohugh is careful, in his tour, to discriminate between what is really historic and what has been recreated to look historic in the 1980s by KTA. Purists will also appreciate Donohugh's efforts to identify traditional Hawaiian place names and his discussion of their meaning and relationship to the places they describe, although critics may not always agree with his conclusions.

Also of interest in the final chapter, although it takes us a considerable way from the town of Kōloa, is his discussion of the McBryde family from Kalāheo. According to Donohugh, Walter McBryde was the first sugar planter to experiment, in 1902, with labor cultivation contracts, later widely used throughout the industry, and was responsible for the planting of the Kōloa tree tunnel. He was also a pioneer in the homesteading movement in Hawai'i, and as a result of his experiments in Kalāheo, according to Donohugh, [t]he Territorial Government became interested . . . and initiated more homesteads on Kaua'i and the other islands" (229).

One might ask how Donohugh knows this, along with a hundred other fascinating details. And that's a fair question since he provides no citations. In fact the biggest fault with the book is Donohugh's failure to cite specific sources for his information. He does include an extensive and quite useful bibliography and he lists specific references for each chapter, so the reader has some idea where information may have come from, but if the reader is interested in confirming a specific fact or ascertaining the basis for many of Donohugh's conclusions the task becomes difficult. This would be less of a problem if Donohugh were a meticulous scholar. Unfortunately, he is not. The text is riddled with errors of fact and questionable opinions. I will limit myself to only a few to illustrate the problem.

Early on he states that "Polynesian settlers destroyed more than half the endemic plant species" (27) in the islands, a highly questionable assertion. He claims that Cook was greeted at Waimea on Kaua'i as "Erona" or Lono (37), when there is no record of this in Cook's journals. He says that Kaikio'ewa replaced Kanoa as governor of Kaua'i (49) when Kanoa served as governor well after Kaikio'ewa was dead. He has the Whitneys moving to Wailua and living there for eight years (75) when in fact they never lived in Wailua. The railroads on Kaua'i were never linked with Kilauea, as he claims, (106) and Lindsey Faye was never a Senator nor was Elsie Wilcox ever a member of the House of Representatives (171), although she was in the Senate. There are numerous other errors and many other statements that I questioned but could not easily confirm as mistaken. Much more disappointing was the impossibility of ascertaining the accuracy of interesting new bits of information sprinkled throughout the text.

Donohugh's main theme is not always clearly apparent, but I believe that his major point is that Kōloa is the product of all of the peoples and cultures who have come to live in its salubrious environs and that this conjuncture produced something of a paradise in the 1930s—a paradise where

Families were close, and there was more than enough love for children and the elderly. . . . Hard work and character were respected as were other old fashioned values such as cleanliness, decency and courtesy. Crime was virtually unknown . . . the people of Kōloa did not have to contend with the negative aspects we have in so many parts of our country today: illegitimacy, drug use, senseless violence at a presumed slight, or the rioting and looting that destroy a community . . . those who were old enough to remember Kōloa as children and are still with us agree the high water-mark was in the thirties; and the tide has been receding slowly since (168–9).

I would respectfully submit that Donohugh is a victim of myopia. I have no doubt that his informants remember “the good old days” with a great deal of nostalgia. We all tend to remember the days of our youth as the best of times, if for no other reason than we were younger then. Most of those who hated the plantation system have long since moved away. Those who remain understandably long for the simpler life and country values that characterized rural Hawai‘i of a generation or more ago. But few of them are likely to blame unionization and the ILWU, as Donohugh does, for the loss of the past, and none of them would like to return to pre-union working conditions that existed on Kōloa Plantation.

In 1935, Donohugh’s ideal year, the ten-hour day was still standard on all of the plantations in Hawai‘i; workers were paid different scales depending upon race. Plantation work was brutally hard. *The Garden Island* newspaper (September 17, 1935) complained that the plantations on the island could not attract workers because minimum wage government relief work offered equal pay and better conditions than those afforded plantation labor. Contrary to Donohugh’s claim, crime flourished in the Kōloa district as elsewhere on the island, although much of that crime was “victimless”—prostitution, bootlegging, gambling, etc. The police were active and the rights of plantation workers were the least of their concerns. One poor Filipino worker (not from Kōloa) was jailed as a material witness for six months because he was forgotten by the judge, and when he complained, a member of the Kaua‘i Board of Supervisors was quoted by *The Garden Island* (August 11, 1935) as saying, “[he] received his meals and had a roof over his head, what more did he want.”

This is not the place to recount the successes of the ILWU or of the Democratic Party in championing the interests of the little man against the forces of the Big Five. Donohugh is aware of these, and he disagrees. He is right that after more than half a century of unionization wages rose to the point where the sugar industry in Hawai‘i could no longer compete with foreign producers. This is not a phenomenon unique to Hawai‘i nor to sugar. If workers in Hawai‘i were willing to continue to labor for the wages and under the conditions that prevailed in the 1930s, Kōloa would still have a sugar industry. They are unwilling to do so. And I might suggest that Dr. Donohugh would be unwilling to do so as well.

The Story of Kōloa is handsomely produced, sturdily bound and contains numerous pictures and several maps. I must compliment the author and the publisher for locating the pictures at precisely the right places in the text so that we are almost always looking at what we are reading about. The two maps of the town of Kōloa in the 1930s and 1990s are excellent, although not all

the places of interest are located, and the building footprints are a little difficult to see. The maps of the Kōloa coastline are helpful but too small.

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Hawai'i Looking Back: An Illustrated History of the Islands. Glen Grant and Bennett Hymer, ed. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2000. xxxviii + 416 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$59.95 cloth.

"Photography in Hawai'i." Special Issue of *History of Photography*. Lynn Ann Davis, ed. 25:3 (Autumn 2001) 217–313. Illustrated.

The written history of Hawai'i is often accompanied by engravings, line drawings, paintings, daguerreotypes or photographs. Images and photographs have been especially important in those histories which were meant to influence an audience outside of Hawai'i. For example, *Sandwich Island Notes* by "A.Haole" (G.W. Bates) written in 1853, contains twenty-three illustrations—dramatic vistas such as a view of Hanalei; important locations, such as the Mission church in Waimea and "local" customs and people—drawings of a "typical" Hawaiian male and female. Laura Fish Judd's *Honolulu* (1880) is illustrated with drawings and daguerreotypes of significant persons such Boki and Liliha, Kamehameha III and the author's husband, Gerrit Parmele Judd. Amateurish productions such as *Hawai'i: The Rainbow Land* by Katherine Pope (1924) were often lavishly illustrated with stock photographs of beaches, palm trees, "the native fisherman" and colorful groups of school children in native costume. Books, monographs, newspaper and magazine articles written during the Territorial period were also heavily illustrated, introducing America to her "new possession." Even the earliest reports by the Governor to the Department of the Interior were embellished with exotic pictures of swaying palms and erupting volcanoes. Photographs were used to educate mainland audiences about Hawai'i's location, people, and climate, and to sell Hawai'i as a desirable tourist destination, a safe place for business investment, and a secure military location.

In Hawai'i historiography, there are several ways in which photography has been understood: first, there are historical works that use photographs to illustrate or enhance the narrative. As is the case in the previously cited examples,

photographs decorate the text, silently reinforcing Eurocentric perceptions of Hawai'i. The use of photographs in these works is incidental or tangential, either to accentuate the beauty of Hawai'i or illustrate a particular moment in history. The photographs are meant to give the reader direct access to Hawai'i by depicting typical scenes or famous persons. The images help to tell the story, leaving nothing to the imagination and showing the reader "how it actually was."

Other works deal with the history of photographers and photography in the Islands, such as Joan Abramson's *Photographers of Old Hawai'i* (1976) and Lynn Ann Davis's *A Photographer in the Kingdom: Christian J. Headmen's Early Images of Hawai'i* (1988). These histories serve to provide a needed, and sometimes provocative context for the production of photography in Hawai'i, both the process and what that process reveals about the ideology or point of view of a photographer. For example, *A Photographer in the Kingdom* integrates the life history of Headmen, who migrated to Hawai'i from Denmark and retired as a Vice President of Honolulu Iron Works, and his family with the larger social and political context of Hawai'i during the late 19th century. In addition, the text offers critical commentary on the images and how those images both illuminate and disguise the context in which they were created.

Finally, there works that engage photographs and photography more critically, reading photographs and their contexts as a way of discussing the politics of representation. In this case, photographers and historians of photography use image production as a method of critical cultural analysis.

Two recent volumes on the history of Hawai'i illustrate both the problem and the promise of the use of photographs and illustration in Hawai'i history. *Hawai'i Looking Back: An Illustrated History of the Islands*, edited by Glen Grant and Bennett Hymer and *Photography in Hawai'i* edited by Lynn Ann Davis, are dramatically different undertakings. *Hawai'i Looking Back* is a massive album containing thousands of photographs, covering the entire history of recorded images in Hawai'i, from western contact to the end of the twentieth century. *Photography in Hawai'i*, a special volume of *History of Photography*, on the other hand, is a slender presentation of just a few images that makes no attempt at "coverage," but rather invites the reader to critical inquiry.

Hawai'i Looking Back takes advantage of a huge repository of images from the Bishop Museum archives, reproducing lithographs, watercolors, daguerreotypes and photographs produced in Hawai'i since 1778. Many of these images are not well known or are rarely seen outside archives or libraries. Many more are quite familiar. All serve to illustrate the text, a traditional retelling of modern Hawai'i history. The editors follow a strict chronology, moving rapidly through the standard "highlights": chapter divisions include: "First

Encounter”, “Missionaries, Merchants and Chiefs” and “Territorial Days.” The editors offer a careful, sensitive presentation to the history of immigration, labor, and the transition of Hawai‘i from Kingdom to State. Writing in the late twentieth century, they offer an attentive, albeit unchallenging presentation of the complex history of Hawai‘i.

The failure of this volume is that, in spite of its heft, it has no critical weight. The ability of photography to reveal what the written word cannot is lost because the volume very quickly is given over to nostalgia. The editors do not use the copious illustrations to point out, for example, trends in the stereotypical representation of Hawai‘i. While they acknowledge the “constructed” nature of photographs and the danger of confusing images for “objective reality,” the text rarely challenges the reader to do anything more than view the images as slices of the past. For example, the last chapter of the book deals with events of the late twentieth century—the growth and impact of tourism, the rise of ‘off-shore’ land ownership and control of the islands, the Hawaiian renaissance and the movement for Hawaiian sovereignty. However, rather than being provoked by the sometimes disturbing photographs of confrontations between sovereignty activists and state authorities (challenges that often pitted Hawaiians against Hawaiians) *Hawai‘i Looking Back* offers the reader only five pages of photographs (out of forty-six in the chapter) depicting the emergence of sovereignty activists as an important political voice in state, national, and international politics. One photograph, documenting the struggle for Sand Island in 1979, shows a Hawaiian child standing next to a homemade sign that reads:

Our Kupuna-Kahiko’s proclaimed ‘Ho-olu-lahui’, strengthen and preserve the race to awaken the hearts and minds of our people. As it was then, it is NOW: WE MUST SURVIVE. ALOHA AINA (378).

The child standing next to the sign grins happily while holding a toy, as friendly and open as the sign is forbidding. Because we are so used to the stereotype of Hawaiians as happy and welcoming, the end result is that our eye is drawn back to the stereotype and away from the challenge that the sign presents. Given the strength of the stereotype and the paucity of other photographs that refute the stereotype, the image is immediately inert—it is no longer about the struggle to keep Sand Island from being in Hawaiian hands; it is about Hawaiians who remain happy and engaging in the midst of political struggle.

The only other page of photographs that depict the struggle for sovereignty portray the 100th anniversary of the overthrow. The editors reproduce

several images from the hundredth anniversary of the overthrow, January 17, 1993, including the powerful image of the more than 10,000 Hawaiians and supporters who marched to 'Iolani palace. The page includes the now familiar image of the contumacious Haunani-Kay Trask, her fist raised in defiance as she exhorted the crowd. Again, however, the context overwhelms the image. Most of the other images of Hawaiians in this last section are contemporary reproductions of the trope of the "native." Dressed in colorful, exotic costumes, dancing, or performing other authentic cultural activities, Hawaiians become reduced to what they do; we are never challenged by who they are. For a local audience, the picture of Haunani-Kay Trask is nearly a cliché. For an outside audience, her image is overwhelmed by the stereotypical presentation of native women in the volume; wearing flowers in her hair and a "traditional" garment, she is undifferentiated from the depictions of hālau onstage at Merrie Monarch festival or of 'Iolane Luahine, "... delighting tourists with her kolohe, or mischievous sways, or entrancing kama'aina with the mystical sparkle she radiated when dancing kahiko, the style of old." (384)

There is some comfort in "looking back" or "recalling the days of old." Like so many works on Hawai'i, especially those that are as lushly illustrated as this, *Hawai'i Looking Back* is merely nostalgic. It is a richly illustrated history and is worthy of note because it should remind researchers of the huge repository of images at our disposal and the vast amount of work still to be done to integrate photography and representation into the history of Hawai'i. However, the editors do not use the wealth of images as an opportunity to move the historiography of Hawai'i beyond nostalgia toward more sustained critical questioning.

As one volume of an academic journal, *Photography in Hawai'i* is meant to appeal to a more discerning audience, an audience that is used to "reading" the text of photographs and challenging their seeming objectivity. Lynn Davis, who edited, introduces and contributes to the volume, sets the tone: "Photography has been an essential partner in selling Hawai'i as an American place, a tourist destination and in defining Native Hawaiians as an exotic commodity" (217). All of the articles in this volume question the relationship between photographers, their subjects (Hawai'i and Hawaiians), and the colonial context in which these images were made.

Davis's piece, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai'i, 1854–1945," makes an invaluable contribution to the research on photography and Hawai'i, not just by listing and annotating the dozens of works that use photographs, but by establishing a political framework within which to understand their production. "The campaign to persuade the American public to

support annexation was promoted by photographically illustrated books and articles” (289). Images, she argues, were used to help “sell” Hawai‘i. The Hawai‘i Promotion Committee, forerunner of the Hawai‘i Visitor’s Bureau, produced dozens of tracts and pamphlets designed to “. . . show that a busy wide-awake American city has been transported to the center of an earthly paradise—a sort of garden of Eden with all the modern conveniences” (289).

The articles by Lynn Davis and David Forbes and Adrienne Kaeppler are of a piece, describing the work of early photographers and, more accurately, daguerreotype artists in Hawai‘i and the uses to which their work were put. They discuss the development of photography in Hawai‘i in the context of the daguerreotype craze that swept the islands in the middle of the century. Davis and Forbes have edited and reproduced for the first time a portion of the memoir of B. J. Antrim, a chemist and instrument maker who resided in Hawai‘i briefly between March 1855 and May 1856. Antrim was typical of the sort of adventurers who came to Hawai‘i in the mid-19th century; a bit egotistical, anxious to be at the center of the social life in Honolulu, and eager to be known by Hawaiian royalty. He worked along side of and competed with the more well-known early daguerreotype artist, Hugo Stangenwald. Although he was nowhere near as prolific as Stangenwald, his memoir written privately for his mother describes the day Alexander Liholiho wandered into his studio. Unimpressed with the coarse native who was dressed in “mirth provoking” outfit, he produces an image for his customer; only later did he realize that he had an encounter with the King. When Liholiho returns, they share a laugh over the joke and, according to Antrim, “we became friends” (254). Garnering the King’s image gave Antrim instant access; the right to call the king “friend.” With no other interest in the life of the Islands, Antrim moved on after he had “collected” King Kamehameha IV.

Adrienne Kaeppler, in “Encounters with Greatness: Collecting Hawaiian Monarchs and Aristocrats,” continues this theme by looking at the fad of collecting images of Hawaiian royalty, exemplified by two visitors to Hawai‘i, Constance Gordon Cumming and Fanny Berry. Gordon Cumming, a British artist and “lady in waiting” to the wife of the governor of Fiji, had extensive experience traveling throughout the Pacific, sketching and painting as she traveled. Gordon Cumming “collected” aristocrats, cementing her relationship to them by possessing their images. Fanny Berry, a young American girl visiting Hawai‘i in 1865, followed a similar process, garnering autographs, and later “cartes-de-visite” (a kind of photographic calling card) of Hawaiian royalty, arranging them in an artistic tableaux. Kaeppler speculates on why Hawaiian aristocrats created a different impression on these two White

women; they were not, in Kaeppler's estimation, treated like the exotic "other." On the contrary: meeting Hawaiian royalty was, for them, an "encounter with greatness." These images show Hawaiian royalty *as* royalty, with formal clothing made with yards of fine material, decorated with epaulettes, swords and other paraphernalia of aristocracy. Kaeppler's analysis suggests that Hawaiian *ali'i* self-consciously controlled how they were represented. Just as Kalākaua built a palace worthy of a King in order to be seen as a King, so too did other *ali'i* carefully manage their images before the camera.

This interpretation runs counter to the common representation of Kalākaua and, to a lesser degree Liliu'okalani, as spendthrifts, gorging themselves on European goods while *maka'āinana* starved. In *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions* (1999), Anne Maxwell argues that rather than viewing Kalākaua as an ignorant profligate, we see him as a consummate public relations expert. The images of Hawaiians as royalty stand in stark contrast to the indigenous people of other Pacific Islands. Maxwell argues that Kalākaua asserted control over the production of his image and that of other *ali'i*: "Although the royal family exercised no control over the technical aspects of camera work or printing . . . they controlled the element of the mise-en-scene and assumed the sartorial postures and facial expressions they considered appropriate to their rank. To this extent, they can be understood as taking control of their self-representation."¹

Lew Andrews article, "Fine Island Views," discusses the work of Alonzo Gartley, an influential amateur photographer who worked in Hawai'i in the early twentieth century. The son-in-law of P.C. Jones (a founder of C. Brewer), Gartley worked for Hawaiian Electric and later for C. Brewer and Co. Gartley combined his work with his avocation, taking pictures on Kaua'i, for example, when the island was being outfitted for electric power, and using his network of contacts in Hawaiian communities to take a remarkable series of candid images. Gartley's work is fascinating because of the contrast it offers: he produced dozens of vistas and panoramic views that were used in tourist brochures to "sell" Hawai'i, as well as intimate, familiar images of Hawaiians that are nothing like the images of tourist brochures. Some are attempts to replicate the ethnographic pose, with Gartley playing the role of the scientific observer; Gartley photographed two women hat makers in order to illustrate native craftsmanship. The same hat makers show up in a candid photograph of a backyard *lū'au*, the women looking like relaxed and comfortable friends instead of ethnographic specimens. Other of Gartley's photographs show a backyard hula that replicates none of the stock hackneyed views of the subject. The image entitled "Woman with Baby" is blurred with movement, but

conveys a warmth and familiarity that is rare in early photographs of Hawaiians.

Christine Kirk-Kuwaye examines a similar contradictory sense of intimacy and distance. She examines the work of Louis R. Sullivan, who came to Hawai'i in 1920 as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition. Funded by Dominick's contribution to Yale University, the expedition sought to "investigate the origins and migrations of Polynesians" (270). As a physical anthropologist, it was Sullivan's job to use photography in the service of science—to document members of this "vanishing race," and to learn more about the physiognomy of "Hawaiian types." Sullivan, a Ph.D. student of Franz Boas at Columbia University, was no amateur. He had written a standard reference work on the use of photography for scientific measurement in anthropology. But, as Kirk-Kuwaye notes, some of his images betray his scientific purpose. Describing the image of Mrs. George Wells, Kirk-Kuwaye says: "The light on her face is beautiful and the portrait so artful that a scientific reading is confounded. The photograph is damaged evidence: it cannot corroborate the measurement of her nose, the inner fold or its absence of her eyelid, the exact texture of her hair . . ." (276).

How did these White photographers get drawn into their subjects? These images of Hawaiians, not the stiff studio photographs, bring depth and nuance to our common understandings of local history. Both Gartley and Sullivan gained access to a network of Hawaiians because of their position within Haole society. Did that access automatically earn them the intimacy these photographs convey? Is it intimacy? Or appropriation?

The two other articles in this volume are reviews of the work of contemporary photographers Anne Kapulani Landgraf and Kimo Cashman. Cristina Bacchilega reviews Anne Landgraf's *Na Wahi Pana O Ko'olau Poko* (1994). Landgraf's photographs of the windward side of O'ahu force the viewer to re-see the landscape. Unlike the sweeping vistas so prominent in tourist brochures, Landgraf's images are detailed and immediate; they are what you see, not from a great height, but from great depth. In these images, the viewer is not overwhelmed by the panorama; instead she is drawn into the texture of stones, the sharp edges of lava, the smoothness of the ocean. Bacchilega considers how Landgraf's juxtaposition of the images with their place names and the legends associated with them creates a "Hawaiian sense of space" in which the viewer is an active participant, not a passive observer, in an on-going story telling process. She also considers the historical context of landscape photography in Hawai'i: "Against this archive of images . . . Landgraf's photography asserts itself as *not* landscape photography by actively conducting an exploration of 'place' . . . a lived in landscape, a specific location that is known from

the inside rather than observed from the outside . . ." (241). By producing images of the land that seem to breathe and move, Landgraf's work reclaims the land from its colonial possessors and returns it to Hawaiians by evoking the legends and stories associated with Ko'olau Poko. Bacchilega describes how a familiar windward landmark becomes transformed by Landgraf's approach: "In Landgraf's photograph, Chinaman's Hat is not in sight; I see instead . . . the lizard/dragon's tail rising from the water, its scarred tissue where it has been torn from the body, the rush of water through its cavities; perhaps the momentary stillness before a blow is delivered, and definitely the *mo'o's* rage. Others may see someone else. But there is no simple going back to the picturesque hat" (244).

Karen Kosasa's essay reviews the work of Kimo Cashman, specifically his "Kapu" series, and elucidates another, more overt approach to reclaiming a Hawaiian sense of space. In the series, Cashman superimposed a stark black and white sign reading kapu across the images of things Hawaiian: Hawaiian families, Hawaiian land, ocean and mindset. Kapu has come into the local vernacular, meaning simply "no trespassing." But Kosasa contends that Cashman's work reclaims a Hawaiian sensibility about place, family, home. "His photographs-as-signs function to assert and warn the viewer that the spaces of the Hawaiian culture and people are kapu. Cashman's series thus not only reclaims the use of the Hawaiian term but alludes to its original Hawaiian meanings . . ." (279). Cashman's deliberate mutilation of the photographs reflects the deliberate mutilation of the 'āina through acts of colonial appropriation and individual land ownership. "Things Hawaiian," instead of being nostalgically recalled, are inaccessible to the viewer. Cashman uses photographs—a medium we think of as accessible to all—to call to mind the inaccessibility of Hawaiian culture to outsiders. As a result, the careful viewer must shift her approach to the stock images of Hawai'i. Rather than the images being clear, objective representations of reality, they become, in Cashman's presentation, kapu. Kosasa's critique takes us to the logical end of considering photography and history and the history of photography in a colonized space—that photography is and has been used as a tool of cultural appropriation.

Photography is a medium that seems to make *familiar* that which is foreign. By capturing things that are distant or alien, the temptation to make known an unknown or unknowable reality through an image is overwhelming. The essays in *Photography in Hawai'i* are a reminder of the contradictions we must entertain in order to create nuanced and challenging interpretations of photography in the history of Hawai'i.

Critical analyses of the photographic representation of Hawai'i are still

relatively rare, but sorely needed in Hawai'i historiography. In a place where stereotypes threaten to overwhelm reality, it is incumbent upon historians to act with greater awareness of how text and image work together to reinforce common wisdom, common views, and common ideas.

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NOTE

- ¹ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 198.

Francis Haar: A Lifetime of Images. By Francis Haar. Edited by Tom Haar. University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. Illustrated. Appendices. 149 pp. \$49.00 cloth.

Francis Haar had a fascinating and productive career as a photographer and filmmaker, one that took him from Hungary—his birthplace—to Paris, from Paris to Japan, and eventually on to Hawai'i. Haar's remarkable story and his photographic work is now recorded in a new book, which consists of a lifetime of pictures, arranged in chronological order, with Francis Haar's own account of his life and work. Also included are excerpts from his wife, Irene Haar's memoirs. The book was conceived by Haar himself as a summation of his career as a photographer and filmmaker. Left unfinished at his death, it was completed by his son, Tom Haar, also a photographer. It was intended "both as a tribute and to keep his legacy alive in print" (p. xvii).

Francis Haar was initially trained in architectural design, and his earliest pictures were of architectural subjects—although very little of that is reproduced in the present volume. Better represented are the pictures he made in the Hungarian countryside, while a member of a group of avant-garde artists and writers called Munka Kör [Work Circle]. In keeping with the social concerns of the group, some of these early pictures depict the hardships of peasant life, but within a few years, there is a subtle change. After Haar becomes a licensed photographer in 1935, his pictures of Hungarian life take on a

more celebratory tone, showing colorful folk dances and picturesque scenes, many of which were done for tourist promotion. In all of them, there is a strong sense of design which shows an awareness of pictorial ideas emanating from the Bauhaus in Germany, ideas which by then had spread to other parts of Europe.

Among the best known pictures from this time is one from 1936 of his wife—whom he had married two years before—sunbathing, showing just her head and neck, from a relatively high vantage point, with leaves covering her eyes. As she said, “that’s what I used to do when sunbathing” (p. 5). It recalls Florence Henri’s *Woman with Cards* (1930), in which a similar high-vantage point is employed, but Haar’s picture is more humorous, in a gentle, incongruous way. The picture appears three times in the book: first, in a small portfolio at the beginning, and again, a little further on, as it appeared on the cover of *U.S. Camera* from 1940, cropped more closely, so that the basic geometry of criss-crossed diagonals—the leaves set against the angle of the face—becomes more pronounced. The picture is also used on the cover and dust jacket, this time presented upside down; in that way the abstract compositional structure becomes even more apparent. Such inversions were quite common in the work of the European avant-garde at the time, as they were in the work of American photographers like Paul Strand and Alfred Stieglitz; they bear witness to the pervasive concern with new ways of seeing.

In 1937 Haar and his wife went to Paris, where many Hungarian artists/photographers had already gone. He was too late to meet André Kertész, who had already left for New York (where Haar would seek him out many years later), but he became friends with Brassai. Haar opened a studio in Paris and devoted himself to portrait photography; he also did street scenes, including one of pedestrians hurrying past a large movie poster—not unlike some of the things Brassai was doing at the same time. In addition, he briefly experimented with double printing and photomontage; the resulting imagery is reminiscent of the work of Soviet artist El Lissitzky or that of László Moholy-Nagy, another displaced Hungarian.

While in Paris the Haars befriended a Japanese film importer, Hiroshi Kawazoe, and his wife, the pianist Chieko Hara. As the war in Europe closed in on them, their new friends invited them to Japan, and they jumped at the opportunity; by 1940, they had relocated to Tokyo. The Haars were well received in Japan; there were exhibitions at Shirokiya department store, as well as several books, and within a short time, they were able to open a portrait studio in the Ginza. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, the war caught up with them again and they were forced to evacuate to Karuizawa, where they lived under difficult conditions. Not only was Francis not allowed

to take photographs, but by the end of the war, the Haars were not even allowed to communicate with the Japanese people.

After the war, Haar began working for the occupation forces, and he reopened his Tokyo studio (which had been destroyed when the city was bombed). By 1948 he was ready to resume his creative work, and it was during this time, in the late 1940s and the early 1950s, that he did some of his best work, often more relaxed in terms of structure than his earlier pictures. In these new images there is no indication of the American occupation; instead, Haar focuses on Japanese traditions, on traditional festivals and village life, on ceramics and calligraphy, and on Bunraku, Kabuki and Noh—subjects which resulted in a number of books and films, including *The Best of Old Japan* (1952). So too, he made numerous striking portraits of Japanese artists and other notables, such as the director Akira Kurosawa, whom he photographed on the set of *The Seven Samurai*.

As Haar himself characterized his style during this time, “[m]y approach was a kind of realistic documentary style, to capture real life as deeply as I could. Never posed: I aimed to present life as it is. I believe the aim of the photographer should be to record his visual experience.” (p. 71) This might seem to skirt many issues, but the sentiment is refreshingly direct and in harmony with much “humanistic” photography of the day. These qualities are evident, for example, in such charming pictures as *Picture Story Show* (1948), or *Harvesting the Silk* (1949). So too, they can be seen in the pictures of abalone divers and geisha. These and others images could be studied now from many different angles, from many different critical stances and historical perspectives, but they remain beautifully realized documents. Taken all together, Haar’s imagery provides a warm and memorable record of the Japan of the time.

Haar’s pictures from this period bear comparison with those of Swiss photographer Werner Bischof, who worked in Japan in 1951–52. Both photographers were drawn to Japan’s venerable temples and shrines, and like many others, they could not resist recording Mt. Fuji and the surrounding countryside. But on balance, Bischof’s pictures tend to be more event-driven and more journalistic. He covered, for example, the reception of the Emperor in Hiroshima in 1951. So too, in pictures taken in Okinawa, there is more coverage of the American presence, and of contemporary life. Such topics seem not to have interested Haar all that much, or if they did, the resulting pictures are not included in the new book. Haar lived and worked in Japan for two decades; he was thus uniquely situated, as a long-term resident and working photographer and filmmaker, and his work reveals a warmth and intimacy not often found in the work of foreigners and visitors.

After a sojourn in Chicago (when he seems to turn back to architecture, doing work which can be compared to that of Harry Callahan and Aaron Siskind, among others), Haar relocated once again, this time to Hawai'i. After arriving here, much of his effort was devoted to filmmaking, but he continued to make still photographs and to teach photography at the University of Hawai'i during the summers. Among his better-known projects was a film on the dancer 'Iolani Luahine, which was first screened in 1961. During the filming he also took as many stills as possible, a collection to which he added on later occasions; they appeared in a book published in 1985. So too, he made many individual portraits of local painters, including Madge Tennent, Jean Charlot, and Juliette May Fraser. Many of these appeared in the two volumes of *Artists of Hawaii*—a project conceived and initiated by Haar—which remains a valuable record of the cultural life of Hawai'i in the 1970s. In 1984 Haar was designated a Living Treasure of Hawai'i by the Honpa Hongwanji and the Hawai'i State Legislature; he passed away in 1997 at the age of 89.

Haar's photographic work has not received the attention it deserves, but the present volume, *Francis Haar: A Lifetime of Images*, goes a long way toward correcting the problem; it is an impressive volume, which conveys the breadth and depth of Haar's achievement. Most importantly, it helps make accessible the work of a significant photographer, whose work has remained relatively unknown, especially outside Hawai'i. Of course, it would have been nice to see even more of Haar's photographs. It might have been interesting, for example, to see some of the pictures done for *Yank* magazine at the end of World War II, or more of the pictures taken in Honolulu or Hawai'i, which would be of considerable local and historical importance. But on the whole the book is a wonderful and comprehensive record, which has been beautifully designed and presented. The photographs are nicely arranged and handsomely reproduced, and the inclusion of family pictures taken through the years is another nice touch. At the back of the book, there is a useful series of appendices, one of which lists Haar's publications, starting with *Way to the Orient*, from 1940; the present volume is a worthy and welcome addition to that collection.

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Hawai'i's Early Territorial Days 1900–1915. Viewed from Vintage Postcards by Island Curio. By Keith Steiner. Assisted by Glen Grant. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001. 142 pages. Bibliography. \$25.95 cloth.

Streetcar Days in Honolulu: Breezing Through Paradise. By MacKinnon Simpson & John Brizdle. Honolulu: JLB Press, 2000. 160 pp. Index. \$29.85 cloth.

Picture postcards and streetcars, at first glance, do not seem to have much in common. But both played a noteworthy role in Hawai'i's territorial history, as these two books demonstrate. Keith Steiner has two major themes: to show how his grandfather James Steiner's picture postcard collections were significant to the promotion of luxury tourism between 1900 and 1915, and to recall that vanished era. The interests of MacKinnon Simpson and John Brizdle also lie in recreating a vanished era. Their focus is on the role streetcars played in Honolulu's growth in the territorial years. Both books are handsomely printed on heavy glossy stock that enhances the many striking illustrations.

In his Introduction to Steiner's *Hawai'i's Early Territorial Years*, Glen Grant states that tourism was in its infancy then and was a luxury business. About 2,000 visitors reached the exotic, remote destination each year. This Pacific domain, acquired by the U.S. in the wake of the Spanish-American War, found even the U.S. President puzzled as to its whereabouts. Grant states:

President William McKinley confessed during a cabinet meeting that he had no idea where these new American possessions were located. The embarrassed President had to be shown a map where the Philippines, Guam and the Hawaiian Islands were pointed out to him (xv).

We should not be surprised, I suppose, that presidents sometimes learn on the job.

To the less well-heeled, such as adventurous and entrepreneurial Germans, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Russians, and Swedes, Hawai'i represented economic opportunity. James Steiner, born in 1860, left Czechoslovakia in 1881, then part of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, intending to work his way around the world. He arrived in the Hawaiian kingdom aboard the *City of New York* in October 1882. He immediately found employment as a salesman with Hart & Co., a large confectionary, catering, and restaurant business, that for many years sold Polynesian souvenirs under the name of Island Curio Stores at different locations close to ships and the harbor. James Steiner married in 1889, and he and Rose Steiner started a family life. Personable, hard-working, and with business acumen, he became a Hart & Co. partner and then the owner

in the early 1890s. By 1899, he acquired property on Hotel Street and constructed the three-story Elite Building, relocating his Island Curio Company to that location.

Connected to the origin of postage stamps, postcards had spread from Europe in the late nineteenth century. The earliest mailing from Hawai'i of official Post Office cards without pictures occurred in December 1897 under the Republic of Hawai'i. After annexation in 1900, the first picture postcards were sold, in 1902–1903, by Steiner (and other dealers) who also dealt in Hawaiian stamps. Picture postcards had become a huge, worldwide business, with some one billion cards printed each year.

Before the days of small, inexpensive cameras, professional Island photographers using cumbersome equipment sold the images to publishers who shipped them to Germany, England, or the U.S. for printing, then received them back by mail. When mailed out in turn, the Hawai'i cards helped to plant in the recipients' imagination that they could make their dream voyage to this far-off paradise—a paradise with all the modern amenities of the English language, American currency, drinkable water, flushing toilets, electricity, and telephones. The cards were also attractive as keepsake souvenirs.

Organized thematically, the book opens with a section on "Hawaiian Ways." This provides an overview for subsections on hula, traditional life, Hawaiian women, lū'au, fishing, royalty, and Hawaiian history. The next sections follow the path that visitors touring the Islands in the early twentieth century might have travelled: Waikiki, Honolulu city, rural O'ahu, and Neighbor Islands, and concludes with nature. Accompanying images show scenes of surfing and canoing at Waikiki, Diamond Head, hula dancers, former Queen Liliu'okalani, sugar plantations, water buffalo, Father Damien's grave on Molokai, Kahului harbor on Maui, gorgeous Big Island scenes of waterfalls and arching rainbows, and awe-inspiring volcanic eruptions. The nature section includes luxuriant poinciana trees, banyans, and stately royal palms. Some of these cards are still being reproduced, like that of lei sellers on Boat Days, surrounded by heaps of beautiful flowers.

The final section, on Island Curio Company, contains a family history and shows the imposing, columned Steiner home, built in 1912, its grassy lawn fronting Kalākaua Avenue with the rear overlooking present-day Kuhio Beach and the ocean. Reprinted are Steiner's Hawaiian Provisional Government Postal Stamps collection (1893–1895) and a reprint of his 1907 tourist guide, "Hawaiian Islands' Paradise of the Pacific," plus the catalog of some 450 Island Curio postcards. James Steiner sold his business in 1914, looked after his other property, travelled on family vacations, and died in 1939. New owners continued Island Curio postcards until after World War II. The house was demolished in 1959.

Keith Steiner, an attorney and himself a stamp collector, while attending

a stamp dealer show at the Ilikai Hotel in Waikiki in 1986, found a set of 40 cards or so depicting brilliantly colored Hawaiian fish and crabs that were part of his grandfather's original collection. He bought them, added to the catalog, and wrote this book.

If the volume has a shortcoming, it arises from the its thematic organization, whereby some images and information are repeated over several sections (the fish cards, for example). The book is appealing in its nostalgia, however, for those bygone, more relaxed days. For sale in philatelic circles as well as regular stores, stamp and postcard collectors will find this book of particular interest, but general readers among residents and visitors will enjoy it, too.

Streetcar Days in Honolulu: Breezing Through Paradise, is a nice title that captures that relaxed ambiance of the territorial years and the breezy open-air streetcar transportation that served its everyday life. MacKinnon Simpson, writer and designer, and John Brizdle, publisher, have produced a beautiful, well-researched, and lively chronicle. The central point is that the public electric streetcar system, run by Honolulu Rapid Transit & Land Company, Limited (HRT&L, later called just HRT), changed Honolulu from a "crowded little city hard up against a harbor to one with green suburbs" (Foreword)—Kalihi, Makiki, Mānoa, Mo'ili'ili, Kaimuki—and thus was instrumental in creating modern Honolulu.

The authors, arriving in Hawai'i a century later than James Steiner, by jet plane instead of steamer, are equally as entrepreneurial and devoted to the Islands. They, too, have set down family roots. From New Jersey and a Princetonian, Simpson has produced to date ten book projects. Brizdle, from Buffalo, New York, and the University of Michigan, is a history buff and school teacher. As part of the Interpret Hawaii program for tour escorts, Brizdle studied early streetcars in order to share information with his E Noa Tours employees and Waikiki Trolley personnel.

Author Simpson describes the processes that early publishers like James Steiner had to be familiar with. All Steiner's cards were originally black and white. Before color photography, introduced in 1935, color tinting was a laborious process done by hand. Simpson states, "Much of the work was done in Germany and the colors were often somewhat creative, as artists had never seen the scene personally" (p. 64). A Steiner card of Diamond Head with a glowing red sunset behind it to the east proves the point.

The story begins with the predecessors to the electric streetcar: "After millennia of human, animal, wind or water propulsion, the 19th century exploded with technology advances changing the face of industry and transportation" (p. 33). Simpson cites the "unfettered" inventions of Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, and Charles Goodyear. In the early 1860s, a transit operation consisted of an omnibus wagon with benches, hauled by a horse. Trams

pulled by mules were then introduced. Hawaiian Tramways, Ltd. (1889–1903) received a franchise from King Kalākaua who was keenly interested in inventions. There was a rush to eliminate slow and hungry mules and horses as the motive power of streetcars.

Electric streetcars first appeared on November 7, 1900, when developer Charles S. Desky built a private system open to public use for access to his new house lots on Pacific Heights. HRT&L, which bought out Desky, is the big story. The new electrics were immediately and enormously popular—10,000 riders jammed the cars the first day (not simultaneously), on Saturday, August 3, 1901. “And at least one horse who failed to yield the right-of-way to the mechanical beast was flattened in the street” (p. 39).

The creators of *Streetcar Days in Honolulu* are as interested in the technological developments as the human dynamics. The most exacting engineer should be satisfied with the precise and detailed descriptions and illustrations in the volume. Woven through the story are wonderful photos, such as “Faces from the Past” of motormen, conductors, managers, and women office workers (pp. 96–100), as well as accounts of the times based on extensive interviews and documents.

From the beginning, HRT&L hired mostly Hawaiians, Portuguese, and Caucasians as its workforce. Eventually, a few Japanese motormen and an African American in 1939 were employed. The company built a clubhouse in 1903 in the car barn complex on Alapai Street, with billiard and pool tables. A swimming pool and bowling alley were added in 1908. There were company-sponsored community events and sports teams in basketball, baseball, women’s and men’s bowling teams, and a barefoot football league, all enjoying city-wide popularity.

Conductors earned 20 cents per hour for a straight 10-hour workday. The cars ran from 5:45 am to 1:47 am and would stop anywhere for passengers. Children rode to school, parents to work, and families to destinations such as the Waikiki Amusement Park on Kalākaua Avenue and the old Honolulu Stadium on South King Street. Cars were used for freight, such as a milk car. A watertank car settled the dust updrafted by the cars. In 1928, tokens for carfare cost 10 cents. One could buy two tokens for 15 cents. Youngsters riding the cars played pranks: for example, when the cars were lined up at the stadium to pick up riders, a boy would jump from car to car, riding until the conductor approached. Then he pulled the lever to stop, passed his token to the next boy, and jumped off.

This reviewer’s childhood memories are of the clanging streetcar bells heralding their passage and the exciting yet stomach-tightening ride on Car 22 on the long McCully trestle over the Ala Wai Canal to Waikiki. This route was captured in paintings by gifted artist Joe Pimental (pp. 84–86). Another

memory is of listening to KGU radio on Tuesday evenings when the “jolly good bunch of boys . . . [who] work for HRT to take you here and there” sang and played guitar and ukulele (pp. 104–106). Not just the musicians led by Buster McGuire, but conductors and sports team members were household names, like Jans M. Ostergaard on the Mānoa route, and former McKinley football and baseball star Bill Costa.

But the end was in sight. Ridership soared, then plummeted. Bob Schmitt states in “Some Transportation and Communication Firsts in Hawaii” (*The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 13, 1979: 102) that the first automobile, likely an electric, appeared on Honolulu streets in 1899, and the first gas-engined car in 1904. Simpson documents the “siren song of automobiles”: In a population of 67,000 in 1905, there were four registered automobiles and 6,500,000 streetcar riders. By 1920, in a population of 123,5000, there were 6,400 cars and 6,300,000 streetcar riders. Ridership hit its peak of 16,600,000 in 1927. HRT’s first operating loss occurred in 1933. By 1940 there were almost 50,000 registered autos (p. 113).

Competition increased. Jitneys, which were private automobiles used as taxicabs, operated on the same routes as the streetcars. By 1938, a combination of gasoline-powered buses and quiet rubber-tired trolley coaches powered by overhead electric lines had a major impact. By 1941, a decision was made to replace streetcars with the trolley buses. Honolulu streetcar riders took their last ride on June 30, 1941. The old tracks remained on the streets until after World War II, but the cars, stripped of metal and other useful items, were destroyed by burning in early 1942.

This book is rich with information. It therefore comes as a surprise that only a single page is given to “The Union Story 1919–1955,” union organizing being as important as it was during the territorial years and to HRT. The company was struck twice in these years, in 1919, and, for a month, in 1941. All that is presented here is a brief paragraph which recaps jurisdictional struggles between local and national unions, a reprint of a light-hearted article from the ‘Iolani School student newspaper of how the strike inconvenienced students, and a photo of officers of the independent union in 1942 (p. 95). More coverage here, perhaps on underlying issues, would not have dampened “breezing through paradise.” Nevertheless, both Keith Steiner’s *Hawai‘i’s Early Territorial Days* and MacKinnon Simpson’s and John Brizdle’s *Streetcar Days in Honolulu* make a solid contribution to Hawaiiana.

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Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology. By Patrick Vinton Kirch and Roger C. Green. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 375 pp. Maps. Illustrations. Tables. £47.50 hardback, £17.95 paperback.

Prologue: on historical anthropology; Part I. The Phylogenetic Model: Theory and Method: 1. The phylogenetic model in historical anthropology; 2. Methodologies: implementing the phylogenetic model; 3. Polynesia as a phylogenetic unit; Part II. Rediscovering 'Hawaiki': 4. The ancestral Polynesian world; 5. Subsistence; 6. Food preparation and cuisine; 7. Material culture; 8. Social and political organization; 9. Gods, rituals, and seasons; Epilogue: on history, phylogeny, and evolution.

I was away from the States when I heard that the Americans were making a new film version of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*.¹ I shuddered to think what they might do with it and thought little of it again until returning to the States, seeing the videotaped version for sale and buying a copy.

I watched it a few days later and have watched it many times since.

The producers, directors and actors of that movie met every obligation one could impose on a studio making *our* generation's version of such a classic. Completely. It is *magnificent*.

I felt a similar sense of obligations fulfilled as I began reading through Patrick Vinton Kirch and Roger C. Green's *Hawaiki*.

Who better to write such a book? But how, I thought, will it stand in time? How will it represent those of us working on "the problem"² to future generations? The answer is that like the 1992 version of *The Last of the Mohicans*, Kirch and Green's *Hawaiki* will shower us with favor as future generations look back on how we did our work and how a couple of our leaders and mentors chose to present it.

Where some in recent generations have found it useful to make the medium the message,³ Kirch and Green have given us an uncommon series of glittering messages in a tired old medium: the book.

I am especially grateful that they paused before presenting the results of the collective labors of Polynesianist prehistorians (Part 2) and wrote Part 1 of the book. The Prologue lays out their reasons for expanding their phylogenetic work on Polynesia and Ancestral Polynesian Society beyond their 1987 paper⁴ on the same topic.

Part 1 gives us in one place the central history of ideas in anthropology about doing phylogenetic work and on the history of methods surrounding

its common goal: characterizing ancestral cultures. Tracing those ideas to a 1916 monograph by Sapir, they carry us through the beginnings of formal concepts in the 1950s (mentioning Fred Eggan's, Kim Romney's and other peoples' work), Evan Vogt's refinements from 1964 and how these general ideas were salient in general or specific ways in the history of formal/published academic ideas about Polynesian historical anthropology.

In the Prologue, Part 1 and at other points along the way, the simple point is made that cultural phylogeny is sometimes *possible* because cultures sometimes have exclusively *shared histories*: common periods of development discrete from parallel or unrelated cultural units.

Chapter 1 recounts the intellectual history of phylogenetic modeling in prehistoric cum historical anthropology. They emphasize that they have tended to be interdisciplinary, commonly beginning with sorting out linguistic relationships, doing the linguistic paleontology, mapping the distribution of social and cultural institutions against the backdrop of linguistic relations, making determinations as to the possible congruence of area archaeological traditions and the peoples under study and so forth.

Chapter 2 considers the notion of developing phylogenies for individual and overall components of a/the culture and presents/invents a parsimonious concept and term: "a *triangulation method* in which the subdisciplines of historical linguistics, archaeology, comparative ethnology, and biological anthropology independently contribute their data and assessments to the common objective of historical reconstruction" (42). The analogy is to surveying methods where the location of an unreachable point can be quite accurately calculated by reference to the distance between two reachable points and by then measuring the angles between those two points and the point whose location is to be calculated. "As these sightings begin to converge on that point, a 'triangle or polygon of error' is defined, within which the real point lies."

Details of the method are proposed and described, Chapter 3 then considers Polynesia as a phylogenetic unit and then the chapters of Part 2 apply the triangulation method to various components of Ancestral Polynesian Society.

Linguists will be glad to be relieved of some of the burden of validating theories on components of ancestral cultures. Kirch and Green provide *examples* of situations in which the congruence of archaeological and linguistic inference is so profound as to remove any reasonable doubt as to the nature of the component in the ancestral culture. The geographical location of Ancestral Polynesian Society, *general* subsistence and other matters fall into this category. But they also give many specific examples of where the linguistic evidence is thin, marginal or mainly irrelevant to the cultural component

for which reconstruction is sought. Fishing methods are one example although their statement that “historical linguists have paid little attention to fishing strategies” (120) may leave some of us a little nonplused as we have excellent excuses. Mainly that the ethnographic sources are rather sparse in the sense of how many exist at all and the problems that leaves us with in the sense of how many languages it commonly takes to get a good picture of proto language terminologies, especially when the terminologies are, in the case of procurement, often phrase level rather than word level terminologies and, in this instance, are not well recorded by the ethnographers and archaeologists who have tended to record sea-procurement strategies.⁵ The point, however, is that in spite of little linguistic evidence, the other methods of “triangulation” available are so abundant and mutually supporting that there can be little doubt as to a variety of sea-procurement behaviors in Ancestral Polynesian Society in spite of the lack of much or any supporting linguistic evidence (131–137).

While pondering matters linguistic I will note that there is only a single error in the book with respect to the formalities of linguistics. It involves an incomplete rather than an erroneous phrasing. On page 90 the authors consider when linguists, if borrowing or convergence are not issues, assign reconstructions to Proto Polynesian. The passage reads:

. . . if it is attested by cognates in the two main branches of Polynesian languages: Tongic and Nuclear Polynesia. Or, in the case where such cognates are missing in one of these branches, an external witness from either Fijian or Rotuman . . . is required . . .

Both Kirch and Green are aware that the phrasing should have ended “witness from Fijian, Rotuman or other Austronesian . . . is required” and some kind of editorial error was involved.

Readers of recent “hard” science journals and especially glib or otherwise flawed articles by the biological scientists on the matter of “Polynesian origins” will readily appreciate a work that has only a single editorial error with respect to its linguistics. While the bioscientists seem glad to consult with archaeologists before writing about archaeology, they seem *never* to solicit comment about their (mis)understanding of linguistics and feel free to prattle off the most senseless statements about what the linguists think and do and what their results do or do not imply.

There are articles stating that Austronesian linguists lack “quantitative phylogenetic methods” and then use some and place other Central-Eastern MalayoPolynesian languages “within” Oceanic, when they have none of the Oceanic innovations.⁶ There are articles that purport to speak authoritatively

to problems in "Polynesian origins" in which the author is not even aware that Fiji, Tonga and Samoa were settled within years or decades of each other rather than over a 500 year period of time.⁷ And, as with those articles, there are others that simply seem to lack any sense of human community and how that should inform or direct us as we speak of those communities' various technological, social, cultural and biological components.⁸ Even otherwise trenchant, insightful works by the bioscientists seem to assume they can speak to the linguistics without either familiarizing themselves with linguistic terminology or concepts or running their work past linguists for comment before they go to press.⁹ Beyond all that, some bioscientists seem enamored with the "express train"/ "slow boat" dichotomy which has, in fact, *little* to do with the *speed* of Austronesian dispersal and *much* to do with the speakers' social relations with Papuan speaking groups along the way. A gregarious "express train" society would end up, for instance, with more "Papuan" genes than a "slow boat" society which effectively refrained from matrimony or other liaisons with Papuans which resulted in offspring.

And the geneticists miss the most significant pattern in the genetic data—one that indicates Proto Oceanic society, and Polynesian society in the early first millennium B.C., was surely matrilineal and matrilocal.¹⁰

In any event, Kirch and Green are of the Polynesian/Pacific school of prehistory where people spend a good deal of time in interdisciplinary discussions, correspondence and readings of interdisciplinary materials for comment from the point of view of their own area of specialization. And in Polynesia there is a rather full range of sociolinguistic problems in the sense of non-specialists becoming aware of pitfalls of historical interpretation. In any event, it wouldn't be Pat Kirch or Roger Green who tried to rescue the linguists from our delusion that Polynesian *languages* arrived in Polynesia by way of, in an ultimate or intermediary sense, Taiwan. Linguists speak of language, not human genetics and Kirch and Green have presented a highly integrated, methodologically explicit discussion of *human communities* in Polynesia which entirely avoids such mistakes in reference to linguistics, archaeology, comparative ethnography, human genetics or any of the other sub-disciplines.

To continue with a *only* few more words on how this is occasionally done *without* much reference to linguistics is actually a more daunting task than some might expect. Aside from sea-procurement, mentioned before my digression, there is a similarly vivid picture of land-procurement which rests much less on the linguistics of the situation than on comparative ethnography and the whole realm of material culture for which linguistics provides the odd clue but never the stunning results of, for instance, comparative material culture and/or archaeology where the objects in question show such remark-

able continuities at the one extreme and such clear local elaborations at the other. And, for instance, the anatomy of inhabited or ceremonial structures is little known from linguistics but the post and raftered structures of Ancestral Polynesian Society become very real in the mind's eye as the comparative ethnographic and other "triangulation" methods are invoked.

One cannot mention much of the detail in short works, thus, explains the Preface, the need and purpose of the book. Those who are simply students of Polynesia's past have been enriched. Those who must concern themselves more with the methods, what they are and what they are not, won't find a better place to start for decades.

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NOTES

¹ Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation 1992.

² As the geneticists/bioscientists apparently conceptualize these sorts of questions, e.g. Ann Gibbons, "The peopling of the Pacific," *Science* 291 (2001): 1735–1737 and even the much more insightful work by Stephen J. Oppenheimer and Martin Richards, "Fast trains, slow boats, and the ancestry of the Polynesian islanders," *Science Progress* 84:3 (2001):157–181.

³ As parodied by, e.g., Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," *Social Text* 46/47 (1996): 217–252.

⁴ Patrick V. Kirch and Roger C. Green, "History, phylogeny and evolution in Polynesia," *Current Anthropology* 28:4 (1987):431–456.

⁵ Coupled with the problem of field work towards such purposes rarely being funded in recent generations.

⁶ Russell D. Gray and Fiona M. Jordan, "Language trees support the express-train sequence of Austronesian expansion," *Nature* 405 (2000):1052–1055.

⁷ Ann Gibbons, "The peopling of the Pacific," *Science* 291 (2001):1735–1737.

⁸ Stephen J. Oppenheimer and Martin Richards, "Slow boat to Melanesia?" *Nature* 410 (2001):166–167.

⁹ Stephen Oppenheimer and Martin Richards, "Fast trains, slow boats, and the ancestry of the Polynesian islanders," *Science Progress* 84:3 (2001):157–181.

¹⁰ Jeff Marck, "On Shutler and Marck (1975)," *Fifty years in the Field: Essays in honor and celebration of Richard Shutler Jr.'s archaeological career*, ed. S. Bedford, D. Burley, and D. Sand (Auckland: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2002). Per Hage and Jeff Marck, "Matrilineality and the Melanesian origin of Polynesian Y-chromosomes," (forthcoming). Per Hage and Jeff Marck, "The demise of matrilineality in early Polynesian society," (forthcoming).

