

## Book Reviews

*The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii.* By Beth Bailey and David Farber. New York: The Free Press, 1992. ix + 270 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$22.95.

The exotic—coconut palms and white sand beaches, tawny-skinned and almost naked young women, something called “Aloooooha!”—has long been the staple of Hawai‘i’s tourist industry. During World War II, however, the islands’ visitors did not come voluntarily, and while some expected the exotic, others didn’t know what to expect.

They were frightened young men, drafted by their country to fight Hirohito. Many had never strayed fifty miles from the Iowa farm, West Virginia valley, or Philadelphia ethnic ghetto where they’d been born, reared, and too often ill-educated about the world beyond.

In their wonderfully titled, beautifully written *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii*, Beth Bailey and David Farber examine the reaction of GIs and war workers to the islands. As the subtitle makes clear, they also look at the relationships between the young soldiers and the women who served as their island hostesses and helped them pass the time before leaving for the less hospitable beaches on Tarawa, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa.

Bailey and Farber describe a wartime Hawai‘i that was, first and foremost, terribly overcrowded. A prewar population of 258,000 soon mushroomed to more than a million, some 550,000 of whom were military. This overnight population expansion could not be accommodated. Honolulu’s city services suffered. Temporary, inadequate housing was all there was. Buses were invariably crowded. Everyone stood in line everywhere.

Those who came to Hawai‘i expecting Hollywood’s paradisaical version knew instant disillusionment. “Believe me if Paradise is anything like this I’ll take my chance in Hell,” wrote one transplanted mainlander who came to do war work. GIs and war workers alike invariably compared Hawai‘i unfavorably with their home states.

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They complained, to be sure, of the inconveniences of overcrowded islands. They also disparaged the multiethnic society which was Hawai'i's pride. "Here is where Black, Brown, and Yellow man is 'Lord of all he sees' the 'Paradise of the Oriental.' Here he struts and the 'Powers that Be,' bend over backwards to please him," wrote another newcomer.

But the most important ingredient missing from the Islands' Hollywood rendering was a saronged Dorothy Lamour. Wartime Hawai'i was a society of men without women—young men, many of whom had *never* known a woman and some of whom, if Hawai'i failed to provide an opportunity, never would, for they were on their way to die.

Thus, Hotel Street, where, for most of the duration of the war, "250,000 men a month paid three dollars for three minutes of the only intimacy most were going to find in Honolulu." Between 1941 and 1944, the Honolulu Police Department registered 250 prostitutes operating out of fifteen brothels. The Hotel Street district became, amidst a city largely built by Christian missionaries, a veritable fornication factory.

But all of the relations between GIs and women were not so mercenary. At the Army's Maluhia Club in Waikiki, for example, a woman named Mabel Thomas watched up to ten thousand men *a day* come to dance with the 250 or so young women she had cajoled to volunteer as partners. All the young women who shuffled around Maluhia's dance floor knew that they were doing patriotic work. They also knew, however, that they were doing what their island mothers had warned them against prior to the war: consorting with those fast, footloose *haole* soldiers.

The racial conundrums of wartime Honolulu proved daunting to many, but the men of the 369th Coast Artillery Regiment found a peculiar situation indeed. The 369th was an all-black outfit from Harlem. They discovered an island society in which race didn't matter all that much. Their problems lay with their fellow servicemen who brought mainland racism with them.

*The First Strange Place* is full of such complexity. In the hands of less-skilled historians, the book could have been a nightmare, a hopelessly boring and obtuse social science monograph. Instead, Bailey and Farber have made it live and breathe through the voices of dozens who served in Hawai'i during the war and through their own deft prose.

It is cultural history at its best, and it deserves a place on the top shelf of the library of modern Hawai'i's history.

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*She Was a Sister Sailor: The Whaling Journals of Mary Brewster, 1845–1851*. Edited by Joan Druett. Mystic, Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1992. xx + 449 pages. Bibliographical references. Index. \$39.95.

Mary Burtch Brewster of Stonington, Connecticut, married at eighteen, twice watched her husband, Captain William Brewster, sail off on whaling voyages. She determined that she would go with him the next time. Her stepmother and friends strongly advised against it for few women had done so before she made that choice. *She Was a Sister Sailor* is a handsome publication of the journals that Mary kept on the 1845–1848 voyage and, after less than four months at home, on the 1848–1851 voyage of the whaleship *Tiger*. These are substantial journals in the glimpses given us of Mary Brewster's adjustment to a male culture aboard ship and her interactions with local people, native and missionary, at Pacific ports and anchorages.

The first journal has special relevance in Hawai'i, for Mary stayed on shore twice at Hilo, once with missionaries Fidelia and Titus Coan, once with the family of harbor pilot Captain Cornelius Hoyer. Mary and her husband, like other tourists of their day, journeyed to see the active volcano. While her husband spent a second summer on the Northwest, Mary stayed the season at Lahaina with Lydia and Dr. Charles Winslow, the U.S. Marine Hospital physician. Social visiting was the mainstay of days in Lahaina and an arduous jaunt by canoe and horse took her around East Maui. When her husband returned, they both visited in Honolulu. The second journal tells of the chancy conditions encountered when the *Tiger*, along with a number of other whaleships, followed Captain Thomas Welcome Roys' example of going through the Bering Straits into the Arctic Ocean, where the presence of plentiful whales revived the faltering industry. Mary Brewster was the first whaling wife in that sea.

In going to sea, Mary's strong will brought her to break with tradition, yet once there, she chose for her role the customary wifely one of her class and time, confidant and angel: "I can soothe all ruffled feelings take up much of his attention and mind." Mary adapted to whaling life by carrying the domestic tasks of home on board: cleaning, sewing, knitting, reading, cooking on occasion, and caring for the sick. She isolated herself in her domestic circle with an idolized husband. Even her brother, who was carpenter on the ship, is scarcely mentioned. She had some curiosity about the natural environment; but after one look, not much in the work of whaling itself. It is the social events of whaling that Mary records, the gams or visits with captains

from other vessels met in mid-ocean, cooking “doughnuts” in boiling blubber in the trypot to signal one thousand barrels taken, the digging for false gold by crews in Magdalena Bay. As Joan Druett, the editor, points out, perhaps it was because the journal was to be a memento for her husband and herself, Mary never records anything that might detract from her husband’s image, such as difficulties with the crew, which are reported, in footnotes, from the journals of two of the crew.

The choice of Joan Druett to edit the journals was fortunate. As the author of *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820–1920* (1991), she has used the insights and activities of these “sister sailors” to place Mary’s experience in whaling context. Druett has written introductions to each of the six sections into which she divided the journals. Extensive footnotes depict similar experiences of other whaling wives and explain whaling techniques.

Druett has a journalistic style, an eye for the lively quotation, the extravagant occurrence, and colorful, sometimes cliché, language. To enliven her commentary, Druett raises the suspenseful possibility that William Brewster “might find himself bartering his wife for trade goods.” In doing so, she invokes a “savage Pacific,” speaking of a news account of Feegee Island “cannibals” who “brutally massacred” a captain and crew, keeping alive the captain’s wife and children to sell. This event had no relation to Mary’s first voyage, in which she did not go to the South Pacific. Her forays on shore were confined to the ports of the Hawaiian Islands and a relatively uninhabited stretch of Lower California beach. Druett, like Mary Brewster, imbued with the values of her own culture, presents stereotypes instead of the deepening understanding of recent study of Pacific cultures. She applies to Hawai‘i terms like “ariki” and “bloody intertribal wars” derived from her home country, New Zealand, without translating them into the Hawaiian language or context. One misleading error is a doubling of the number of whaling vessels that came into the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina during the *Tiger’s* 1846 visit (p. 202). The error is extended to a picture caption.

*Sister Sailor* is published in the American Maritime Library series by the Mystic Seaport Museum, which holds Mary Brewster’s original manuscript journals. The book is illustrated by portraits of Mary and William Brewster and many of the other women who followed Mary in joining their whaling-captain husbands at sea. Valuable sources for anyone wishing to delve further into the subject are a list of women who went whaling, 1820–1920, with the vessels on which they sailed, and an annotated list of logs, journals, letters, and reminiscences of these women, which are available for use in public institutions.

*Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i.* By Elizabeth Buck. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993. 242 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$39.95 (cloth). \$18.95 (paper).

Elizabeth Buck's fine addition to Hawaiian history examines Western impact on Hawaiian society by looking at gradual changes in *hula* and *oli* (chant); however, this book is *not* a history of *hula* or *oli*. In a clear, well-written introduction, Buck suggests that the "continuous productivity" of *oli* in Hawaiian society, coupled with the changes brought to it by Western influence, might afford an interesting view of the dynamic of political and cultural change over time. Buck writes:

Long before Cook arrived, Hawaiian chant and hula had been changing as the economic, political, and ideological structures of the islands changed; it is still developing as each new wave of outside cultural and social influence reaches the islands and as relationships of power are reformed. By looking at the ways chant, *hula*, and contemporary Hawaiian music have been variously used . . . music emerges as an important arena of struggle . . . (p. 17)

It is difficult for modern-day thinkers to "conceptualize social relations and institutions in societies in which economic, political, and ideological practices were not shaped by the forces of capitalism" (p. 19), so in chapter 2, "Thinking about Hawaiian History," Buck invites the reader to make such constructs using Marxist-informed and poststructuralist theories. Chapter 3, "Hawai'i before Contact with the West," requires no prior knowledge of Hawaiian history or culture for essential arguments to be understood. In Buck's opinion, the notion of Hawai'i as "paradise," promotes a limited and simplified view of a very complex and rich precontact social and political structure:

With the problemization of the liberal progressive view of the islands—that Hawai'i can retain its beauty . . . has emerged a countertendency to romanticize the islands before Western contact as a model of natural harmony. To so idealize the islands denies the complex society that Hawai'i was—a society of intellectual and technological achievements, a society that politically, religiously, and economically was neither primitive nor simple. (p. 32)

Precontact Hawai'i was sometimes a brutal and scary place, one certainly not immune to the foibles of human passions—greed, power struggles, political conflict, and class hierarchy. Buck examines the transformation of Hawai-

ian communal structure prior to Captain Cook's arrival from one that was centered on the *maka'āinana* (commoner) to one that favored the *ali'i* (chiefs), sometimes at the expense of *maka'āinana*. Though historian David Malo documented the occasional *maka'āinana* victory in struggles between the two classes, the uncompromising political dynamic of *ali'i* as ruler and *maka'āinana* as commoner was never seriously threatened. This intermittent tension, a minor fray in the social fabric, however, did make Hawaiian society more susceptible to manipulation by merchant and missionary alike, which led to eventual rapid decline.

In chapter 4, "Western Penetration," Buck recounts the sad history of Western merchants essentially turning the *ali'i* into merchant middlemen, the *Māhele's* commodification of land, and the Hawaiians' steady alienation from their own lands (which many scholars and Native Hawaiians believe to be the single greatest tragedy in Hawaiian history), along with the theft of crown lands and the seizing of political power by Western big business.

In chapter 5 ("Transformations in Ideological Representations: Chant and *Hula*") and chapter 6 ("Transformations in Language and Power") Buck's thesis is fully realized. After Western contact, changes to *hula* and *oli* were inevitable. Buck observes that both were vulnerable, yet resilient to Western contact. Much of the ancient *hula* tradition passed down to the present day was conducted secretly by individuals and *hālau* on the outer islands and in remote districts of rural O'ahu, far from prying missionary eyes. Missionary suppression and Western devaluation of the *hula*, along with rapid economic changes in the society, contributed to Hawai'i's second greatest tragedy—the alienation of Hawaiians from the Hawaiian language. Prior to Western contact, *oli* was a political and social form of expression. Suppressing the Hawaiian language would be certain death to *oli*. Though Kalākaua revived these ancient arts, the overthrow of Lili'uo-kalani ended the *oli's* political power. The political nature of *oli* was a threat to Westerners, who recognized the enormous power of the Hawaiian language and were determined to annihilate it. *Hula* and *oli* again went underground. For centuries, Hawaiians encrypted many, if not all *oli*, with *kaona*, or hidden meanings. Transparent to Western eyes, *kaona* preserved the messages of those who composed them, enabling many *oli* to survive.

Resistance in late twentieth-century contemporary Hawaiian music has occasionally been evident in explicitly political lyrics but is found most particularly in the strategic use of the Hawaiian language. Hawaiian words and their hidden meanings—relearned by Hawaiian musicians from *kūpuna* (elders), *kumu hula*, or in Hawaiian language courses—are used as a way of

separating insider from outsider. Words and their meanings have been the only things that Westerners could not totally appropriate, could not buy like they bought land, or remake into their own as they did the political system. (p. 119)

Buck also notes that the change from orality to literacy was a formidable political tool that greatly impacted the Hawaiian language, as foreign morals and ways of thinking were introduced at a monumental point in Hawaiian language history. Languages of other societies have also been corrupted this way, with equally devastating results. Fortunately, the Hawaiians have been able to reclaim and reinvigorate the one remaining thing that is theirs alone, the Hawaiian language, and are moving forward.

Elizabeth Buck's book is an important contribution to research and public library collections. Buck's style and readability will appeal to researchers and general readers. She has faithfully maintained Hawaiian orthography with the proper use of *kahakō* (macrons) and *'okina* (glottal stops) for Hawaiian words and has made a fascinating, complex part of Hawaiian history accessible to a wide audience.

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*The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i.* By O. A. Bushnell. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1993. ix + 326 pp. Bibliography. Index. \$19.95 (paper).

For many decades we have needed a book on the impact of continental diseases, new in the Hawaiian Islands, on the indigenous people of the archipelago. The subject should be of great interest to us who are today targets of opportunity for such new threats as Legionnaire's disease, Lyme disease, and, above all, AIDS. The author equal to the challenge of Hawaiian medical history should be well versed in epidemiology, archaeology, and medical anthropology, and, further, intimately acquainted with the primary sources and scholarly literature on Hawai'i—and, if such a paragon were to do justice to the tragedies of Hawaiian history, a fine writer, as well. Dr. Bushnell fills the bill: he was born in Hawai'i, taught medical anthropology and history at the University of Hawai'i, and has eloquently celebrated the Hawaiian experience in a number of works of fiction and nonfiction.

Dr. Bushnell covers the subject about as well as one could expect in three hundred pages. He discusses the major epidemics and, in time, endemic imported diseases, drawing on all printed sources that I have ever heard about available in European languages, plus as much of native Hawaiian tradition as is available at present to a *haole*. (The author, by the way, often uses native Hawaiian terminology and provides a helpful glossary of Hawaiian terms.) There is much more to learn from Asian-language sources, the nineteenth-century Hawaiian press and oral traditions, and physical anthropology, but it is unlikely that the profile of Hawaiian epidemiological and demographic history that Bushnell proffers will be altered much.

The profile is of a population crash that featured spectacular epidemics, such as *oku'uu* in 1804 and smallpox in 1853, but which was probably chiefly driven by such quiet poisoners as the sexually transmitted diseases brought to the islands initially by the seamen of the Captain Cook expedition. The most dangerous characteristic of the contact with the continents was that it was chiefly an influx of predominantly heterosexual men isolated from women of their own peoples and, putting it bluntly, on the prowl for females. The social defenses of the Hawaiians, whose culture was, as described by Marshall Sahlins, "Aphrodisian," were as ineffective as their immunological defenses.

An argument rages about the degree of Hawaiian decline that resulted, an argument that will probably never be settled, but the most conservative estimate, one based on the quite dependable but chronologically limited censuses of the missionaries and Hawaiian government, 1823 to the end of the century, indicated a plunge of at least 40 percent, even counting Hawaiians of mixed ancestry. This plunge of depopulation, matching in its steepness the soar of immigration, is, I think, the most important fact of Hawaiian history.

I have a few bones to pick with Dr. Bushnell. His common use of the word *primitive* will probably elicit more misunderstanding in this age of political correctness than convenience justifies. He suggests that Hawai'i was the last area of significance to be settled by humanity, but most experts give that prize to New Zealand. There is a horde of better and more recent sources on the Amerindian population decline than the 1942 article he cites. The University of Hawaii Press offers us an attractive and nicely printed volume, but all books on the archipelago aimed for the general market should include a map.

And that is all I can think of to carp about. This is an excellent book that should be on the desk or at least shelf of everyone who would like to think of him or herself as knowledgeable vis-à-vis Hawai'i and Polynesia; and very use-

ful, as well, to scholars of the demographic histories of the original humans of Australia and the Americas.

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*Fruitful Fields: American Missionary Churches in Hawaii.* Narrative by Alan Gowans; inventory by Daina Penkiunas; contemporary photographs by Augie Salbosa. Honolulu: Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1993. 154 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index.

*Fruitful Fields* is a fascinating book, apt to get lost among the more commercial treatments of Hawaiian architecture. Sponsored by the Historic Preservation Division of the Hawai'i State Department of Land and Natural Resources, this exploratory study of the history and significance of missionary-period churches in the islands is part of an ambitious effort to issue occasional works on the historic and cultural resources of Hawai'i. This is the first work in the projected series to focus on architecture. It is, in fact, much more than a straightforward architectural history and catalog; it is an examination of the ideology and symbolism of Western commercial and religious expansionism. The architecture of the missionary churches is just one aspect of that phenomenon, but it is seen in the essays in this short volume as a key element in understanding the perceptions and expectations of both the missionaries and their congregations.

The authors of the book are Alan Gowans, a cultural and art historian currently holding positions at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, and the National Images of North America Living Research and Archival Center, Washington, D.C., and Daina Penkiunas, formerly the architectural historian with the Hawai'i Historic Preservation Division and a well-known authority on the architecture of the state. Professor Gowans provides several insightful essays on the origins and symbolic content of early missionary architecture; Dr. Penkiunas supplies a detailed inventory of the approximately forty churches—many little more than ruins—that still exist in the state. The general format, as Don Hibbard, director of the State Historic Preservation Division, explains in his introduction, follows that set out by the National Park Service as part of its preservation planning initiative; states are required to identify various themes or “contexts” against which the significance of properties can be judged, largely for purposes of National Register nominations. This book does more than meet the Park Service's requirements. It provides,

for the first time, a broader perspective on the forms and content of what might be considered the “material culture” of missionary life.

Professor Gowans traces the history of Protestant missions in Hawai‘i to the Congregational churches of New England. These, he explains, were intended not merely as utilitarian halls for services and meetings, but as symbolic expressions of preeminence within communities and regions. Architecturally derived from the buildings and published works of James Gibbs, one of Christopher Wren’s successors as a leading church architect in London, the New England churches, most of which were constructed in the early nineteenth century, or at the time when the missionary enterprise was first getting underway, combined classical elements, such as porticoes and columns or pilasters, with the more medieval church tower and spire. Surrounded by the graves of the faithful, the New England church embraced what Gowans suggests is a universal form—that of “sanctuary,” combining a sacred enclosure, or “plot,” an elevated element, or “mound,” and an upright feature—in Christian church architecture, a tower and spire; in native Hawaiian temples, or *heiau*, a tall pole tower, or *‘anu‘u*. Not surprisingly, Christian missionaries often appropriated Hawaiian sacred sites, using the rubble stone to construct permanent walls, emphasizing the sense of ritual enclosure and ultimately borrowing the *mana* of the place as a means of extending the influence of their faith. While we might now decry this process as an unfair manipulation of local forms to promote a Western agenda, Gowans presents the transformation in a more disinterested light, comparing it to the efforts of missionaries throughout history and suggesting that our twentieth-century preoccupation with social justice and temporal perfectibility little prepares us to understand the hopes and ambitions of religious minds focused on eternity. Gowans offers a sympathetic perspective, one that truly enlivens the remaining architectural forms with meaning.

Well over half the book is composed of the inventory of existing churches, some “mother” churches, others “outstations” or “chapels.” Existing buildings dating between 1820, the date of the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries, and 1863, when the missions were first cast adrift by the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, are described in detail. Reference is made also (as in Gowans’s essays) to the dozens of churches that no longer remain. Excellent photographs by Augie Salbosa are compared to historic images, drawn from a variety of sources. Dr. Penkiunas’s descriptions are lively and interesting; she also displays her research skills, providing extensive and well-cited documentation. The book includes a useful list of mission stations and missionaries and an extensive bibliography.

My only criticisms regard the production qualities of the book and some

minor details. It is handsomely printed, but the cover, pages, and photographs are all done in sepia tone. Although this provides a certain uniformity—and possibly a sense of antiquity—it tends to make the images rather dark and murky. It is also difficult to distinguish historic photographs from recent ones; dates of the older photographs, if known, also are not provided. But these are small things and subjective concerns. Overall, *Fruitful Fields* is an intellectual feast. It is striking to realize how such simple forms and artifacts can embody so much meaning. We all owe the authors and the State Historic Preservation Division a debt of gratitude for producing such a modest but, at the same time, so profound a work.

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*The Specter of Communism in Hawaii.* By T. Michael Holmes. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. xii + 248 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$36.00.

Michael Holmes has presented a detailed and dispassionate account of the brief but ferocious wave of anti-Communist hysteria in the managerial and political arenas of Hawai'i. Long accustomed to controlling both the economy and the political structure of Hawai'i, this small group of corporate leaders was badly frightened by the appearance of effective labor organizers, backed by a powerful and uncorruptible union, and with the sweeping economic and social changes of World War II.

American history is replete with scares and public hysteria based on nothing more than fear of the unknown. A supposed slave plot in New York in the eighteenth century resulted in mass hysteria and lynchings of innocent people. The well known (but little understood) Salem witch trials are another example of the extremes to which public fear can go.

More often than not, the hysteria over socialism in any of its forms has been fueled by a basic fear of labor organization. The Knights of Labor based its appeal on cooperation as the basic human quality. Their cooperatives had a wide appeal and thoroughly frightened the rapidly developing corporate economy of the 1880s. Capital quickly turned state and federal power against this perceived threat. The Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 fueled the old fear of socialism. With an avowedly socialist regime now firmly in power, added to the long-standing American fear of foreigners, the crusade

against socialism in America reached new levels of ferocity (see M. S. Heale's *American Anti-Communism* for a review of this phenomenon).

The Cold War, like Wilson's crusade to make the world safe for democracy, had to be sold to a reluctant American public. Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Employment Act, all before 1941, laid the groundwork for the transformation of Hawai'i from a distant backwater exporting sugar, pineapple, and young people to the mainland into a bustling, growing economy.

The book provides a good account of the turmoil created by the anti-Communist hysteria. The author provides a readable path through what is otherwise an almost impenetrable thicket for all but the most determined researcher. Reading transcripts of these hearings and trials tends to generate a strong dislike of lawyers and politicians. This, fortunately, is balanced to some degree by the militant lawyers for the defendants—lawyers such as Harriet Bouslog, Myer Symonds, and Jim King.

The strongest portion of the book is the section on the Smith Act trials. Holmes has distilled the more than sixteen thousand pages of endless, meaningless recitations of irrelevant books to readable and understandable proportions. To the uninformed it would appear that the Hawaii Seven were being prosecuted for dedicated book ownership and reading. Bringing this period into a clear focus reminds us that the constitutional system of the United States depends heavily upon an attachment to the principles of the Bill of Rights. Conflict with the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments brought the Communist hysteria to a halt (on this, see David Cauter's *The Great Fear*).

A number of irritating, minor errors should have been caught by careful editing. Haywood, Debs, and Berger were convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917 (p. 3). Berger's conviction was reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court. It would have helped to point out that Berger was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1912 and was president of the Wisconsin A.F. of L., as well as a member of the Socialist Party. Holmes, like many writers, tends to regard unions as the persona of a leader, as in, Harry Bridges's union, Rutledge's union, and so on. If that were the case, then the union-busting tactics of the anti-Communist era likely would have succeeded. The rank and file of the Hawai'i unions clearly understood the motives behind the attacks and never wavered in their support of their leaders. Holmes would have done well to consult Paul Jacobs's *The State of the Union* (1963) before quoting Arthur Goldberg on the due process of the expulsion of the ILWU from the CIO (p. 8). Jacobs observed, "there was little due process in the trial. . . . I started writing the verdict before the trial was over" (p. 125).

Ichiro Izuka was never charged with anything (p. 33). The Civil Defense Board that incarcerated him was made up of three plantation managers. The

courts were closed under martial law, and Izuka was simply released after 126 days without charges being filed.

Frank Thompson and Jack Hall are cited as being responsible for two policies: racial and ethnic diversity and consolidation (p. 35). In fact, the ethnic diversity policy was laid down by Louis Goldblatt, ILWU secretary-treasurer and the man in direct charge of Hawai'i organizing, to prevent the old tactic of playing one ethnic against another. The policy was formulated before Jack Hall was hired.

The consolidation of locals was a direct result of employer tactics. The employer's strategy, formulated by Dwight Steel of the Hawaii Employers Council, was to force elections at each plantation under the NLRB. The impossibility of maintaining so many local units was obvious, and the consolidation process began soon after the 1946 strike. The obvious weakness of the multiple locals was pointed out in 1947 in an examination of the island units. Weak leadership, excessive expenditures, officious unit leaders, and lack of responsibility were alienating the membership. The consolidation process was developed by rank-and-file conventions in Hawai'i. Two minor points: why is Paul Robeson described as "a controversial 'negro' baritone" (p. 73)? He was most assuredly a baritone, controversial, and a Negro. A new definition of "stigma" appears on page 38. Congressional Delegate Joe Farrington won "only" 55 percent of the vote and the election. Any politician would love such a stigma.

All in all, Holmes has performed a useful service in making available in readable form an important part of Hawai'i's story. Too many young people are unaware of the threat posed to American democracy by the Cold War and the accompanying anti-Communist hysteria. Nor are they aware of the attack on the working men and women of Hawai'i that was the real thrust of this effort. "The Specter" was not the presence of a handful of Communists in Hawai'i but the presence of real, live, effective labor organizers. Holmes makes this quite clear.

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*Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii: 1885-1941.* By Barbara F. Kawakami. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993. xvii + 253 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$29.95.

*Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii: 1885-1941* is an important book that will continue to be used as an authoritative resource for years to come. In it,

Barbara F. Kawakami examines the changing nature of the clothes used by the Issei (Japanese immigrants) and their Nisei children as they adapted to life on Hawai'i's plantations. By examining the fabric, design, and construction of preserved pieces of clothing, conducting extensive interviews, and collecting numerous photographs, Kawakami has provided an informative and descriptive account of a heretofore unexplored aspect of Issei acculturation. Chapters discuss wedding attire, plantation work clothes, casual wear, footwear, children's clothing, and funeral attire.

No one was better suited than Kawakami to author this book, which is the culmination of her life's work. Having been a dressmaker before earning a degree in textiles and clothing, she understood fabrics and clothing design, knew what questions to ask in her interviews, and appreciated the creativity, talent, and skill of the Issei who sewed the clothes she describes in the book. People who had held on to garments that had personal meaning for them willingly gave the pieces to her because they knew that through her work, an important aspect of the past would be preserved and appreciated. There was, for example, the woman who had a *kappa* (raincoat), one she herself had sewn and made waterproof with persimmon tannin and linseed oil. The woman had kept the *kappa*, one of the few still in existence, because it reminded her of her deceased husband, but when she learned of Kawakami's research, she was willing to part with it. And there were others who, upon seeing Kawakami's immigrant clothing exhibits, donated their treasures to help fill in the missing pieces.

One of the strengths of this book is its numerous wonderful photographs with informative captions that draw the reader's attention to details that might otherwise be overlooked. Because many of the photos are from her interviewees' own personal collections, Kawakami was able to learn specific information about the clothes worn, the occasion for the photo, and personal stories that enhance the reader's appreciation. One bride's parents in Japan (p. 27), for example, "shocked" to see their daughter wearing an ordinary kimono in her wedding photo, sent her an expensive one, but she was never able to wear it because there was no occasion to use it in her plantation environment. Then there was the story of a woman who arrived in Hawai'i with the intention of delivering a message to her cousin and instead ended up marrying him. This and stories like it bring life to what otherwise would be merely charming photographs (pp. 35–36).

To those interested in the immigrant experience, I recommend this informative and well-written book. It gave me a renewed sense of appreciation for the Issei who immigrated to Hawai'i to labor on the island plantations.

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*At Sea with the Scientifics: The Challenger Letters of Joseph Matkin.* Edited by Philip F. Rehbock. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. 415 pp. Illustrated. \$38.00.

Except for sixty-nine letters written during the three-and-a-half-year-long (1872–1876) voyage of H.M.S. *Challenger* around the world, little else is known about an Englishman named Joseph Matkin. Born in 1853 in Rutland County, he was the son of a printer, attended a free parish school, joined the merchant marine and later the Royal Navy, and in December 1872 sailed as the ship's steward's assistant on *Challenger*. Four years later and back in England, Matkin recognized the voyage as "the most important Navy surveying expedition which has ever been sent forth by any country." Matkin was correct in his assessment: the voyage of the *Challenger* with its host of scientists, the "scientifics" as he calls them, bent on dredging the depths of the sea, marked the beginning of modern oceanography.

Matkin's letters are not the stuff of science, however, but a curious blend of a travel writer and of an observer who watches events from afar, never participating in them but holding opinions. At times, he seems to be writing to his family so that they could see the world as he was seeing it and live the life of the shipboard traveler as he was living it. At other times, he observes the work of the scientifics: he celebrates the curious discoveries of the deeps of the ocean and at the sea surface; he describes the activities of the naturalists; and he summarizes the lecture to the ship's company on the geography of the sea by Professor Wyville Thompson, director of the expedition. He describes the discomforts of life aboard, cramped quarters and collective disgruntlement, the joys of a new port, and the sadness of the death of a member of the ship's company. It is in his descriptions of landscapes and people that he excels, providing a view of the *Challenger* expedition very different from that to be derived from the fifty volumes of data and several narratives and logs published by the ship's officers and the naturalists of the expedition.

In March 1874 *Challenger* began her crossing of the Pacific, a voyage that would take nearly two years. Matkin wrote in anticipation of that crossing, "This next year's cruise will be the pleasantest of the lot. . . . Every week will see us at different islands & among different people. . . ." The description of that trip comprises nearly a third of the book. Throughout the commentary is objective and perceptive: Kandavu in the Fiji Islands was "about 29 miles long and 6 broad, . . . mountainous & fertile;" on Ovalau "one of the chiefs offered to sell all the missionaries on the islands for a Keg of tobacco," and in Honolulu, "it is this civilizing process that is killing them [the Hawaiians] so fast."

There is informative narrative and a certain charm to Joseph Matkin's letters. They also provide insight into the man himself: his life below decks, his

thoughts on how science was done, his views on what was happening in the world in general, his love of family. In the last letter of the voyage, when *Challenger* is docked at Chatham, there is a premonition of what was to come, for Matkin writes of "finding Sea life nought but vanity, and vexation of Spirit," and he quotes Samuel Johnson, "A ship is worse than a Jail. . . . Men go to sea, before they know the unhappiness of that way of life; . . . they cannot escape from it, because it is then too late to choose another profession." Joseph Matkin, on returning to his life in England, appears never again to have found the satisfactions he had so graphically described in his letters from the *Challenger*.

Matkin's letters have been ably and sensitively edited by P. F. Rehbock, who frames them with summary notes on background and history. It is the letters themselves that carry the book; Rehbock's commentary neither intrudes to break the flow of the narrative nor to interpret Matkin's meaning beyond the words of the letters. Illustrations include a map of the voyage, photographs of Matkin, his family, and of the ship's company, drawings of instruments, dredges, and some of the dredged material, and, of course, of *Challenger* herself.

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*Reconciling the Past: Two Basketry Kā'ai and the Legendary Līloa and Lonoikamakahiki.* By Roger G. Rose. Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology 5. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992. ix + 56 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. \$12.95.

*Reconciling the Past* traces how the sacred 'iwi (bones) of two distinguished and prominent ali'i encased in their burial kā'ai (woven caskets) were treated during the last two centuries. These are the two kā'ai that mysteriously disappeared from the Bishop Museum during fumigation treatment in March 1994. The case study illustrates what has evolved into an irrepressible clash between Hawaiian spiritual beliefs, customs, and practices and Western religion and science. The kā'ai are generally believed to now be reinterred in Waipi'o Valley near their original resting place of honor.

Hawaiians consider 'iwi to be sacred, and contemporary Hawaiians involved in protection of our ancestral remains believe osteological analysis of the 'iwi of ancestors should be permanently banned. The proper treatment of ancestral burials emerged as a major issue in 1988, when the remains of approximately eleven hundred Hawaiians were disinterred at

Honokahua, Maui, to make way for construction of a hotel on beachfront land owned by Maui Land and Pineapple Company. Hawaiians rallied to stop the dig and worked with the public and private parties involved to reinter *na 'iwi o na kupuna* (the bones of the ancestors) and provide for their permanent protection. That experience galvanized a growing group of traditional Hawaiian religious practitioners to work to prevent future disturbances of ancestral remains. We are also repatriating and reburying Hawaiian remains that have been kept in various artifact collections at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, the Bishop Museum, the State Historic Preservation Office, and archaeology labs at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and in Hilo.

We believe all of *na 'iwi o na kupuna* that have been disinterred should be repatriated to lineal descendants or their representatives for reburial. Future disinterment of Hawaiians should cease altogether.

In this monograph, Roger Rose carefully pieces together varied and obscure original historical sources relating to the treatment of the burial remains of two chiefs of the island of Hawai'i. The result is a scholarly, detailed, and dispassionate record of how the *'iwi* were respectfully treated by trusted Hawaiian caretakers, but mistreated by converted Hawaiian *ali'i*, politicians, Western explorers, anthropologists, and scientists. This significant and thorough case study shows how even the most well-meaning Hawaiian leaders and anthropologists have been insensitive and misguided in their treatment of Hawaiian ancestral remains.

Despite Rose's thorough research, the true identity of the two *ali'i* will remain shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless, the historical record that he presents irrefutably reveals that the sanctity of these two sacred *ali'i*, whoever they may be, has been violated. It is this understanding which moved concerned Hawaiians to take on the burden and responsibility to respectfully bury these sacred *ali'i* and lay them to rest at Waipi'o at risk of arrest, imprisonment, and payment of huge fines. Moreover, the scientific methods and techniques used to dissect and analyze the *kā'ai* should never again be used on Hawaiian ancestral remains.

One may ask whether this story about the shameful and dishonorable treatment of our Hawaiian ancestors should even be published. On one level, the history of these *'iwi* has haunted Hawaiians who seek proper treatment of *na 'iwi o na kupuna*. Over and over again, historians and anthropologists have pointed to the removal of the *kā'ai* of the twenty-three *ali'i* from Hale O Keawe in Honaunau and the six *ali'i* from Hale O Līloa in Waipi'o Valley by Ka'ahumanu as a precedent for continuing disinterment of Hawaiian remains. The subsequent removal of those chiefly ancestral remains by Kekuanaoa and King Kamehameha IV to Pohukaina on O'ahu is cited as

additional evidence that Hawaiians disinterred burials to keep them close to the family.

A careful review of the historical circumstances indicates that the removal of the sacred *kā'ai* containing the *'iwi* of the Kona chiefs from Hale O Keawe and the Waipi'o chiefs from Hale O Liloa to the cave of Ho'aiku at Ka'awaloa by High Chiefess Ka'ahumanu occurred after the 'Ai Noa (Abolition of the Kapu). It was opposed by the surviving ritual chiefs as a desecration of the highest order.

Following upon this notorious act, the reason for the subsequent removal of the chiefly remains from Ka'awaloa by Kekuanaoa and King Kamehameha IV to Pohukaina is unclear. Perhaps it was politically, rather than ritually, motivated. On the other hand, it may have been a form of spiritual reconciliation by the Kamehameha heirs to their ancestors for the earlier desecration of the remains by their removal from Hale O Liloa and Hale O Keawe.

The subsequent removal of some of the chiefly remains from Pohukaina to Mauna 'Ala seemed to follow the pattern that had already been set, to gather the ancestral remains of the Kamehameha line in one sanctified mausoleum. Three points should be made. First, the historical context for the transfer of the burial caskets of the Big Island *ali'i* to O'ahu differed substantially from that existing prior to the 'Ai Noa. Second, those *kā'ai* were originally meant to remain at Hale O Liloa and Hale O Keawe. Third, had High Chiefess Ka'ahumanu not dismantled and destroyed Hale O Liloa and Hale O Keawe, the *kā'ai* would probably have remained in their original resting places.

In summary, a complex set of historical circumstances motivated the Kamehameha chiefs to remove their ancestors to Pohukaina and then to Mauna 'Ala. They cannot be compared with and should not be used to justify the disinterment of Hawaiian ancestral remains for contemporary tourist, commercial, industrial, and military development. I hope that the honest recounting of the historical treatment of the Kona and Waipi'o *ali'i* can help us understand why that history should not be repeated.

Another important reason for publishing this history is to expose the vagaries of physical anthropology with regard to Hawaiian burial remains. One year after Bishop Museum received the *kā'ai* of the two chiefs, they were x-rayed. Not satisfied with the findings, the *kā'ai* were opened. The bones and burial goods were removed and examined in 1957 by Kenneth P. Emory, Yoshihiko Sinoto, and Charles E. Snow. These scientists were more interested in the information they could glean from the contents of the *kā'ai* than in preserving and protecting the *kā'ai* and the sacred *'iwi*.

According to sources cited by Rose, Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole turned over the *kā'ai* to the museum to be cared for, preserved, and even restored. Lahilahi Webb quoted the prince as saying, "I have consented [to

turn it over to Bishop Museum] for they [the sacred chiefs] will have the best of care." In a letter to Governor Lucius E. Pinkham concerning the *kā'ai*, Kuhio wrote,

I now desire to suggest that the deposits in question should be removed to the Bishop Museum and, as far as possible, be restored. The nature of the deposits is such that they are of great historical value, and I know of no better place than the Museum from which may be learned all of the historical value which may be taught by them. I wish further to say in this connection that I trust, should the removal be made to the museum, the fibre caskets will be preserved for the purpose of demonstrating that the Hawaiian people of centuries ago were versed in industrial art.

According to Albert F. Judd, president of the museum's Board of Trustees, Kuhio told him that, "He wished to place these relics with the Museum because he knew that there they would be properly taken care of and not given a fictitious value which could not be substantiated historically."

Rose does not indicate whether the Bishop Museum scientists sought or obtained permission to open the caskets and examine their contents. Given the statements quoted above, it is not certain that Prince Kuhio would have approved of the dissection of the *kā'ui* and the extraction of the contents. Aside from satisfying curiosity about the contents and the age and size of the chiefs laid to rest in them, the information gained from the experiment was of negligible historical significance. The contents revealed no information about the origins of the Hawaiian people or a common ancestral mother. Nor did they inform observers about the precontact occurrence of diseases introduced by European and American explorers and traders.

In the final analysis, the full disclosure of the treatment of the sacred *'iwi* reveals much about the honor and character of those men and women responsible for the desecration of the burial remains and peace of our ancestral chiefs. It reveals little about the chiefs or the cultural, political, religious, and social system of the historical period in which they lived. In fact, the truly significant historical information contained in this book lies in the chants and the written accounts of the explorers, missionaries, and Hawaiian historians. This reinforces the assertion by Hawaiian religious practitioners that osteological analysis is superfluous to gaining deeper understanding of precontact Hawaiian society. Rather clues to the ancestral past of the Hawaiian people lie in the oral traditions that have been passed on through the generations.

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*Architecture in Hawai'i: A Chronological Survey*. Text by Rob Sandler; developed by Julie Mehta; edited by Frank S. Haines, FAIA. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1993. ix + 142 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$36.00 (cloth).

There is much about this book one wants to like. No good overview of architecture in Hawai'i has been published since Geoffrey W. Fairfax's *The Architecture of Honolulu* in 1970, long unavailable. Also, it is always good to see photographs of "old friends": Hawai'i's great buildings, ranging from surviving mission-period houses and churches, through the incomparable legacy of Hawai'i's royalty, to early twentieth-century buildings, including C. W. Dickey's works and the designs of Hart Wood, Julia Morgan, Bertram Goodhue, Ralph Adams Cram, Oliver Traphagen, and others practicing in what author Sandler recognizes as the "golden age" of Hawaiian architecture (p. 35).

It is also nice to see attention given to some of the more recent architecture of the state: the as yet unchronicled buildings of Vladimir Ossipoff and Alfred Preis, both sensitive architects who have done much to try to meld more traditional Western architectural preoccupations with what they saw as the new circumstances of Hawai'i. Finally, it is at least "instructive" to see this historic legacy against what has come to be accepted as an "appropriate" architecture for Hawai'i today—an architecture that many, despite occasional feints by architects and developers in what might be more sympathetic directions, find out of sync with present needs and expectations.

What then is *Architecture in Hawai'i*? It purports to be a straightforward history: "From the simple thatched *hale* to the nation's only palace...from humble plantation cottages to fabulous estates and resort hotels . . ." (jacket leaf). Beginning with the domestic buildings and sacred sites of native Hawaiians in the precontact period, Sandler traces the development of buildings in Hawai'i through the "missionary," "monarchy," and "territorial" periods, and on through more recent times. There is also a chapter on Hawai'i's diverse ethnic heritage and the significance of this legacy for the state's architecture. Approximately 150 buildings are highlighted, nearly all of them architect-designed. These are illustrated by a wealth of color photographs, by more than twenty credited photographers. Short sections in each chapter, part descriptive and part analytical, precede what might best be considered "photo essays"; photographs are supplemented by lengthy captions, which reinforce the text. There are also short appendices with biographical entries on some of the islands' better-known architects, a list of award recipients from the Honolulu Chapter, American Institute of Architects, and brief

descriptions of the Institute and Historic Hawai'i Foundation, credited for its help on the book. Finally, a short bibliography is provided. The book has all the earmarks of a glossy, "coffee-table" accessory.

It is perhaps unfair to be too critical of a book that in a sense announces its own limitations. This is frankly a picture book; it is not a scholarly treatment of Hawai'i's architecture; there are no footnotes, little evident use of historical sources, no real point of view. However—and this is a big HOWEVER—even within its own context the book falls short in many ways. Two important failings are the inconsistent quality of the photography and production. Although many of the state's leading architectural photographers are represented in the book, and excellent work is included by Douglas Peebles, David Franzen, and others, many of the other photographs are little more than snapshots; these, in turn, are vastly upstaged by often slick presentation photographs, especially those used to illustrate more recent architecture. The book's production quality is "spotty"; there is little consistency in layout, format, or print quality. The color range of some photographs is distorted; even the pinks of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and Tripler Army Medical Center are lost in the process.

Few historic photographs or other graphic materials are used. This was cited simply as a production decision, along with the choice not to include buildings no longer standing. However, a book purporting to be a "chronological survey" would seem to benefit from providing the reader with some understanding of older buildings "in their own times." Not including historic buildings that have been lost—the eccentric Theo. H. Davies Building by Louis C. Mullgardt, built in 1918 and tragically demolished in 1970; Bertram Goodhue's 1925–27 Bank of Hawai'i, destroyed in 1968; and, of course, John Mason Young's 1925 Damon Building, regrettably lost in January 1994—makes for a "chronological survey" with significant gaps, deleting buildings that had a very real impact on what came after them and what occurred nearby.

Also omitted is any real treatment of the islands' more anonymous vernacular architecture, either domestic or commercial. The wonderful facility at Waipahu Cultural Garden Park—a reconstruction of Hawaiian plantation life designed by Spencer Mason Architects in 1990—remarkably is included, but this is the only visual reference to the rich, and in many ways overriding, vernacular traditions of the islands.

There are many problems with the text. Although not a professional historian, Mr. Sandler does have a responsibility to present the material reasonably accurately. It is evident that he has tried to do his homework, but there are many glaring errors and some more understandable distortions throughout the book. The birthdate given for Kamehameha the Great predates that

speculated by historians by about twenty years (p. 2); two traditional stories on the origin of the Mo'okini *heiau* are merged and therefore confused (p. 3). There are also several inaccurate references to various members of the royal family, who are occasionally confused with one another (p. 25). There is some imprecision about dates—the arrival of whalers is given incorrectly as 1794, not 1812 (p. 2)—and about architectural terms and building components. Some of these are simply typographical errors—Chinatown's Wo Fat restaurant is rebuilt, according to the caption, before it was built (p. 69). Other aspects of the book demonstrate that the author has not fully absorbed the dense material at hand. In fact, many of the descriptions of older buildings sound strikingly like National Register nomination forms; those for recent architecture read like promotional brochures.

The book has numerous other stylistic shortcomings. The author is prone to hyperbole—"the bold new ewa gateway structure," as he refers to the thirty-eight-story Waikiki Landmark Building on Kalākaua Avenue fronting the Ala Wai. He also gets caught up in the unfortunate exercise of citing "firsts," "largests," and "most significant." Besides its amateurishness, this habit gets him in trouble a number of times, as when he suggests that the first "pre-fabs" arrived with the missionaries after 1821; there were, in fact, earlier Western-style frame buildings in Hawai'i. (The notion of prefabrication has been both exaggerated and mystified in popular writings about Hawaiian architecture, a misunderstanding perpetuated by the author.)

Despite my suggestion that the book lacks a clear point of view, a number of themes are presented, both implicitly and explicitly. These are perhaps less interesting for what they have to say about the development of architecture in Hawai'i than what they reveal about the prejudices and viewpoints of the architectural and developmental community that Mr. Sandler inherently represents.

In this view, native Hawaiians had an inherent appreciation of the environment of Hawai'i. Protestant missionaries came with no appreciation of their new context and brought New England architecture with them. Soon this was adapted to suit the local climate, with the introduction of wider eaves and verandas and increasing use of what the author broadly refers to as "local materials" (this usage extends in Sandler's account to wood from shipwrecks). Hawaiian royalty then turned to a more symbolic use of architecture, imitating European forms in the official buildings of the late nineteenth century. However, local influences, not well identified by the author, continued to have an impact. In the early twentieth century, local and mainland architects (Dickey, Wood, Traphagen, Goodhue, etc.) introduced Mediterranean forms, which were better adapted to Hawai'i's climate (better

than what?; even Greek Revival buildings, such as Washington Place, built in 1846, inevitably deferred to climatic needs). Dickey and Wood, in particular, then combined Mediterranean traditions with their interpretation of historic Hawaiian and Asian architecture (which is certainly true, though, of course, the “historic” architecture they drew from included examples from the missionary period). This effort was continued by architects after World War II and statehood. The “better” buildings today continue to draw upon Hawaiian traditions and “preserve Hawai‘i’s unique sense of place” (p. 99). From this perspective, all that incorporates whatever might be perceived as “local” is somehow seen as “appropriate” for Hawai‘i. I frankly do not buy it; to suggest that 1980s additions to the residential neighborhoods of Kahala, Lanikai, Portlock, or Black Point have incorporated “Hawaiian features” (p. 98) is a disturbingly inaccurate (or optimistic) characterization of houses that could equally be situated in Phoenix or Las Vegas. It may well be the viewpoint of buyers and developers, but as an explanation of what motivates architectural change in Hawai‘i, it falls decidedly short.

Still, *Architecture in Hawai‘i* has its value, and not only as a “text” for the “deconstruction” of the development “*mentalite*.” It is, for one, a useful catalog of photographs of both historic and recent architecture. Also, some credit has been given to efforts to preserve older buildings—a phenomenon as significant to contemporary Hawaiian architecture as was statehood. The names of firms or individual architects guiding recent restorations of historic buildings, most notably the work of Spencer Leineweber and Glenn Mason of Spencer Mason Architects, are listed in the entries for individual properties. Also, while the author exaggerates the protective value of listing a building on the National or State Registers (the book only refers to these once, incorrectly, as the “Registries”), he at least includes this information in his captions. Maybe there is some hope yet for an appreciation of Hawai‘i’s incomparable *historic* architecture. Current developments, exemplified by this book, unfortunately suggest otherwise.

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*Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii.* By Eileen H. Tamura. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xx + 326 pp. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$49.95 (cloth). \$19.95 (paper).

This is an intelligent book, the most satisfying piece of historical writing I have read in the past couple of years. Eileen Tamura addresses an important subject from a variety of angles, partakes deeply of her sources, and weaves an argument that is both original and subtle.

Tamura's subject is the Nisei, the second-generation Japanese, who were for most of this century Hawai'i's largest ethnic group and who remain in many ways our most important. Until now, no one has written a good history of the Nisei, either in Hawai'i or on the U.S. mainland. In the first couple of chapters, Tamura brings to life the world of the first-generation Issei through skillful use of the stories of individuals, fragments from diaries, and snatches of work songs, deftly interwoven with statistics, third-person accounts, and her own interpretive comments. That eclectic method prevails throughout the book.

Tamura follows with an account of White Hawai'i residents' campaign from the 1910s through the 1940s to "Americanize" the Japanese and of the Issei and Nisei responses to that campaign. She is blunt in confronting racism, at the same time she is careful to note ironies, such as the degree to which the Americanization campaign "pushed Issei and Nisei away from rather than toward America" (p. 61). Tamura's nuanced portrayal of anti-Japanese discrimination in Hawai'i stands as an effective complement to Gary Okihiro's more ideological *Cane Fires* (1991).

A series of chapters on the Nisei in schools may be more detailed than some historians will want to read, but Tamura may be forgiven: she does, after all, teach in a school of education. And the schools—public schools as well as private Japanese-language schools—were the places where the Nisei built their generation's consciousness. Tamura calls them "barometers of Nisei acculturation" (p. 124).

Tamura locates her analysis in the larger literature on American education and provides sensible correctives to several popular theories. For example, she agrees with revisionist educational historians that the dominant classes have made the public schools a tool of their hegemony—in this case by shaping the curriculum to try to tie Nisei workers to the sugar plantations. Because Tamura is deeply immersed in the Nisei perspective, however, she recognizes what the revisionists do not: that this group, at least, refused to be dominated. Despite the attempt by Hawai'i's oligarchs to use schools to create docile workers, the Nisei turned education to their own advantage instead, as they sought and achieved substantial upward mobility. The dominant class wanted to control them, but the Nisei had empowerment in mind, and ultimately they prevailed.

The steady habit of interacting with larger bodies of scholarship shows itself particularly in the last cluster of chapters, on Nisei acculturation. Here,

Tamura regularly makes cogent comparisons to the experiences of Nisei on the U.S. mainland and in Brazil, as well as to Chicanos, Germans, and other American ethnic groups. In these chapters, she examines the changes in Nisei life from three angles: (1) the structure and content of their social relationships (among Nisei, with Issei, and with non-Japanese); (2) culture, with telling analysis of the psychological significance of key developments in language, religion, and self-identity; and (3) the patterns of occupational mobility.

At the core of Tamura's argument is a simple but original distinction between Americanization and acculturation. The White oligarchs wanted to Americanize the Nisei, to obliterate all vestiges of Japanese culture and sever all attachments to Japan, in order to keep the Nisei a docile laboring population. The Nisei, by contrast, saw themselves as very American and avidly sought acculturation, but not Americanization: they wanted to acquire American cultural skills and to blend them with what they regarded as the best of Japanese culture, in order to get ahead in America while maintaining their independence. The bottom line is that the Americanizers lost and the Nisei won. But simple though the argument is in outline, Tamura presents it with many subtle shadings of insight that must be read for one fully to appreciate.

That Tamura is able to weave together several varieties of historical investigation into a single argument is a startling achievement. She is at home with interpretive methods as disparate as discourse analysis and softcore econometrics. She has read everything in English that has any bearing on her subject and has used it appropriately. She offers a stimulating set of photographs, not merely to illustrate the text but to challenge the reader to think more deeply. Her prose is well-organized, always clear, and sometimes quite graceful (the major exception is the eye-glazing title). Her research is exceptionally thorough: she has plumbed many archival collections, full runs of a dozen newspapers, more than fifty interviews, and scores of autobiographical student papers from the decades when the Nisei were coming of age.

If one is to complain about Tamura's methods, one might question her notes, which give abbreviated rather than full references. One has to take a second step to the bibliography to get the full author and title, and that is annoying. Still, the content of the notes is great: they not only give references but carry on a second-level commentary about sources and ideas.

This is the kind of book that historians are supposed to write: important, erudite, thoughtful, well written. It will interest a great many people who care about Hawai'i. But more than that, it is a book that history professors ought to give to their bright young graduate students as an example of the kind of book those students may aspire someday to create. With *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity*, Eileen Tamura steps into the front rank of

historians of Asian America. This volume is a fine start to Roger Daniels's promising series on The Asian American Experience. May there be many more books in the series, and may another book by Eileen Tamura be among them.

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*High Tea at Halekulani: Feminist Theory and American Clubwomen.* By Margit Misangyi Watts. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1993. xxvi + 208 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$29.95.

*High Tea at Halekulani* sets its sights on the American clubwomen in Hawai'i who formed and participated in The Outdoor Circle. The author and the publisher intend the book to become "essential reading" for those interested in Hawai'i, the history of women, and feminist theory. The reader discovers, however, that the author's intended audience seems to be feminists rather than members of the community at large. Moreover, the book is "wanting" in that it wants to do too much. The story lacks focus. It wants to please Gerda Lerner, editor of the series, but it repudiates historians and is unclear about feminism. It wants to inform about The Outdoor Circle, but opines instead. It wants to amuse, but puts the reader to sleep.

Gerda Lerner, a noted American historian, has written an editor's introduction to the series of which *High Tea at Halekulani* is a part (Scholarship in Women's History) praising Watts's historical account in chapter 3. Lerner says the case study and the actual look at the billboard campaign strategies described in chapter 4 provide substance to answer questions the series addresses. Certainly, these two chapters are the most factual in the book. The editor points out that these facts support the thesis that women built the infrastructure of community life, while men held positions of visible power (p. xvii). The editor's introduction is the most readable part of the volume.

Watts sets as her goal "to provide a case study through which I could illustrate that there is a world view unique to these women" (p. 12). Later, she states the thesis that "one can then argue that women organized into clubs in order to gather momentum and power for the purposes of *undoing* and *redoing* what they considered unnecessary, inappropriate, and unwanted in their communities" (p. 12).

The book is organized like a doctoral dissertation, which makes reading through the first two chapters tough work. No key question emerges. The research is shallow. While the author makes no claim to treat the overall sub-

ject historically, only as a "case study," she suggests that historians are male. This does not give credit to women who are valid historians. Her claim that women have not been written about fairly in history is nonsense, as the biographies of French, Russian, and English leaders from Eleanor of Aquitaine and Catherine the Great to Elizabeth I and Margaret Thatcher demonstrate. She has missed stating the point that throughout history women have been the group most consistently discriminated against, and that, generally speaking, they have not spoken out as a group against their treatment.

Another book should be written about *The Outdoor Circle* as this one does not do it justice. Watts's treatment of the founding women is biased to the point of belittling them and their motives. She missed the chance to explore the character and intentions of the women who started the organization by dismissing them as "elite and wealthy," without defining her terms, as if this fact made them less effective as women. Do women have to be without power to be "truly feminist"? Most neglected is her treatment of the founders and subsequent officers of *The Outdoor Circle* as *leaders*. A blend of the author's view of feminism and what she appears to think is Gerda Lerner's view of feminine historical treatment runs through the text like streaks of fat through an expensive steak. Her final put-down is to equate the goals of *The Outdoor Circle* to "feminist utopian thought" (p. 91).

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