



UNIVERSITY *of*
HAWAII
PRESS

PAUL F. HOOPER

**ELUSIVE
DESTINY**

**THE INTERNATIONALIST
MOVEMENT IN MODERN HAWAII**

Elusive Destiny

Elusive Destiny

The Internationalist Movement in
Modern Hawaii

PAUL F. HOOPER

Published with the support of the
Maurice J. Sullivan & Family Fund
in the University of Hawaii Foundation

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF HAWAII • Honolulu



UNIVERSITY of
HAWAI'I
PRESS

OPEN ACCESS



Open Access edition funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities / Andrew W. Mellon Foundation *Humanities Open Book Program*.



Licensed under the terms of Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0), which permits readers to freely download and share the work in print or electronic format for non-commercial purposes, so long as credit is given to the author. Derivative works and commercial uses require permission from the publisher. For details, see <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>. The Creative Commons license described above does not apply to any material that is separately copyrighted.

Open Access ISBNs:

9780824880064 (PDF)

9780824880071 (EPUB)

This version created: 16 May, 2019

Please visit www.hawaiiopen.org for more Open Access works from University of Hawai'i Press.

Copyright © 1980 by The University Press of Hawaii

*In memory of
Ronald G. Wolfe*

Contents

<i>Dedication</i>	iv
<i>Preface</i>	vi
I A New Pacific Era	1
II The Summer Isles of Eden	6
III Colossus of the Pacific	32
IV Our New Geneva	69
V The Will to Good Relations	112
VI A Duty to Perform	146
VII The Aura of Mystery and Wishful Thinking	186
<i>Notes</i>	200

Preface

This study is an interpretive description of internationalism in nineteenth and twentieth century Hawaii, a significant but little-known movement that revolves about the persistent efforts of a succession of Island leaders to forge a uniquely consequential role for Hawaii in the international affairs of the Pacific Basin. Founded upon hopes and aspirations far more ambitious than any warranted by the Islands' physical attributes, this movement involves undertakings ranging from efforts to create a confederation of Polynesian nations to dreams of generating a grand synthesis in East-West philosophy and cannot, thus, be characterized simply as a grandiose version of conventional international politics. Its origins lie more in a state of mind than in geo-politics, and its strategies are more akin to those of the crusader than those of the diplomat, soldier, or entrepreneur. Hence, while this study discusses diplomacy, warfare, and economics, it is fundamentally about the ways of thinking basic to an "ism."

A word on sources is necessary. As the chapter notes indicate, numerous different materials have been consulted. These range from secondary works, newspapers, and periodicals readily available in most public libraries to dissertations, government documents, institutional papers, and diaries located in the Archives of Hawaii, the East-West Center, the Hawaii International Services Agency, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection in Hamilton Library at the University of Hawaii, the Legislative Reference Bureau, and the YMCA of Honolulu. In addition, the papers of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Pan-Pacific Union, and the Peace Corps/Asia Training Center located in the University of Hawaii Archives are of particular significance. Finally, interviews, some conducted by the author and an assistant and available through the author,

Preface

and others conducted as part of the John A. Burns Oral History Project and available through Hamilton Library are likewise important.

While the descriptive portions of this book are based upon standard historiographical perspectives and require no special comment, the interpretive portions may arouse some uncertainty. The statements here proceed from the assumption, documented but perhaps still open to argument, that the generative urge behind the movement lies in value-laden beliefs and perceptions—social myths—more so than in economics, geography, politics, and the other more conventional elements of analysis. Accordingly, art, literature, music, poetry, television, and other mediums associated with the expression of values figure prominently in the work. Although common enough in recent scholarship, this approach has seldom been employed in Hawaiian studies and may be unfamiliar to some readers. As a footnote, it should be mentioned that the mythic aspect of the Island historical experience appears to be of considerable scope and that this approach may warrant more attention than it has so far attracted.

Very few scholarly works are completed without assistance from others. As this study is no exception, I have incurred numerous debts that I want to acknowledge. In general terms, my interest in the subject is the outgrowth of friendships and academic opportunities that have come during the course of some twenty rewarding years in the Islands. I wish it were possible to thank all those who helped make this such a rich experience. At the same time, it is both possible and a pleasure to mention a number of individuals who have contributed more directly. In the first instance, I want to say that I am indebted to Jason Horn for his sound scholarship on nineteenth century Hawaiian diplomatic history. Often cited but seldom accorded special recognition, his unpublished thesis, "Primacy of the Pacific Under the Hawaiian Kingdom," is unquestionably the basic reference on Island internationalism during this period, and I have made extensive use of it. I also want to note my indebtedness to Mona Nakayama and Sharon Narimatsu for their sustained research assistance and to the Atherton Family Foundation for a grant that facilitated the initial research.

Many others offered valuable assistance and encouragement during the research and drafting stages, and I want them to know that I truly appreciate their help. They are David Bertelson, Stuart Gerry Brown, Daniel Boylan, George Chaplin, Gavan Daws, Donna Ikeda, James Hall, Mark Helbling, Frances

Preface

Jackson, Pauline King Joerger, Damaris Kirchhofer, David Kitzelson, Seymour Lutzky, and Dennis Ogawa. Still others were just as helpful with the final preparation of the manuscript, and I likewise want to express my gratitude to them. They are Elizabeth Bushnell, Sanna Deutsch, Freda Hellinger, Doris Lutzky, Judith Masuda, Mary Mitsuda, Masao Miyamoto, Laila Roster, Charlene Sato, Danielle So Mai, and John Thomas. Last, I want my parents, Charlotte and Dallas Hooper, and my wife, Gloria Hooper, to know how much I appreciate their many thoughtful comments, long hours of proof reading, and unfailing support. To all, *mahalo nui loa*.

Finally, it goes without saying that those who have been so helpful should not be held accountable for questions of fact, judgment, and style. These are my responsibilities.

Honolulu
October 1978

I

A New Pacific Era

CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONALIST VISIONS

Shortly after eleven o'clock on the morning of February 20, 1969, John A. Burns, then governor of Hawaii and long the dominant figure in Island politics, entered the crowded House of Representatives chamber in the new state capitol to deliver the traditional "State of the State" address before a joint session of the legislature. Following a brief but warm introduction, he took the Speaker's podium, momentarily surveyed the packed floor and gallery, and then turned to his subject. Speaking in the clipped, almost gruff tone that had become so familiar over the years, he opened with a discussion of fiscal problems. It was evident, however, that there were more pressing matters on his mind. Hurrying the financial review to a conclusion, he paused briefly to consult his text and then began anew with the declaration that a "Pacific Era is unfolding—even against resistance from those unwilling to give this due recognition" and that great and vigorous dreams must be pursued "if we are to attain the greatness that is so patently the destiny of Hawaii and its people."

"This is a new beginning," he continued. "This is a time for great expectations of greater things to come." Citing the unveiling of statues of King Kamehameha I and Father Damien in Washington, he proclaimed that these men represent all the "cherished ideals and traditions of Hawaii" which make it possible to speak of such a destiny, "a commitment to dynamic leadership; a compassion for the downtrodden and hospitality toward all; an openness to change; and a burning zeal to improve the human condition through patient effort and the inspiration of exemplary lives."

A New Pacific Era

Developing the theme, Burns told his audience that “the tremendous power of Hawaii as a source of inspiration which leads to righteous revolutionary improvement in this world” must never be underestimated. As evidence, he cited the journals of Cook, Vancouver, Kotzebue, and other early explorers and spoke of how they had changed Europe’s entire perception of the Pacific. He noted Father Damien’s inspirational sacrifice among the victims of leprosy on Molokai. He discussed Sun Yat-sen and Syngman Rhee and weighed the influence of extended stays in the Islands upon their revolutionary philosophies. Turning to more recent events, he recalled the heroism of military personnel from the Islands who fought so valiantly against America’s World War II enemies. Finally, and with great feeling, he spoke of racism in Hawaii during the years prior to the war and how ordinary citizens arose during the 1940s and 1950s to destroy it. In sum, he declared, “Hawaii has been the home and headquarters of magnificent men of many races and many nations, whose vision of the Pacific swept into the decades and centuries to come.”

What all of this means, Burns concluded, is that the Islands have “become the young, living, throbbing Heart of the Pacific—no longer merely the inanimate hub, or step-stone, or bridge, or languid tropical resort—but an example of vibrant life at its best, and an inspiration to millions ... [for in this Heart] there lies a deep empathy for the many moods of the world and an intuitive appreciation of the yearnings and desires of all mankind.... We are unique in human society in our mid-ocean location, in our wonderfully progressive economic, social, and political structures, in our harmonious, multi-racial family life, and in our desire to be a leader in all that is good in the Pacific Community of Nations.”¹

While the scattering of visitors in the audience must surely have wondered how the people of such a small and distant group of islands could even dream in the ambitious terms Burns outlined, few of the Islanders present found the governor’s talk in any way incongruous. They had applauded similar talks in the past and they did so again on this occasion. The legislators, for example, were quiet and intent during the speech but rose together in a lengthy ovation at its conclusion. Speaking to reporters afterward, Burns’ fellow Democrats were clearly enthusiastic, and their comments about the “great speech” and the “excellent speech” were prominent in subsequent newspaper and television reports. The Republicans were almost as generous. Aside from expressing the wish that certain pending

legislative matters had been more directly addressed, they too lauded the talk. Fred Rohlfing, a Republican leader in the Senate, stated that he would “have to agree that ... [Burns] isolated all those things we should be concerned about concerning the future of Hawaii,” while Buddy Soares, a Republican leader in the House of Representatives, enthused that “it was the greatest lesson I’ve ever had in Hawaii[an] history.”²

Elsewhere the response was as positive if less exuberant. Newspaper and television reporters described the speech in the sober, matter-of-fact fashion reserved for events of consequence. Likewise, others familiar with local politics—lobbyists, legislative aides, and political observers—found it an excellent statement of proper and desirable hopes.³ Finally, and indicative of the degree to which Burns spoke for the entire local establishment on this point, U.S. Senator Hiram L. Fong, the effective head of the local Republican party, chanced to speak before a businessmen’s gathering later the same day and his comments were essentially a paraphrase of the governor’s earlier talk. In calling for a broader recognition of Hawaii’s ability to provide the nation with counsel regarding decisions about Asian and Pacific relations, he warned that the Islands “dare not permit the ‘Eastern Establishment,’ so heavily oriented toward Europe, to dominate or neglect U.S. policy toward Asia and the Pacific.” Hawaii, he declared, is a “natural” for leadership in the Pacific and must become the “spokesman” for American policy throughout the Pacific Basin.⁴ Different from Burns’ speech only in its style and emphasis, Fong’s talk, coming as it did at this particular juncture, dramatizes the fact that this vision of Hawaii’s Pacific and global destiny has long had support from all sectors of the local establishment. While there have been dissenters—“agnostics” as one observer termed them in wry comment on the sometimes doctrinal properties of this vision—they have generally been in the minority just as surely as they were on this particular day.

MAJOR PERIODS OF INTERNATIONALIST ACTIVITY

Understanding the local establishment’s enthusiasm for this perspective despite its readily apparent geopolitical contradictions is largely a matter of understanding the history of the Island internationalist movement, a fascinating but seldom-discussed phenomenon based upon an optimistic perception of the

A New Pacific Era

Hawaiian socio-cultural experience that dates back well over a century and involves the persistent efforts of a long succession of leaders to forge a unique, supra-diplomatic role for Hawaii in Pacific affairs. During the nineteenth century, most activity centered around attempts by the monarchy to transform Hawaii into a Pacific islands political power. Undertakings ranged from a well-intended plan for a "Polynesian Confederation" under Hawaiian leadership to an aggressive "Primacy in the Pacific" policy designed to revive flagging Island self-esteem through the creation of a mid-Pacific Hawaiian empire. These were interesting if less than productive ventures. Among other things, they resulted in the momentary annexation of a distant South Pacific island group and an actual threat of war from Germany.

An equally ambitious if rather different surge of international activism came in the first half of the twentieth century. During these years, the Pan-Pacific Union and the Institute of Pacific Relations were formed by local internationalists as the foci of a concerted and eventually widely-known effort to encourage greater political and cultural understanding throughout the Pacific. These organizations sponsored an immense number of activities involving regional conferences, scholarly research, political lobbying, and international consciousness-raising. Still another burst of activity followed the conclusion of World War II. In this instance, political leaders and government agencies took back much of the initiative they had earlier yielded to the private sector and launched a vast array of programs in international education, scientific cooperation, and commercial development. Still underway, these activities constitute the contemporary phase of the movement.

In light of such continuity of vision and persistence of endeavor, it becomes clear that the Island internationalist movement is more than simply a series of loosely related undertakings. Rather, it is an authentic historical tradition and must be viewed accordingly. Indeed, unheralded as it may be, it is probably the most consistent single tradition in the modern Hawaiian historical experience.⁵ This said, it must also be noted that it is one thing to describe a tradition and quite another to explain its being. Adequate descriptions can be extracted from resource materials with far greater ease than plausible interpretations. Yet it is the latter question that must ultimately be addressed if a holistic understanding is, as it should be, the final objective. Description alone cannot achieve this. Hence, whatever it is that has led the people of this tiny and remote group of islands to generate such ambitious hopes must be

Elusive Destiny

ascertained. Whatever it is that has caused them to translate these hopes into goals despite all that has so long been understood about the realities of international power and influence must be identified. Finally, whatever it is that has inspired them to cling to these goals year after year in the face of constant rebuff must be determined. Both of these ends—description and explanation—have been important considerations in the preparation of this study, and each has been addressed, the former through a traditional historical survey of the movement itself and the latter through a more speculative exploration of the various patterns of thought and perception underlying it.

II

The Summer Isles of Eden

MYTH, REALITY, AND ACTION

Contrary to prevailing opinion, the roots of the internationalist tradition in Hawaii encompass far more than simply the Islands' fabled role as a Pacific "crossroads." Aside from a location midway between East and West and a cosmopolitan citizenry—factors which have doubtless contributed to the growth of the tradition but which do not in themselves account for its existence—the Islands lack virtually all the physical attributes associated with centers of international activity elsewhere in the world. Physically remote, they have never shared the diplomatic stage with such international centers as Washington, London, Paris, and Tokyo, nor experienced the degree of economic activity characteristic of such entrepôts as New York, Rotterdam, and Singapore. Similarly, their lack of abundant population and vital natural resources has always denied them a sustained position of fundamental importance in global strategic considerations.¹ Indeed, the only substantial argument that can be made on behalf of a physical explanation for the internationalist tradition seems to be that island societies—particularly if they are at once cultural crossroads and dependent upon outside resources for much of their livelihood—tend to be more sensitive toward international issues than continental societies, and even this explanation is as much the consequence of imagination as of geography. In sum, physical—or "material," to use the more proper term—explanations of this tradition are less than convincing.

Such traditions do not, however, have to be explained solely in terms of existing economic, political, and geographic forces. As one scholar put it, they sometimes spring from "the analogy-perceiving, metaphor making, mythopoeic power of the human

Elusive Destiny

mind....”² Once created, they assume a life of their own that is not dependent, at least in any precise or direct fashion, upon surrounding material realities. Allowing for the ever-present exception, such ideas reflect the more basic values that people in a given society live by and for, and that hold the society together, sustaining its existence, satisfying its needs, and enhancing its growth. They are, thus, social myths—value-impregnated beliefs and notions—that depict the dominant thought forms of that society and thereby influence its collective perception of external reality. As such, they are the generative force underlying virtually all forms of that society’s high cultural expression and popular thought.³

It appears that ideas of precisely this nature were basic to the rise of the Hawaiian internationalist movement during the nineteenth century. More specifically, recent research suggests that the original governing elite, a select group of missionaries and businessmen largely from New England that dominated the Hawaiian monarchy during most of the nineteenth century and took direct control of the Islands at the turn of the twentieth century, came to view Hawaii as a physio-social paradise that, because of its superior character, was destined both to assume a leadership role in Pacific Basin affairs and to serve as a model for multicultural societies elsewhere around the world. Elevated to mythic status over the years, this belief led the elite to sponsor an immense and continuing variety of internationally oriented activities in an effort to transform theory into practice. In the process, such a persuasive rationale for international activism was established that the people of Hawaii have come to accept it as simply another part of Island cultural life. Myth, thus, led to action.

As is frequently the case with interpretations inspired by social myth, this view of the Hawaiian experience often clashes with the actual historical record, in the process glossing over a host of events and developments that are considerably more hellish than paradisaical. Beginning in the early years of the nineteenth century, for example, native Hawaiians watched with growing distress as a white-dominated government deprived them of much of their land and most of their traditional culture. Labor disputes throughout the first half of the twentieth century produced intense antagonism between the white sector of the community and the Japanese and Filipino sectors. A government-led effort to control foreign language schools during the 1920s convinced many Japanese that they would never achieve equal treatment so long as the white estab-

The Summer Isles of Eden

lishment remained in power.⁴ The sensational Massie rape and murder case during the 1930s generated intense racial hostility that eventually came to involve all segments of the community. The list goes on, but the point is clear. There is a striking contrast between the elite's mythic perception of the Island experience and the actual record which raises some perplexing questions about the very foundations of local internationalism.

Significantly, these questions were seldom raised in practice. In fact, successive generations of internationalist leaders studiously avoided them. While this is perhaps predictable in earlier instances where the leaders had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, it does not seem likely that the new, multiethnic establishment that came to power during a post-World War II wave of political reform would elect to follow a similar course. Motivated in large part by this very contrast between rhetoric and the record, this group had every reason to reject internationalism and the internationalist movement as simply another of the old elite's defeated and discredited policies. Yet, it did not. As is evident in the foregoing remarks of Burns, the key figure in the postwar reform movement, the new leaders embraced internationalism with all the fervor of their predecessors. This illustrates both the staying power and persuasiveness of paradisaic imagery in local thought and, more generally, the fact that reality can indeed be as much a matter of imagination as of material circumstances.

NINETEENTH CENTURY ISLAND IMAGES

Illustrations of the origin and development of the paradisaic myth abound. Soon after the first Western explorers touched Hawaii late in the eighteenth century, laudatory accounts of the Islands began to appear. Although they produced only a limited commentary themselves, the original observers were followed by a host of others who generated a seemingly endless stream of enthusiastic statements on the Islands. Celebrating first the richness of the landscape and later the superiority of the society, they employed virtually every medium available and, as a consequence, influenced an immense number and variety of people around the world as well as in Hawaii.

During the nineteenth century, favorable characterizations of the Islands dealt primarily with aspects of the physical landscape. In this respect, the observations of James Jackson Jarves, a journalist, historian, and novelist prominent in Hawaii before

Elusive Destiny

the middle of the century, are representative. In a descriptive account of the Islands published in 1843, he termed them the "garden-spots of the earth" and commented at length on their beautiful flora, brilliant coral reefs, abundant fruits, and delightful people.⁵ In all, he concluded, the Islands are "like giant guardians of the Ocean. They break at once upon the voyager with a suddenness and a grandeur that excites his surprise and admiration. Providence seems just so to have placed them, that they shall serve as a great ocean hotel—an oasis in the boundless waste of waters—a spot where men of all races can meet on neutral and hospitable ground, and there raise their anthem of praise for deliverance from the dangers of the treacherous deep, and petition for protection for the future."⁶

Similar observations are found in the works of many travelers who visited Hawaii during the middle years of the nineteenth century and returned to Europe and America to record their impressions of the then little-known land, Isabella Bird [Bishop], an observant Englishwoman who spent some time in the Islands during the 1870s, is one who wrote such a work. Calling Hawaii the "Summer Isles of Eden," she filled her journal with evocative descriptions of crescent bays, black lava islets, golden sand beaches, musical streams, waving palms towering above lush greenery, boundless supplies of fresh fruit, and soaring mountain peaks.⁷ No doubt as intended, the reader comes away feeling that the Islands must indeed be an Eden.

A few years later, Charles Warren Stoddard, an otherwise respected writer of the era, took this genre to its logical if rather trite conclusion. In a book sponsored by a steamship company then serving Hawaii, he reduced the inspired descriptions of Jarves, Bishop, and others to commercial slogans. Larded with references to "the Paradise of the Pacific," "the gems of the Pacific," and "the most romantic island Kingdom in the world ... where summer is fragrant and perpetual," his work set the pattern for modern tourist advertising.⁸ Not content with slogans alone, he introduced his chapters with a style of saccharine poetry that likewise found its way into subsequent descriptions of the Islands. One example is sufficient:

O Waikiki! O scene of peace!
O home of beauty and of dreams!
No haven in the Isles of Greece
Can cord the harp to sweeter themes;
For houris haunt the broad lanais,

The Summer Isles of Eden

While scented zephyrs cool the lea,
And, looking down from sunset skies,
The angels smile on Waikiki.⁹

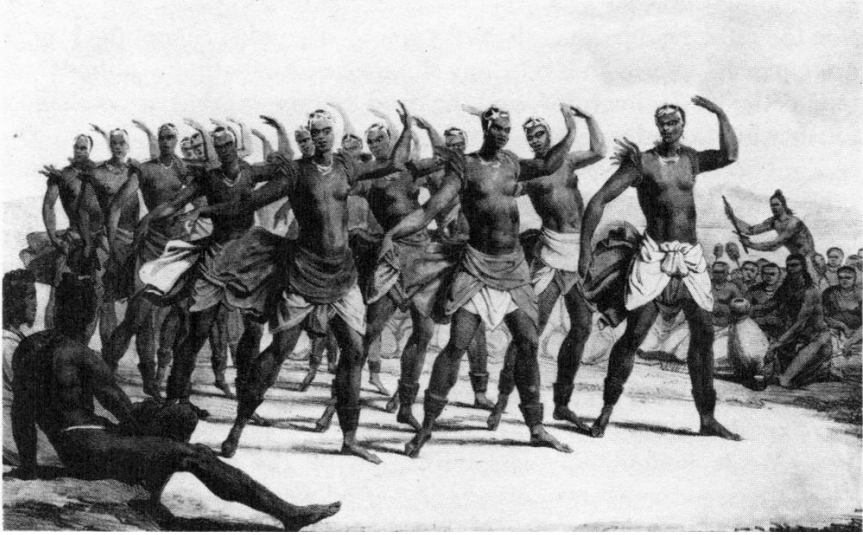
Even Mark Twain, inclined as he may have been to look on the grimy rather than the glorious side, found Hawaii something of an Eden. Although he made little reference to this theme in the items he wrote while residing in the Islands during the 1860s, his subsequent works contain a number of noteworthy passages. Best known is his widely quoted description of Hawaii as “the loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean,” but there are others. In 1884, for example, he began a novel on Hawaii that opened with a lengthy characterization of the Islands as “a calm and beautiful haven where rest and peace awaited those battered by the vagaries of life elsewhere.”¹⁰ Finding even this description too mild, he subsequently told a New York audience that the Islands are a place “where life is one long slumberless Sabbath, the climate one long delicious summer day, and the good that die experience no change, for they but fall asleep in one heaven and wake up in another.”¹¹

Travelers and writers were not the only ones to find nineteenth century Hawaii an enchanting land. The early missionaries, despite a tendency to see sin and abomination in every corner, acknowledged the beauty of the landscape. Even Hiram Bingham, perhaps the most rigid of all of these frequently inflexible puritans, was moved to note in his memoirs that some found at least portions of the Islands to be “like the delights of an Eden.”¹² However, more in keeping with his general view of Hawaii, he went on to note that “East of Eden” would perhaps be a more apt description.¹³

While undoubtedly less influenced by the Edenic theme than Westerners, native Hawaiians of this period were nonetheless aware of the special physical attributes of their homeland. This feeling is evident in the content of certain traditional chants and, even more so, nineteenth century poetry. A poem from the 1830s entitled “Beautiful Land of Hawaii” illustrates:

You are pleasant toward strangers;
You are kind and loving,
Your nights have no rain, it is calm also,
A safe refuge art thou for ships;
You give them rest in their troubles.
Hawaii has gained a victory, yet only an island,

Elusive Destiny



"Danse des Femmes dans les Isles Sandwich." Lithograph by Louis Choris. Honolulu Academy of Arts collection and reproduction

Bare above, nothing growing,
Jehovah caused things to grow,
He produced the growing plants.
Beautiful and lovely are the isles,
He distributes benefits;
The soil is rich;
Every plant is growing well,
The taro, the potato, the yam,
Whereby hunger is appeased.
The water-melon and the cane are good,
They are desirable products;
The cotton is good,
It brings riches to men,
Hope for Hawaii's future.
Have a mind to go there,
The people are kind, not angry,
It is finished to crumbling.¹⁴

The same sentiment is found in more recent poetry. In some instances the point is made by favorably contrasting Hawaii with lands elsewhere, and on other occasions it is made more di-

The Summer Isles of Eden

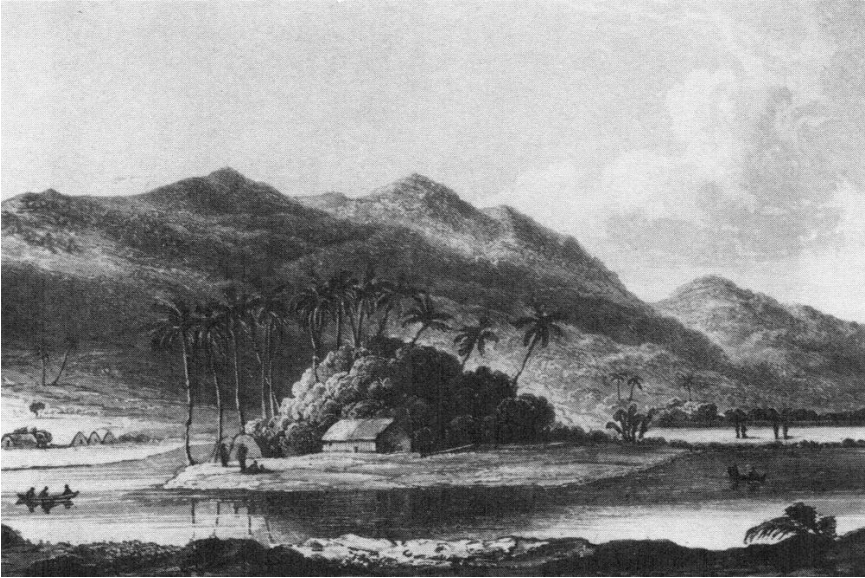
rectly.¹⁵ A poem by Princess Likelike extolling the beauty of Aina-hau, her famed Waikiki residence, is representative of the latter instance:

So beautiful is my home
Aina-Hau in a paradise
Swaying leaves of coconuts
Verdant beauty and fragrant flowers
My home, my home paradise.¹⁶

Art was as important as literature in the creation of a paradisaical interpretation of the Islands. Among the best early examples in this respect is a series of watercolors and sketches by Louis Choris, a draftsman with the Russian Kotzebue expedition which stopped in Hawaii in 1816 and again in 1817. His works depict an enchanting tropical land peopled by handsome, noble beings.¹⁷ In the years following, a succession of artists visited Hawaii and recorded their similarly enthusiastic impressions. Among the more prominent were Robert Dampier, who was aboard H.M.S. *Blonde* when it returned the bodies of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Kamamalu in 1825 following their deaths in England; Charles Furneaux and Jules Tavernier, who painted landscape scenes in the Islands during the 1880s; and Joseph Strong, Robert Louis Stevenson's son-in-law who came to Honolulu in 1882 with a commission to do a painting for the Spreckels Sugar Company and stayed on, alternately painting and drinking, until the end of the decade when he accompanied Stevenson to Samoa.¹⁸

While most of the favorable nineteenth century commentaries on Hawaii concern only the physical characteristics of the Islands, the first glimmerings of a similarly positive social characterization did make their appearance. For instance, Albertine Loomis notes in her story of the early years of the Protestant missionary effort in Hawaii that this group made at least some effort to establish the concept of a classless, multiethnic brotherhood among whites and Hawaiians.¹⁹ Her reconstruction of the first sermon preached in Hawaii has the minister telling his listeners that it is "the command of the one true *Akua* [god] that they live together—brown and white, kings, chiefs and commoners, whether from the windward islands or the leeward—loving one another like brothers."²⁰ For a variety of reasons, not in the least the doubts of many of the missionaries themselves, this effort was not especially successful, but it did at least help introduce the notion into Island life.

Elusive Destiny



"View Near Honolulu, Oahu." Aquatint by Robert Dampier. Honolulu Academy of Arts collection and reproduction

Richard Henry Dana, author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, was impressed with what he took to be the observably superior character of Hawaiian people. Discussing some Hawaiian sailors he had known on the West Coast during the 1840s, he remarked that he would have entrusted his life and fortune to Hawaiian hands and, had he asked a favor of them, would "have expected to have seen it done before my own countrymen had got half through counting the cost."²¹

Still others were impressed by Hawaiian society during these years, finding it gentle and simple and, hence, a welcome contrast to life in the more dynamic Western nations. A case in point is Charles Nordhoff who spent some time in the Islands during the 1870s and later wrote of his experiences. In the course of his remarks, he observed that he did "not know ... where else in the world you would find so kindly, so gracefully hospitable, and, at the same time, so simple and enjoyable a society as that of Honolulu."²²

Lunalilo, in his first address to the Hawaiian legislature following his election to the throne in 1873, stated his belief that Island society was not only pleasant but superior. "This nation,"

The Summer Isles of Eden



"Hawaiian Landscape." Pastel by Jules Tavernier. Honolulu Academy of Arts collection and reproduction

Elusive Destiny



"Honolulu 1886." Oil by Joseph Strong. Hawaii State Archives collection and reproduction

he said, "presents the most interesting example in history of the cordial co-operation of the native and foreign races in the administration of its government, and most happily, too, in all the relations in life there exists a feeling which every good man will strive to promote."²³ His successor, Kalakaua, expressed similar feelings in poetic form when he wrote "The Pearl" in 1881 following his return from a trip around the world. After pondering the various advantages enjoyed by his fellow monarchs, he argued that Hawaii, while perhaps not a major force in global politics, was nonetheless a nation and a society to be admired. His rationale lies in the concluding lines:

Yet one thought came to me of which I may boast,
that of all the beauties locked within the embrace of these
shores,
one is a jewel more precious than any owned by my fellow monarchs.

I have nothing in my Kingdom to dread.
I mingle with my people without fear.
My safety is no concern, I require no bodyguards.
Mine is the boast that a pearl of great price has fallen to me
from above.
Mine is the loyalty of my people.²⁴

The Summer Isles of Eden

In Kalakaua's mind, this was far more than simply idle musing. As discussed later, much of his foreign policy derived from the the perception of Hawaii's place in the world implicit in these lines.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ISLAND IMAGES

The tendency to find unique and often superior characteristics in the social makeup of Hawaii increased with time and by the early decades of the twentieth century had become the principal theme in acclamatory commentary.²⁵ Local audiences were time and again reminded of the special qualities of Island society by such figures as newspaperman, and later governor, Wallace Rider Farrington, and an irrepressible publicist and organizer named Alexander Hume Ford.²⁶ Through their efforts, others of national and international stature discovered the theme. Among the first to do so was Jack London. While visiting the Islands shortly after the turn of the century, he became intrigued with the perception of Hawaii as a synthesis of Asian and Western cultures and devoted considerable time to speaking on behalf of Ford's efforts to promote transcultural understanding throughout the Pacific.²⁷ Perhaps because of his white supremacist views, London never commented on this aspect of Hawaii in his stories, but he was interested enough in it to lend his time and support to Ford's endeavors.²⁸ Ford later acknowledged this with the slightly exaggerated observation that it was London and others "who first got together and talked of a Pan-Pacific Movement, and for ten years [now] each of us has worked heart and soul toward its attainment. Jack London was one of its sponsors, and to the end one of our co-workers."²⁹

Somerset Maugham was likewise intrigued by Island society. Following a visit during World War I, he wrote a number of short stories which spoke of Hawaii as "the meeting place of East and West." He found the juxtaposition of old and new cultures "singularly intriguing," and the mix of people, with their different languages, thoughts, religions, and values, possessing an "extraordinary vitality."³⁰ While he was apparently as much amused as impressed by this, his portrayal of the Islands was nonetheless complimentary and, more to the point, read by audiences the world over.

London's and especially Maugham's acclamatory characterizations of Hawaiian society attracted the attention of still others, and by the end of the 1930s a goodly number

of writers had paused in the Islands long enough to gather material for their own increasingly enthusiastic commentaries. Indeed, as the following selection from one such work illustrates, the rhetoric they employed was as laudatory as any ever associated with descriptions of the physical landscape. "Here," the author declared, "are mingling the streams from along the four skyroads known to the ancient Polynesian navigators. Here the peoples of the six continents and the many islands blend their bloods, bringing true both prophecies: that of the overwhelming flood [into the Islands] and that of the replenishment [through intermarriage]. And the spirit of Kamehameha, looking upon them from the Polynesian spirit-world, will hail them as the golden race, the new people."³¹ True or not, in terms of literary imagery Hawaii had become a social as well as physical paradise. While later writers—in particular James A. Michener—would develop this characterization more fully in the years after World War II, it is writers like Maugham from the earlier period who must be credited with initiating it.

In the meantime, local writers, artists, religious leaders, educators, publicists, politicians, and even architects reacted enthusiastically to the growing acceptance of this characterization and redoubled their own efforts to reinforce it. Maui-born novelist Armine von Tempski's works are a case in point. Opening her autobiography with the observation that "attaining Paradise in the hereafter does not concern me greatly. I was born in Paradise," she wrote page after page on the aloha spirit, love, the blending of races, ethnic harmony, and the general joy for life that she found in Hawaii.³² Island people, she concluded, simply obeyed the commandment to love one another and thereby created their own paradise.³³

Poets joined in hailing Island society. Saccharine as they may be, the many poems by Don Blanding—Hawaii's best-known popular poet—suggest that Island life is somehow more satisfactory.³⁴ The same is true of many serious poets. Genevieve Taggard, one of the most critically acclaimed poets from Hawaii, recalled the happy society of her childhood days in a work entitled "The Luau":

Now I am back again. I can touch the children:
My human race, in whom was a human dwelling,
Whose names are all the races—of one skin.
For so our games ran tacit, without blur.
What brings me back with giant steps to them?

The Summer Isles of Eden

What was the feast that woke this fabulous thirst?
What was the summer fruit we found and ate
Boldly, with the children of Adam?³⁵

Still other poets addressed the same theme. For example, Bess Heath Olmstead's "The Flowery Isles" speaks of East and West meeting in a favored land and concludes:

And the old Pacific slyly smiles
When the great ships reach the shore,
For she sees in the distance, greater good
To the human race, and brotherhood
Close by, by an open door!³⁶

Throughout the twentieth century, a host of popular songwriters have likewise lauded Hawaii. In most instances, however, they have been content to address simply the physical attributes of the Islands. Charles E. King, a prolific and much-loved lyricist who wrote during the early decades of the twentieth century, is in large part responsible for establishing this trend with such works as "Song of the Islands" and "My Dear Hawaii." The former deals simply with beauty, describing the Islands in terms of golden sunlight, balmy air, sparkling rainbows, and azure seas.³⁷ The latter utilizes much of the same terminology but concludes that these qualities constitute nothing less than a paradise.³⁸ Predictably, this theme found acceptance beyond the realm of popular music and is now evident in the lyrics of even various alma maters.³⁹

As was earlier the case among novelists, there has been an inclination among songwriters during recent years to shift attention from the land to the people. In this respect, the many lyrics of Kui Lee are perhaps most noteworthy, and among his works "My Hawaii," a powerful if little-known celebration of the Islands, is probably the best example:

If someday your wand'ring soul bids you South where trade-
winds blow,
Listen to your heart, my friends, Once it lied but not again.
Fill the sails, fly on to my Hawaii nei.
There's a golden child of earth at play, Where the rainbow
stripped his hate away,
Tis the dawn of a new-born day, From the rugged canyons of
Waimea,

Elusive Destiny

To the slopes of mighty Mauna Kea. You can climb the cliffs of
the Koolaus and gaze at the endless sea.

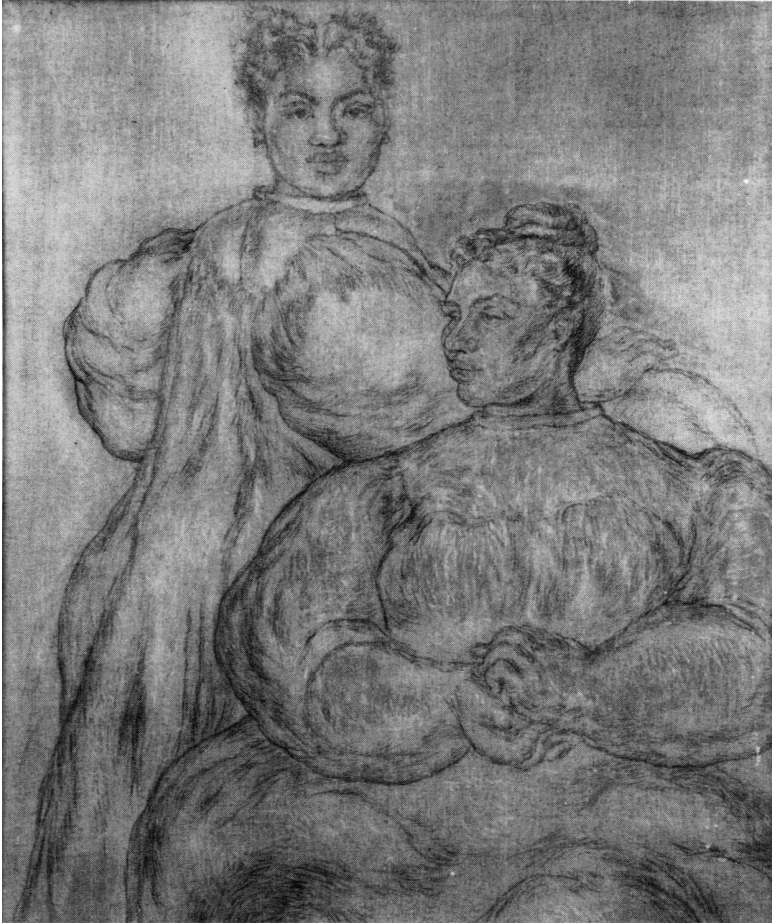
And there in the veil of morning mist, That miracle unwinds
'fore thee.

See the isle in the morning sun, Molokai we're Southeast
bound, and the cliffs that shore Lanai, From blue depths
reach for the sky, Travel on and on and there 'neath cloud
rimmed skies, Maui looms before my homesick eyes,
There's Lahaina where in my love lies, All of this is par-
adise.⁴⁰

Artistic comments on twentieth century Hawaii have followed a similar course. For the most part restricted to paintings, they retained a nineteenth century concern for the landscape during the earlier years of the century and then began to probe the social realm. The many landscapes and scenic vistas of David Howard Hitchcock, the first local-born painter of note, are representative of the earlier period. As is the case with nineteenth century works, they depict the physical beauty of the Islands. During the 1930s this began to change, particularly with the work of Madge Tennent. Employing bold strokes and lively colors, she celebrated the goodness and *joie de vivre* of native Hawaiians. Subsequently, other artists appeared sounding similar themes, in the process declaring the uniqueness of Island society. Jean Chariot is perhaps the best known of these artists, although others such as Juliette May Fraser, John Kelly, and John Thomas are of considerable importance.⁴¹

While many individuals working in a variety of media have contributed to the growing enthusiasm for Hawaiian society, it is unlikely that any have been so influential as the producers of motion pictures and television shows. From the standpoint of physical imagery, films set in the Islands have consistently emphasized the beauty of the land. All the major motion pictures—from pop star spectacles like *Blue Hawaii* to serious dramas such as *From Here to Eternity*—and all the noteworthy television series—principally “Hawaiian Eye” and “Hawaii 5-0”—dealing with Hawaii have unfailingly utilized towering peaks, tranquil lagoons, lush foliage, and breathtaking vistas as backdrops. As a consequence, millions upon millions of viewers throughout the world have been shown in the most literal sense that the Islands are indeed an Eden. While other media have projected the same message, none has been able to reach such vast audiences with such graphic force.

The Summer Isles of Eden



*"Improvisation on an Imagined Early Hawaiian Photograph."
Charcoal and pastel by Madge Tennent. Honolulu Accdemy of
Arts collection and reproduction*

The contribution of these productions to the characterization of the Islands as a social paradise is somewhat less obvious. Of the numerous major motion pictures concerning Hawaii, only *Diamond Head* made a serious effort to discuss contemporary social issues. Although its message does emerge in a positive fashion (racial bigotry is rejected and transcultural understanding is advocated), it was not well received and cannot be cited as particularly influential. It is likely that *Blue*

Elusive Destiny



*"Relation of Man and Nature in Old Hawaii." Fresco by John Charlot.
University of Hawaii photo*

Hawaii, a film that was never intended as serious commentary but one that attracted huge audiences because of its star—Elvis Presley—and its evocative title, had a greater impact upon popular impressions of the Islands than any other film ever made. In a sense, this is regrettable, as its portrayal of Hawaiian society, while blandly complimentary, is a blurred amalgam of Hawaiian, Samoan, and Tahitian culture overlaid with borrowed Southern notions of hospitality, aristocracy, leisure, and race.⁴² Despite these shortcomings, however, it does project an essentially paradisaical interpretation and stands, thus, as a major factor in the popularization of this view of the Islands.

Television productions dealing with Hawaii have reached even larger audiences than motion picture productions and are, thus, of even greater significance as creators of popular impressions. ABC's "Hawaiian Eye" series which ran during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and CBS's "Hawaii 5-0" series which began during the 1968-1969 season are most important in this respect. The former attracted a respectable if not massive audience for several years, and the latter—now the third longest-running show in American television history—has consistently been one of the more popular shows in the nation.⁴³ In addition, it is shown on numerous foreign television networks and has acquired immense popularity abroad.

The Summer Isles of Eden



Detail of "Makahiki Ho'okupu." Fresco by Juliette May Fraser. Contemporary Arts Center of Hawaii photo

The first impression a viewer is likely to gain from these productions is that Hawaii is an exceedingly beautiful place. There is, however, more. Providing one ignores the implication that crime is the principal feature of life in the Islands (the "Hawaiian Eye" series was based on the exploits of several private detectives and "Hawaii 5-0" revolves about the activities of an imaginary state police force), both suggest rather clearly that Hawaiian society is uniquely multiethnic, harmonious, and tolerant. Instructions in "Hawaiian Eye" scripts, for instance, frequently and consciously emphasized the importance of showing "all races and nationalities" as well as spectacular scenery.⁴⁴ The same has been true of "Hawaii 5-0" productions, and on several occasions episodes have dealt directly with transcultural understanding and tolerance.⁴⁵ Hence, while not always readily apparent, the paradisaical theme has been as much a part of television's message as that of other media.

Elusive Destiny



"Boy with Goldfish, No. 3 for Sight." Oil by John Thomas, 1977. State Foundation on Culture and the Arts collection and reproduction

If the message in motion pictures and television series has on occasion been unclear, there is another dimension of the film medium where clarity has not been a problem. This is television advertising. Commercial messages, prepared largely for local consumption, have taken the notion of Hawaii's special characteristics to extremes. Acclamatory scenarios and slogans abound, offering viewers such fare as an ethnically mixed group walking arm-in-arm along a spectacular mountain ridge singing a jingle that relates cultural harmony to the services offered by a local airline, and a series of vignettes on the desirability of

The Summer Isles of Eden

life in various towns and districts throughout the Islands that always concludes with the comment, "We [the sponsoring bank] wouldn't want to be the bank of anywhere else in the world."⁴⁶ In short, television commercials constantly portray Hawaii's physical and social environment as superior to whatever may exist elsewhere, and no viewer can escape the message that he or she is living in a worldly paradise.⁴⁷

Much the same can be said of advertising directed at potential tourists. Dating from the first organized efforts to promote tourism late in the nineteenth century, the industry has consistently advertised the Islands as a beautiful, tranquil, and unique Eden that no traveler can afford to miss. While this theme has remained constant over the years, the style and format have changed considerably. In the beginning, advertisers were inclined to make verbose and exaggerated claims to attract attention to Hawaii. Two examples, both scenic photographs with captions, illustrate. The first, a picture of a railway running through a palm grove fronting the ocean, states, "Only the Riviera in Italy and the famous Amalfi Drive can compare with the wonderful ride over the Hamakua Extension Line of the Hilo Railway on the Island of Hawaii. It is nothing short of marvelous."⁴⁸ The second, a very ordinary view of workers harvesting sugar, observes that Hawaii possesses "the Twelve Scenic Wonders of the World: The largest active volcano, the largest quiescent crater, the highest Island peak, the most gorgeous fish, the only expert surf-riders, the most varied and marvelous canyons, [the] most beautiful waterfalls, moonlight rainbows, Pa'u riders, the most extensive pineapple fields and the richest sugar cane. Come to Hawaii!"⁴⁹

During the 1920s and 1930s, this approach gave way to a more modern style. The long descriptions were replaced with catchy slogans such as "tropic climes," "enchanted isles," and "aloha spirit," and the technique of enticing prominent editors and travel writers to Hawaii in order to obtain editorial publicity was refined. Consequently, more than a few adulatory articles appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, *Vogue*, *The New Yorker*, and other magazines of similar quality.⁵⁰ In addition, radio came into use during this period as still another means of encouraging tourism. In 1935, the famed "Hawaii Calls" program was initiated and over the following years reached millions of listeners worldwide with a well-honed invitation to visit the Hawaiian paradise.⁵¹

Elusive Destiny

Following World War II, the industry began to inject a limited amount of social commentary into its advertisements. While the earlier emphasis on physical beauty was maintained, there was increasing reference to the Islands' various social attributes. A recent series of Hawaii Visitors Bureau advertisements represents this tendency. Under the unifying slogan "Hawaii: More than a Pretty Place," a number of different, fetchingly illustrated advertisements discuss such topics as cultural diversity, ethnic festivals, churches and religions, and local customs.⁵² The attractive pictures and enthusiastic commentary clearly suggest that the Islands are an oasis of harmony and joy as well as beauty.

As noted previously, some of the original contributions to a positive characterization of the Islands came from the early Christian missionaries. With certain noteworthy exceptions, the social message from Island pulpits followed this theme in the years thereafter, and religious leaders became as important as those from other sectors in promoting an acclamatory view of local society. Albert W. Palmer, a well-known minister of the missionary-founded Central Union Church, summarized this perspective in a poem entitled "Fair Hawaii," which he wrote during the 1920s as part of a book on Hawaiian race relations:

Fair Hawaii, we thy children
Our aloha pledge to thee,
New-found brothers from all races
Gathered here in unity.
O thou God of peace and justice,
Help us in true love to dwell
Make our thoughts and deeds fraternal
Earth's great brotherhood foretell.⁵³

For Palmer, Hawaii was already a model Christian brotherhood and the rest of the world would profit by following its example.

A synthesis of these sentiments with the Hawaiian concept of "aloha" often appears in the sermons and statements of Abraham Akaka, the best known contemporary religious leader in Hawaii. "Aloha," as he put it in his "statehood sermon" in 1959, "is the power of God seeking to unite what is separated in the world—the power that unites heart with heart, soul with soul, life with life, culture with culture, race with race, nation with nation. Thus when a people ... live in the spirit of Aloha, they live in the spirit of God...."⁵⁴ He concluded with the proposition that Hawaiian statehood would have—or at least should

have—worldwide implications. “Today,” he argued, “one of the deepest needs of mankind is the need to feel a sense of kinship one with another. Truly all mankind belongs together, for from the very beginning all mankind has been called into being, nourished, watched over by the love of God who is *aloha*. The real Golden Rule is *aloha*. This is the way of life we must affirm.... Thus may our becoming a state mean to our nation and world ... ‘Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to *all* people.’”⁵⁵

The influence of religion on the development of an enthusiastic view of Island society has long extended far beyond the church proper. This is particularly true of the literature inspired by various religious undertakings and the schools founded by certain religious groups. Literary works such as Samuel B. Harrison’s *The White King*, a fictionalized biography of the famed medical missionary Gerrit Parmele Judd, have argued that Hawaii, due in large part to the influence of Christian missionaries, has set an example for all the world with respect to interracial understanding and brotherhood.⁵⁶ Elementary and secondary schools established by local religious groups have encouraged similar perspectives. Mid-Pacific Institute, a conglomerate of several multiethnic schools founded during the nineteenth century by missionary families, is perhaps the outstanding example in this respect. As Helen Gay Pratt observed in her history of the institution, “The more one ponders Mr. [Francis Williams] Damon’s [the school’s principal founder] passionate expressions of his belief in the important part a Honolulu school could play in the Far East and in promoting international understanding, the more one realizes that he was imaginatively devoted to an ideal that was in advance of his time.”⁵⁷ She also notes that Damon’s notions were later influential in the growth of international activism at the University of Hawaii and concludes quite properly that Damon was one of the first of many who believed it was the Islands’ destiny to bring East and West together through educational innovation.⁵⁸ So it is that multicultural education is yet another factor in the mythic equation.

As Pratt suggests, the University of Hawaii has indeed played an important role in the development of a complimentary view of Island society. Beginning during the 1920s, the institution undertook an array of transcultural activities that eventually led to such specific achievements as the creation of the East-West Philosophers’ Conference, the development of one of the nation’s outstanding Asian studies programs, and the es-

establishment of important transcultural training programs for the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development. Highlighted by the opening of the East-West Center in 1960, these activities have contributed immensely to the assumption that Hawaii is indeed a hybrid society embodying the best of East and West.

This assumption has been reinforced over the years by university-inspired research. To illustrate, David L. Crawford, president of the school between 1927 and 1941 and an early advocate of the notion that Island society might serve as a model for multicultural societies elsewhere, wrote that "Hawaii is a real human laboratory. Experiments in race relations of worldwide significance are in progress, not of less value because they were not deliberately set up as experiments."⁵⁹ Andrew W. Lind, a respected sociologist and something of a skeptic as regards the model society argument, was nonetheless impressed enough with the idea to observe that "Hawaii's claim to the title of 'the racial melting pot of the Pacific' is derived from the fact that a new racially hybrid population is gradually emerging.... The cumulative effect of these mixed marriages seems likely to create in Hawaii a distinct local type—a new race."⁶⁰ Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, noted scholars who jointly authored a general history of Hawaii in the early 1960s, placed special emphasis upon this interpretation of Island society through the use of such terms as "melting pot" and "Paradise of the Pacific" to describe developments dating back as far as the early years of the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Day, in a later book of his own, was even more emphatic. "Trite but true it is," he wrote, "that Hawaii has become a Pacific melting pot, in which folk of a dozen national origins have become intermingled in a new amalgam. Here can be found an attitude of race tolerance unequalled anywhere else in the world. Hawaii," he continued, "is a good example of heretosis, which can be defined as hybrid vigor in human beings that brings out superior qualities, mental as well as physical. Historically, human melting pots have often been centers for exciting cultural changes." The point is, he argued in conclusion, that "Hawaii has a special interest in everything that goes on in other parts of the vast Pacific as well as in Asia, with which it has many personal ties. The fiftieth state prides itself on being a 'bridge' between the mainland United States and the Orient, the great stage on which the main international drama of the twenty-first century may be enacted."⁶²

The Summer Isles of Eden

Perhaps social historian Lawrence Fuchs' observations can be read as an indication of the general acceptance of this theme among academicians. Writing in *Hawaii Pono*, a superb study of twentieth century Island life published in 1961, he opened with the observation that "Hawaii is no longer an experiment in race relations or colonial administration. In the Islands, peoples of many races and cultures, largely only two or three generations from illiterate, peasant life, present the world's best example of dynamic social democracy."⁶³ Some five hundred pages later, he concluded with the statement that the essence of the Hawaiian experience is a promise to the nation and the world "that peoples of different races and creeds can live together, enriching each other, in harmony *and* democracy."⁶⁴

This perception of the Hawaiian socio-cultural experience became an article of faith in local thought during the middle years of the twentieth century and thereafter has been evident in all manner of expression. Promotional journals like the *Paradise of the Pacific* came to refer matter-of-factly to Hawaii as a model for societies in the Pacific and elsewhere.⁶⁵ Newspapers began to write editorials based on Farrington's turn-of-the-century theme and started carrying stories predicting the Islands' emergence as a world leader.⁶⁶ Even their editorial cartoons occasionally addressed the issue.⁶⁷

Political leaders did likewise. While Burns' previously cited "State of the State" address is perhaps the most eloquent expression of this theme within the political arena, it is by no means the first or only time he broached the subject. To illustrate, more than a decade earlier during testimony before a congressional committee during the statehood debate, he argued that

Hawaii's people are thoroughly American. More than this, they are American in an entirely unique way. Democracy, American democracy, is practiced in Hawaii as it is practiced nowhere else in the world. People of the most diverse racial strains and cultural backgrounds and of all creeds live together harmoniously and fruitfully, and in a way that brings out the best in each of these strains and backgrounds and creeds, and so increases and enriches the well-being of all the others.... The diverse makeup of Hawaii's people is a decided strength both in itself and as an example and a guide for all peoples.... Hawaii is living proof that peoples of all races, cultures and creeds can live together in harmony and well-being.⁶⁸

Elusive Destiny



Hawaii State Capitol.

Indeed, in the years following World War II politicians from both parties have made it a point to include at least passing reference to Hawaii's destiny as a Pacific leader in their floor speeches, public addresses, and talks at political rallies. It is no accident, for example, that the statehood inaugural address by William F. Quinn, a Republican and Hawaii's first elected governor, was built in large part around this theme. "The man of the Pacific," he declared, "Hawaii's citizen, stands like Atlas astride the ocean joining East and West. He is as Western and up-to-date as the San Francisco Giants. And yet, ... he understands the culture and thinking of the East. Our importance as a cultural link is heightened by our location. We sit at the hub of the great circle of the Pacific—at the center of a wheel with spokes connecting all the great nations on the mighty ocean. Our destiny as the Pacific center has not yet been achieved."⁶⁹

In certain instances, even recent architecture has come to reflect this perception. Far and away the most significant example in this respect is Hawaii's new capitol. Completed in 1969, it is the nation's newest and most imaginative capitol

The Summer Isles of Eden

structure. Rising out of a large reflecting pool, slender columns bound a vast atrium and reach upward past several floors of interior offices to the uppermost levels. There, fanning out palmlike, they support the remaining two floors which extend outward over the pool. Thus, the entire structure appears to hang suspended over the pool and court. Completing the structure, two massive half-cones housing the legislative chambers flank the atrium on opposite sides.

Structurally impressive as it may be, the building is also symbolically significant. Clearly it represents the Hawaiian landscape. The pool, the court opening to the sky, the palmlike columns, and the conical chambers symbolize the Islands' volcanic origins in the sea, their distinctive flora, and their mild climate. More subtly, these same features also symbolize Hawaii's cultural characteristics. Burns spoke of this in the course of his 1968 "State of the State" address. "The open sea, the open sky, the open doorway, open arms and open hearts—these are the symbols of our Hawaiian heritage," he said. "In this great State Capitol, there are no doors at the ground entrances which open toward the mountains and toward the sea. There is no roof or dome to separate its vast inner court from the heavens and from the same eternal stars which guided the first voyagers to the primeval beauty of these shores. It is," he concluded, "by means of the striking architecture of this new structure that Hawaii cries out to the nations of the Pacific and of the world, this message: We are a free people ... we are an open society ... we welcome all visitors to our Island home."⁷⁰

As descriptive of the origins and development of the paradisaical myth in Hawaii as the preceding illustrations may be, none touches the essence of this perception quite so forcefully as James A. Michener's epic novel, *Hawaii*. Laden with references to Hawaii's Edenic landscape and model society, the book states the case with persuasive eloquence. The opening chapter clearly suggests that the Islands began as a physical paradise and would with time become a social paradise. From the outset, Michener declared, Hawaii was "unique, alone, apart, ... an authentic natural paradise where each growing thing had its opportunity to develop in its own unique way, according to the dictates and limitations of its own abilities. There was then," he continued, "as there is now, no place on earth that even began to compete with these islands in their capacity to encourage natural life to develop freely and radically up to its own best potential."⁷¹ Taking this perspective to its logical end, he concluded many pages later that "in Hawaii a new type of man was being

Elusive Destiny

developed. He was a man influenced by both the west and the east, a man at home in either the business councils of New York or the philosophical retreats of Kyoto, a man wholly modern and American yet in tune with the ancient and the Oriental. The name they invented for him was the Golden Man ... [and he is the] bright, hopeful man of the future ... [the] unique contribution of Hawaii to the rest of the world, ... a product of the mind ... a way of thought...."⁷² A more forceful representation of the paradisaical myth is difficult to imagine. Truly, Michener's novel speaks for all the proponents of this view of Hawaii and the Hawaiian experience.

III

Colossus of the Pacific

INTERNATIONALISM AT THE OUTSET

There are tantalizing hints that the first glimmerings of internationalist activism in Hawaii came shortly after the Islands were first unified early in the nineteenth century. Although the supporting evidence is nebulous, there is some indication that Kamehameha I, the architect of Hawaiian unification and the first king of the new nation, dreamed of extending his realm beyond Hawaii to other less advanced island groups of Polynesia. It is said that he once considered using a fleet of war canoes to invade and conquer Tahiti as the first step in creating a Polynesian empire but abandoned these plans in favor of a more peaceful approach involving arranged royal marriages between several of his offspring and children of Tahiti's Pomare II.¹ It is also said that he hoped to extend the Islands' sphere of influence by gaining control over the profitable sandalwood trade of the era. Evidence for this contention lies in a set of orders he gave to the captain of the *Kaahumanu* in 1817 directing him to chart the location of sandalwood islands in the Pacific while on a voyage to China.² Substantive or otherwise, these claims have been cited by later internationalists as precedents for their own activities and are thus of some consequence in the subsequent development of international activity in the Islands.

A related but better documented venture began late in 1829 during the reign of Kamehameha III when Boki, then governor of the island of Oahu, sailed with the *Kamehameha* and the *Becket* for the New Hebrides, where abundant supplies of sandalwood had been reported. This expedition is the source of several mysteries. Both ships are known to have arrived safely at the island of Rotuma (north of Fiji) on the western leg of the

journey. After departing Rotuma, the *Kamehameha* with Boki aboard simply disappeared and was never heard from again. After a horrifying journey that brought disease, starvation, and death to most of the crew, the *Becket* completed its circuit and returned to Honolulu in 1830, but without a clue as to the disappearance of the *Kamehameha*. To this day, there is no satisfactory explanation of the fate of Boki, his ship, or his crew.³

There is an even more fascinating question with respect to the expedition's actual purpose. It may be, as is generally assumed, that Boki, deeply in debt and unhappy over his political status, saw the undertaking as simply an opportunity to improve his financial lot while temporarily escaping his political problems. At the same time, it has also been suggested that his goal was considerably more ambitious. Prior to the expedition's departure, he and the king signed a document which appears to be a set of formal instructions dealing, among other things, with the annexation of "certain Islands in the South Seas."⁴ This suggests, of course, that the expedition was undertaken for altogether different purposes, although there is not sufficient evidence to convincingly prove the point. Whatever the proper explanation, Boki's expedition came to play a role in Hawaiian internationalism much like Kamehameha I's alleged plans for empire. In the minds of later internationalists, it was further precedent for action.⁵ Hence, shadowy as these episodes are from traditional historical perspectives, they are nonetheless factors in the origin and development of the Hawaiian internationalist tradition.

ROOTS OF THE MOVEMENT

Hawaii's first thoroughly documented venture into the internationalist realm came during the 1850s. On December 20, 1851, an ambitious Australian newspaper reporter named Charles St. Julian, a man at once fascinated with Polynesia and anxious to enhance his own status, addressed a note to the Hawaiian government proposing that he be appointed its official representative to the various independent Pacific island nations and territories and that he be made responsible for promoting Hawaiian political and economic leadership throughout the region in order to guarantee these nations and territories a "respectable and respected" independence.⁶ As he later and more succinctly put it, he wanted to help create a Polynesian confederation with Hawaii "as the guide[,] the guardian and the

Colossus of the Pacific



*Charles St. Julian. From Illustrated
Sydney News, January 16, 1875*

natural leader ... occupying ... a position not dissimilar from that which is filled by Austria in connection with the small German States."⁷ St. Julian offered to serve without pay so long as he was accorded a proper commission of office and the corresponding authority. It should be noted, however, that he may have overstated his concern for Hawaii's role in Polynesian affairs as his proposal came only after a similar one addressed to Great Britain had been rejected.

The response to this proposal is interesting. Kamehameha III, as would be the case with the remainder of the Kamehameha line, was not anxious to expand the Islands' sphere of influence, and Foreign Minister Robert Crichton Wyllie, in discussions with the king and the Privy Council, treated the proposal as a minor affair requiring no prompt action. Other matters—in particular the negotiation of a series of treaties with various Western powers guaranteeing Hawaii's independence—were clearly of greater concern. Consequently, during 1852 and early 1853, Wyllie paid little attention to the proposal, merely noting

its receipt in his annual report for 1852 with the observation that it could “do no harm, whilst it promises to place the King’s Government in possession of much valuable information, and may open new channels of trade, of great benefit to these Islands, and conducive to the civilization of others.”⁸

The proposal must have fascinated Wyllie more than his written response indicates, however, because he kept it before the Privy Council until it was approved during the summer of 1853 and St. Julian was commissioned, somewhat awkwardly, as “His Majesty’s Commissioner, and Political, and Commercial Agent to the Kings, Chiefs and Rulers of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, not under the protection or sovereignty of any European Government.” Wyllie then proceeded to issue instructions to accompany the commission which indicate, despite his earlier comments, a good deal of enthusiasm for the undertaking. In addition to requesting physical and social data on Polynesia, he in effect ordered St. Julian to undertake the establishment of Hawaii’s moral leadership throughout the area:

1. You will place a copy ... of Your Commission ... in the hands of the King, or ruling Chiefs [in all the places you visit], taking every pain to make known that King Kamehameha is a sovereign of their own race, recognized as such by the Great Nations of the World, in friendly relations with them, living in peace, worshipping the only true God, who made Heaven and Earth and who is the Common Father of all the races of Men that inhabit the Earth; you will endeavor to explain the number and position of these Islands; the hospitality with which He [Kamehameha] receives the ships and Commerce of all Nations, and the benefit that from that policy accrues to Himself and His subjects.

2. You will assure such King or ruling Chiefs that King Kamehameha III desires their welfare; and that he has sent you among them as a friend, to assure them of His Majesty’s friendship, to give them good advice, and to inform Him of everything relating to their condition, that He may know if He can send them anything that would be of use to them, or buy anything from them that would be of use to His own Subjects.

3. You will state to such King or ruling Chiefs, that King Kamehameha will receive in a friendly way any of them, or any Deputies that they may send to His Islands—that He will show them how He governs His people how He has taught them the knowledge and arts of white men—how white men live among His native subjects, under His authority as friends and brethren—how they worship one God, obey the same laws, receive the same

Colossus of the Pacific

justice and enjoy equal protection, without fighting with each other or stealing from each other, so that such Deputies may see things with their own eyes, and afterwards go back among their own people, and show to them the advantage of living and acting in the same manner.⁹

Viewed in the light of subsequent international developments, certain aspects of these instructions take on considerable importance. In general, they demonstrate that Wyllie, regardless of any doubts on the part of Kamehameha III, was in fact excited about the possibilities of St. Julian's proposal and took it upon himself to instruct the Australian to pursue a relatively vigorous course. While it doubtless went unrecognized at the time, these instructions lent formal sanction to unconventional international activism and thus established a distinct and firm precedent for related activities in years to come. It might also be noted that this consequential development came as the result of what was essentially an act of insubordination.

That Wyllie was willing to act with such independence—some would say arrogance—comes as no surprise. A native of Scotland who found a haven in Hawaii and readily agreed to become a Hawaiian citizen when offered the post of foreign minister in 1845, he was guided by an unwavering faith in the correctness of his own Anglican perceptions and an equally fervent dedication to protecting and enhancing the status of his adopted homeland and sovereign. He was not, in other words, a man who would permit doubts on the part of anyone to scuttle programs that he believed would serve both the designs of his god and the self-interest of his nation.

More specifically, Wyllie's instructions to St. Julian illuminate a conflict of intent which in turn reveals a great deal about the motives of both men. It is clear from the original proposal that St. Julian was fundamentally interested in Pacific Basin politics and the creation of a political institution within the region that would increase the power of the independent states and, not incidentally, enhance his own stature. In contrast, Wyllie appears in his instructions to be a person largely concerned with establishing Hawaii as a model that other Pacific island peoples could emulate in planning their own futures.

The difference between the aims of the two men is further evident in their correspondence subsequent to the initial exchange of documents. For example, St. Julian's first communiqué after receiving his commission dealt exclusively with problems relative to his rank and his reception by other

diplomats stationed in Australia. He made no mention whatsoever of the more substantive aspects of his appointment.¹⁰ In other correspondence over the years he did, of course, discuss such issues, but his comments invariably centered on conventional politics and opportunities for Hawaii to assume a more influential political position in the Pacific. An early letter to Wyllie illustrates. "It is my conviction," he wrote, "that, as the first and greatest of the Polynesian states, the Kingdom of Hawaii is, in its relationship with the states and tribes of the various archipelagos and Islands of the Pacific[,] to be classed as a 'great power' in the most complete sense of the term."¹¹ Subsequently he made the same point even more forcefully, observing that "I shall be able, if God spares my life and health and if I retain the confidence of His Majesty and yourself, to carry into *practice* my theory (which I dare say you once thought exceedingly visionary) of a strong Polynesian Union with Hawaii at its head: one sufficiently powerful to speak with a voice Imperial in the councils of the world."¹² And so it went over the years.

Wyllie, on the other hand, was always more interested in developing the Islands' image than in pursuing St. Julian's various political schemes. He saw Hawaii as a good and decent—and in all likelihood superior—nation representing the civilizing potential of Christianity and ideally situated to function as a model for traditional island cultures seeking to advance their own development. His concern was for moral rather than political leadership. As a contemporary once observed, Wyllie "desired beyond all things that the Hawaiian islands should be known. The publicity of their existence in the world he looked upon as essential to their being and their independence; and he wished that they should stand fair and justified with their great compeers. As to the nation itself, he laboured for its wealth, development, and moral condition; for universal justice and intellectual culture. If he did not actually select the motto adopted in the national arms [The Life of the Land Is Preserved in Righteousness], he at least was a thorough believer in the sentiment it expresses."¹³

Wyllie himself was not inclined to put such thoughts to paper. His responses to St. Julian's grand designs, the logical place for him to expound, invariably took the form of precise instructions bereft of any stated philosophy or sentiment. There are, nonetheless, sufficient examples of his thinking as regards Hawaii and Hawaiian society to suggest that the preceding assessment is correct. To cite one instance, shortly after he arrived in the Islands in 1844, he wrote several articles for *The*

Colossus of the Pacific



Robert Crichton Wyllie. Hawaii State Archives

Elusive Destiny

Friend, a missionary-founded publication, that demonstrate his favorable, if somewhat paternal, view of local society. "There are," he declared,

few towns of the same extent [as Honolulu] where a deep religious feeling more prevails.... Yet all this exists without any of that gloom and ascetic severity which existed in the early days of presbyterianism in Scotland and of puritanism in England and Connecticut.... Another virtue eminently pervades the society of Honolulu, and that is *temperance*. During [the] eight months that I have been here, I have not seen one native intoxicated; and what will excite surprise in Europe and America, I have not seen one beggar!

Nor ought I to omit here a tribute of praise to the honesty of the natives. It is very seldom indeed, that a case of theft is heard of and then it is only of a very petty description. As for robbery, assault or any other acts of violence, unprovoked by the aggression of whites, I believe they are almost unknown in any of the islands.¹⁴

None of Wyllie's initial enthusiasm dimmed with the passage of years. A toast he proposed on St. George's Day in 1864, one year before his death, illustrates. Answering the doubts of some of his former countrymen about the wisdom of resettling in Hawaii, he said, "The land we have come to, and in which we live, is a good land [replete with numerous blessings]. It is therefore clear, that we have come to a land, not only good but, beautiful, a land where our own lives and property are secure and well protected, and where we are governed by a King, liberal, enlightened, and just...."¹⁵ It is reasonably clear, then, that Wyllie felt Hawaii's proper role lay in providing an example of Christian civilization that others in the region might profitably follow. He perceived Hawaii as a superior society with an obligation to provide moral leadership in the Pacific and attempted to act accordingly.¹⁶ In doing so, he established both the precedent and the basic rationale for subsequent international activism.

None of this had much effect upon St. Julian. Despite Wyllie's obvious desire to pursue a different course, the Australian persistently engaged in activities designed to annex territory in the Pacific for Hawaii, promote the formation of a Polynesian confederation under Hawaiian leadership, gain recognition for Hawaii's "moral protectorate" over independent Pacific islands, and enhance Hawaii's reputation in Australia.¹⁷ He

was, as he once told Wyllie, as confident of achieving these ends as he was of the "Sun's rising."¹⁸ In the process, he went to such lengths as appointing his own resident agents in particular island groups, designing his own diplomatic uniform, and even creating his own order of merit.¹⁹

While many of St. Julian's undertakings were clearly frivolous and self-serving, others were at least potentially of some consequence. Working through his resident agents during the mid-1850s, he devoted considerable energy to the creation of an arrangement whereby Tonga and Samoa, then independent but increasingly threatened by various European powers, would call upon Hawaii for advice and support in their effort to remain free of foreign control. He proposed constitutions for both, attempted to negotiate a treaty of "Friendship and Reciprocity" between Tonga and Hawaii, tried to arrange a state visit for the Tongan king to Hawaii, and endeavored to establish a Hawaiian protectorate over then war-torn Samoa. However, in the face of Hawaii's decided lack of enthusiasm for such overtly political undertakings (the proposed state visit was flatly rejected, for example), he ceased his efforts during the latter part of the decade.²⁰

Needless to say, St. Julian was not happy with Hawaii's response to his efforts. He told Wyllie that "I have no right to complain of my plans not having been adopted. If it is thought better that Hawaii should remain as she is, than that her domain should be doubled and her power and influence quadrupled, I am bound to assume that it is wisely so decided. But I *do* complain that my energies have been wasted. The complete success which was within my reach for Hawaii, might have been attained and followed up by another course and for another purpose."²¹ Wyllie, in keeping with his essentially nonpolitical perspective, responded with the observation that Hawaii was not necessarily opposed to these efforts but, lacking the resources and the power to act effectively, simply could take "no interest in the matter whatever, except a moral one."²²

Despite the futility of his efforts to join Hawaii with Tonga and Samoa and thereby lay the foundation for a Polynesian confederation, St. Julian did succeed in convincing the Hawaiian government to annex the Stewart Islands, a tiny atoll originally known as the Stewart's Islands lying some 2° north of San Cristobal Island in the Solomons and composed of three principal islets (Sikaiana, Faore, and Matuavi) with a population of approximately one hundred people. While this little-known incident eventually ended in failure, it involved the momentary

acquisition of distant territory by Hawaii and is, thus, an interesting if ultimately inconsequential part of the Island internationalist record.

The episode began at mid-century when two Australian adventurers—Benjamin Boyd and John Webster—sailed into the Solomons searching for territory they might acquire as the seat for a new South Seas republic and, perhaps more to the point, the center of a new trading enterprise. In 1851 they came across the Stewart Islands and obtained full title to them by supplying the ruling chief with some \$1,000 worth of assorted goods. Shortly thereafter, Boyd was killed on nearby Guadalcanal while negotiating a similar arrangement, and Webster returned to Australia seeking to establish a foreign protectorate over the islands in order to render them safe for economic development. Apparently he had abandoned the notion of forming a new island nation. In any event, he found that Great Britain, at the time opposed to further territorial expansion, was not interested in his plans but that St. Julian, whom he met upon his return, felt Hawaii might be. After some discussion, St. Julian and Webster signed an agreement on February 10, 1855, whereby the latter ceded his control of the islands to Hawaii and pledged to develop them as a trading depot and supply center in return for Hawaii's acceptance of protective responsibility and promise not to levy taxes. The document, calling for Hawaiian approval within six months in order to be valid, was forwarded with St. Julian's covering letter stating that acceptance would boost Hawaii's Pacific and international prestige and encourage civilization throughout the area. This letter also contained St. Julian's offer to oversee the administration of the islands under the terms of his position with the Hawaiian government.²³

When Wyllie received this document in mid-1855, he put it before the Privy Council for consideration and discussion. Action was delayed as the council wanted additional information about the likely impact of annexation upon the spread of Christianity and civilization in the area, the government's only apparent interest in the proposal. Wyllie underlined this point in his reply to St. Julian. He wrote, "You are to understand that the King having only recently escaped the danger of Annexation, for his own Kingdom [in the Paulet affair of 1843], has no desire to apply the principle to the Territory of others; but His Majesty most ardently desires to extend Education, Christianity and Civilization among the barbarous tribes of Polynesia, and if He can be persuaded that by accepting the cession of the Stewart's Is-

lands He can confer those blessings upon the Inhabitants of the Solomon Islands, the moral argument will have great weight in deciding His Majesty to accept the cession."²⁴

Wyllie made the same point with even greater clarity in his annual report for 1855. He observed that "The proximity of the Stewart's Islands to the Solomon Group, the Duff Islands and others, renders them a central point, from which the lights of education and Christianity (the only sure elements of civilization) might radiate in all directions. Therefore, it is a grave question with the King and His Government, whether the acceptance of the Sovereignty of [the] Stewart's Islands would not be conducive through missionary cooperation to the attainment of these results, for the benefit, not only of the inhabitants of that small group, but of those of large and more populous groups which be in close adjacency."²⁵ While the Hawaiian leaders were clearly interested in providing a moral example, they were also nervous about the prospect of expanding their political domain.

Nervous or not, when St. Julian responded to Wyllie's cautionary note with a declaration that annexation would indeed be of fundamental importance to the progress of Christianity and civilization in the area, Hawaii made the decision to annex. It came during a Privy Council meeting on February 15, 1856. The bland minutes of that meeting fail to portray the doubts that must have preceded it. They read, "Mr. Wyllie submitted his Report to the Privy Council, recommending the King to accept the Cession of the Sovereignty of the Stewart's Islands. After some discussion the King was pleased to express his pleasure to accept the Sovereignty, but solely for the good of the Natives of these Islands and of the Solomon Islands, and without any pecuniary or other responsibility."²⁶ Fourteen days later this decision was made final and Hawaii entered the ranks of the imperial powers!

Ironically and perhaps fortunately, Hawaii never actually assumed control over the islands. Wyllie made no move to formalize the arrangements as he was awaiting an extension of the long-expired six-month deadline in the original document of cession. When St. Julian requested an extension from Webster during the summer of 1856, he found that Webster had abandoned the project and wanted St. Julian to assume responsibility for the islands. Not averse to such arrangements, St. Julian accepted Webster's title in October and attempted to reopen annexation negotiations with Hawaii.²⁷ Casting aside his previous justification of annexation on the grounds that it would carry

civilization to a barbaric area, he returned to his original position and argued that Hawaii would—and should—gain a place among the world powers by establishing its control over the atoll. Hawaii, however, remained deaf to such arguments and simply let the matter lapse, thus ending the imperial era as inconspicuously as it began.²⁸ Wyllie wrote the conclusion to this episode in his annual report for 1858 with the observation that the islands were not strategic so far as the civilizing effort was concerned, that their distance rendered effective administration nearly impossible, and that annexation would serve no good purpose.²⁹

There is an amusing footnote to this incident. With annexation negotiations at an end, St. Julian became the legal sovereign of the islands. Although there is no indication that he ever planned to assume an interest in their future or even to visit them, he did utilize the privileges of his new position to satisfy his own long-felt need for rank and recognition. For some time previous, he had unsuccessfully urged Wyllie to grant him an appropriate award in recognition of his service to Hawaii. As sovereign of his own land, he remedied this slight by creating his own order of merit—the Order of Arossi (the local name for nearby San Cristobal Island)—and convincing Hawaii to sanction it. Needless to say, he was among the first of very few recipients. However, this order was to be of some significance later as it became the model for a similar one—the Royal Order of the Star of Oceania—which was established in Hawaii during the Kalakaua era.³⁰ To further assuage his long frustrated ambitions, St. Julian also used his new position to justify signing himself “Charles, Muara [Chief] of Arossi and Sovereign Chief of Sikyana [Sikaiana].”³¹

By the early 1860s, St. Julian had given up hope of drawing Hawaii into an active international role and when Wyllie, the Islands’ principal mid-century advocate of internationalism, died in 1865, there was little reason for him to believe that even the limited activism of the preceding years would continue. This, however, was not to be the case. For reasons unclear, St. Julian resumed his Hawaiian contacts during 1870 with an exploratory letter to Charles C. Harris, Wyllie’s successor as foreign minister, proposing that the effort to forge a more substantial Island role in Pacific affairs be revived. More specifically, he suggested that Fiji, then interested in obtaining foreign protection, might welcome an overture from Hawaii. No doubt to St. Julian’s surprise, Harris responded with praise for his past efforts and interest in his current proposal. Furthermore, Harris

renewed St. Julian's official status vis-à-vis Hawaii, appointing him "His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Consul General to the Kings and Ruling Chiefs of the Independent States and Tribes in Polynesia South of the Equator" and, concurrently, as Hawaii's consul general for Australia.³²

Following these appointments, Harris wrote St. Julian, stating that "Your zeal on the subject of Polynesian establishments is worthy of the greatest praise, and not only I myself but His Majesty the King and those of my Colleagues who have been with us from the beginning have occasion to regret that your suggestions and even solicitations in that behalf have not met with better seconding from here before."³³ Still later, Harris sent what, for St. Julian at least, was probably the most important communiqué in the entire correspondence between the Hawaiian government and the Australian. He wrote that he was awarding St. Julian a Cross and Diploma as a Knight Commander of the Order of Kamehameha, an established Hawaiian order of merit.³⁴ This pleased St. Julian immensely and he wrote back, ever the opportunist, that the award would enable him to term himself "Sir Charles" and that this would be beneficial in his various undertakings.³⁵

Excited by the renewed interest, St. Julian forwarded a number of enthusiastic and increasingly ambitious proposals regarding not only the suggested role for Hawaii in Fiji but also the possibility of annexing Samoa and creating a protectorate over certain islands near New Guinea.³⁶ Harris, a good deal more cautious when discussing specific responsibilities than when awarding accolades, responded with the comment that Hawaii was generally interested in such ideas but would not be willing to expend any funds "unless that expense should be returned with increase in the near future."³⁷ St. Julian replied that something immediately profitable might indeed be arranged in at least Fiji if Hawaii would send him there to negotiate. Harris and his colleagues agreed, and in May of 1871 St. Julian was appointed "Special Commissioner for the Fiji Islands," given instructions to offer such advice and assistance as the Fijian leaders might request, and provided with travel funds.³⁸ Hence, the Australian, who had conducted all his prior business from a Sydney office, embarked upon his first actual visit to Polynesia, and Hawaii seemed poised on the brink of another internationalist adventure.

In fact, the trip produced nothing so far as Hawaii was concerned, but it was profitable for St. Julian. During the course of his preparations for the journey, a new government was formed

in Fiji and the search for a foreign protector was temporarily ended. Thus, when St. Julian arrived during the summer of 1871, he found no opportunity to pursue his official mission. Frustrated on this front, he used his time to ingratiate himself with the new Fijian leaders (as well as with the previous leaders who might return to power should the new government collapse) and then returned to Australia where he prepared a pamphlet on Fiji's international status. His efforts were soon rewarded. In the spring of 1872, Fiji offered him the post of chief justice of the court system and, untrained for the task as he was, he accepted it. He resigned his Hawaiian commissions and went again to Fiji where he spent most of the remaining two years of his life presiding over the courts in a scarlet judicial robe and full wig, no doubt feeling that he had finally been accorded proper recognition.³⁹

Apparently Harris and the Hawaiian government were not embittered by this turn of events. Indeed, the Order of Kamehameha award was granted to St. Julian only shortly before he was named chief justice, and Harris wrote him a warm letter of congratulations when the news of his appointment reached Hawaii. "I cannot but congratulate them [Fiji] on obtaining your Services," he wrote, "and I think very earnestly that your task will be much facilitated by a visit of a month or two here before commencing your duties. I cannot but think that such a visit would be of inestimable value to the people of Fiji.... Our Legislature is now in Session, and I wish I had [you] by my side in the House, that I might show you by experience how easily[,] practically and good naturedly we conduct the business here."⁴⁰ A few months later, he wrote again in a similar vein, "As I have said before," he counselled, "I think it will be a great benefit to Fiji if you can spend a little time in this Country, more especially with one or two of your more intelligent Native Chiefs."⁴¹ These paternal notes suggest that Harris, despite his rather imperial rhetoric and gesturing, shared Wyllie's views regarding Hawaii's policy in the Pacific. He, too, was more concerned about setting a moral example than in establishing a political empire.

For all practical purposes, St. Julian's resignation of his diplomatic posts put an end to the Islands' mid-century venture in the international realm. Although he recommended a successor, Edward Reeve, who was in fact appointed consul general for Australia (but not to the other posts), no business of consequence was conducted. When Kamehameha V died some six months later and Lunalilo was elected to the throne, he ap-

pointed a new cabinet in which Charles R. Bishop replaced Harris as foreign minister.⁴² A thoroughly practical businessman, Bishop promptly put an end to the unproductive ventures in Polynesia. He left Reeve at his post in Australia but otherwise eliminated the various Polynesian posts and ceased all related activities.⁴³ The era was over.

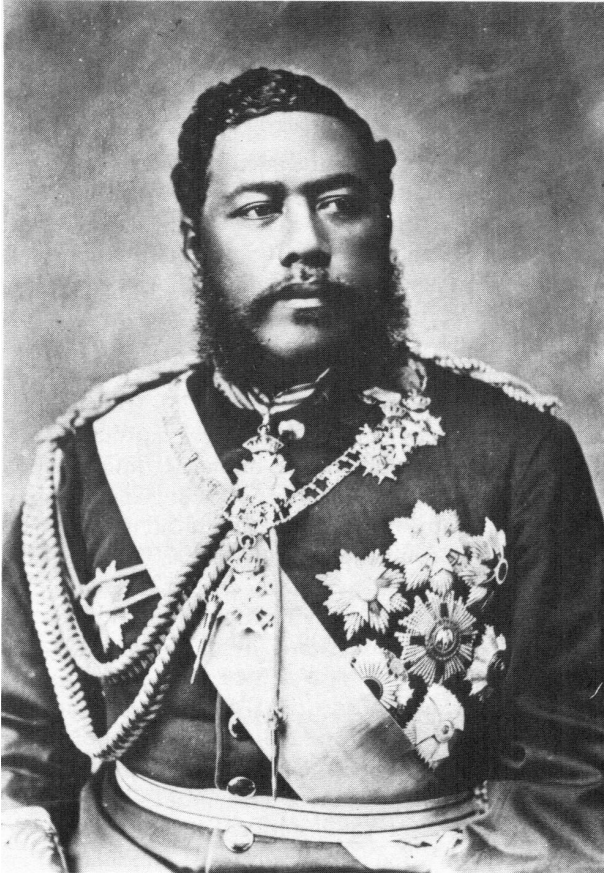
Internationalist activism during this period produced few substantive results other than an incredible volume of diplomatic correspondence and St. Julian's Fijian judgeship. It changed nothing as regards Hawaii's leadership status in Polynesia, and it did not alter the status of the various Polynesian countries and territories. Further, it is not likely that such conclusions would have to be adjusted even if Hawaii had made a more concerted political effort along the lines so persistently urged by St. Julian. The Islands were simply in no position to counter Great Britain's resistance to changes in the Pacific status quo.

Nonetheless, it was a consequential era. The very fact that Hawaii did become involved during this period created a precedent for international activism that has since been cited regularly and has been a factor in encouraging any number of more substantial activities. Even more important, the explanation for internationalist involvement which originated at this time—the notion that an advanced and superior Hawaii has a responsibility to become involved and provide at least exemplary leadership for other Pacific island cultures—established a rationale that, with certain refinements, has been used to justify virtually every internationalist venture undertaken since that time. In other words, the union of thought and action basic to the local internationalist movement owes its existence to this period.

GRAND HOPES AND DESIGNS

The eclipse in international activism that began with Bishop's appointment as foreign minister was shortlived. Lunalilo died little more than a year after assuming the throne and was succeeded by Kalakaua who, as part of a determined effort to buttress the position of the monarchy vis-à-vis the growing influence of the foreign elite and at the same time rekindle cultural pride among native Hawaiians, initiated a more vigorous

Elusive Destiny



Kalakaua. Hawaii State Archives

internationalist program than even St. Julian had envisioned. Indeed, in certain respects, internationalist endeavors during his reign reached a level unsurpassed to this day.

These undertakings did not, however, come immediately. Kalakaua was elected to the throne in February 1874, but it was the end of the decade before he embarked on any international programs of note aside from the negotiation of an important sugar trading agreement with the United States in 1876. The decisive factor in the activist revival at the turn of the decade appears to be the ascendance to a position of influence of a charming Italian adventurer named Celso Caesar Moreno. Moreno arrived in Honolulu late in 1879 with plans to start a

shipping line between Hawaii and China, an impressive looking but meaningless franchise for laying a telegraphic cable (then nonexistent) between Hawaii and the United States, and, as one historian noted, the ability to speak more than a dozen languages, including that of "confidential flattery."⁴⁴

Kalakaua was much impressed with Moreno and soon took him into his confidence. By the following spring the newcomer had become one of the king's closest advisors, and in August of that year Kalakaua prorogued the legislature and dissolved his cabinet in order to appoint a new one in which Moreno, as foreign minister, would be the dominant figure. This move ended in disaster for Kalakaua and Moreno when the foreign community, outraged at the latter's rise to power, persuaded the diplomatic community to refuse to deal with him, thus forcing Kalakaua to withdraw the appointment. Moreno fled the Islands shortly thereafter.⁴⁵

Ephemeral as Moreno's stay was, it is of internationalist significance in that he apparently persuaded Kalakaua that he might best achieve his nationalistic objectives through activism on the diplomatic front. While it is difficult to show precisely how Moreno accomplished this, several documents from the era indicate that he did. Kalakaua himself once remarked that Moreno "had shown himself to be a very entertaining companion, a man of large and novel views in political and state affairs [which often] ... coincided with ... [my] own."⁴⁶ In an open letter to Kalakaua written a few years later, Moreno suggested that he had indeed urged the king to undertake the elevation of Hawaii's international stature. He wrote of "the grand, humane and generous idea of uniting under your scepter the whole Polynesian race and make[ing] Honolulu a monarchical Washington, where the representatives of all the islands would convene in Congress." He concluded by reminding Kalakaua that "the formation of a Polynesian realm with Honolulu as the capital, you should remember, was the principal theme of our many and long conversations in... 1880."⁴⁷

Whatever the precise connection, Kalakaua did initiate a series of ambitious diplomatic ventures at the turn of the decade. His first undertaking in this respect was a world-girdling tour, ostensibly to study immigration but in fact, or at least as it turned out, to learn more of royal practices elsewhere and to remind the rest of the world of Hawaii's presence. Traveling during most of 1881, he visited Japan, China, Hong Kong, Siam, Singapore, Burma, India, Egypt, Italy (where he was briefly reunited with Moreno), England, Belgium, Germany,

Elusive Destiny

Austria, France, Spain, Portugal, and the United States. Aware that he was the first reigning monarch ever to circle the globe, he endeavored to stage the tour in grand fashion, and largely succeeded. Feted by emperors, kings, presidents, prime ministers, and the pope, he made a favorable impression upon most of his hosts and effectively carried Hawaii's name to places where it had previously been little known. He returned to Hawaii late in 1881 determined to rule rather than simply reign and, as his poem "The Pearl" indicates, convinced that his domain, though small, was of excellent and in some respects superior character.⁴⁸

Kalakaua did more during this journey than simply attempt to impress Hawaii's existence upon the minds of various world leaders. Although he started the trip with intentions of traveling incognito, he altered these plans and assumed a royal posture upon arriving in Japan, the first formal visit on the journey. Received as a head of state and entertained accordingly, Kalakaua took the occasion to urge the emperor to join him in sponsoring a "Union and Federation of Asiatic Nations and Sovereigns" designed to advance the global position of the Asian and Pacific nations.⁴⁹ He further suggested that the two nations formally ally and that they seal the relationship by arranging the marriage of Princess Kaiulani of the Hawaiian royal line to Prince Komatsu of the Japanese imperial family.⁵⁰ Put otherwise, he proposed that Hawaii and Japan take the initiative in challenging Western domination in the Pacific.

As it turned out, nothing of substance came of these meetings. After pondering the proposals for almost a year, Japan concluded that no action could be undertaken that might strain her friendship with the United States and thereby imperil American support for her efforts to eliminate the unequal treaty system she had earlier been forced to accept.⁵¹ The Japanese rejection was, however, extremely friendly and, although disappointing, appears not to have offended Kalakaua. Regarding the proposal for a regional organization, the emperor wrote:

While Your Majesty was in my capital, you have in [the] course of conversation alluded to a Union and Federation of the Asiatic nations and sovereigns. I highly agree with Your Majesty's profound and farseeing views. Your Majesty was also good enough to state that I might be the promoter and chief of this Federation. I cannot but be grateful for such expression of your love and confidence in me.

Colossus of the Pacific

The Oriental nations including my country have long been in a state of decline and decay; and we cannot hope to be strong and powerful unless by gathering inches and treasuring foots gradually restore to us all attributes of a nation. To do this our Eastern Nations ought to fortify themselves within the walls of such [a] Union and Federation, and by uniting their power to endeavor to maintain their footing against those powerful nations of Europe and America, and to establish their independence and integrity in [the] future. To do this is a pressing necessity for the Eastern Nations, and in so doing depend their lives.

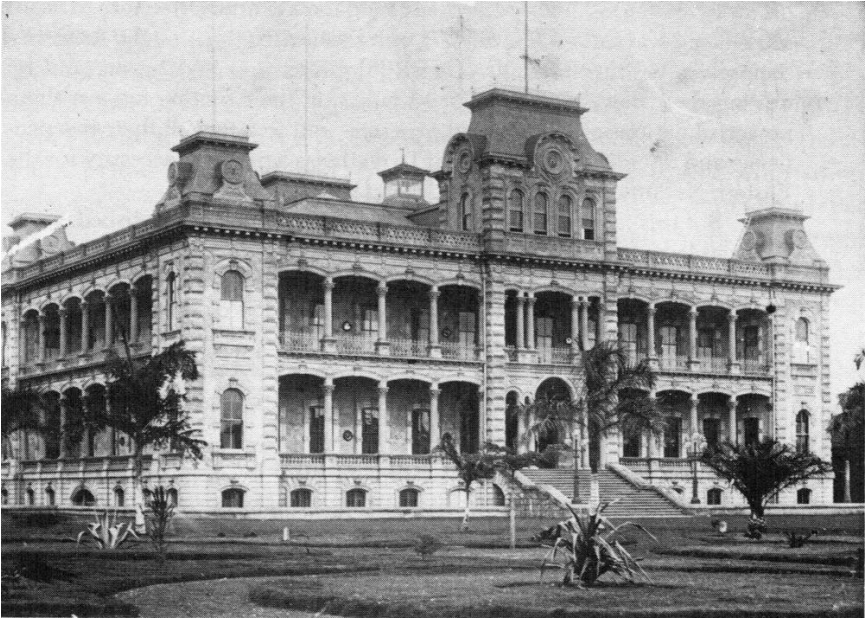
But this is a mighty work and not easily to be accomplished, and I am unable to foretell the date when we shall have seen it realized.... I desire Your Majesty to understand that unworthy as I am it is impossible to bear the great responsibility which the position of the promoter and chief of such a vast undertaking imposes.⁵

After listing a number of Japan's internal problems, he concluded: "In the face of the internal administration of my government being of such a pressing nature I have not a heart to turn my face from it.... However, I ardently hope that such Union may be realized at some future day...."⁵³

The marriage proposal met with a similar fate. Prince Komatsu responded to Kalakaua, ever so politely stating that "I was informed of your generous kindness, in asking me, if it would be my happiness to be united to your Royal niece in marriage, I am at a loss to express fully my appreciation of this honour as I am still under age, I have consulted my father, and I am very reluctantly compelled to decline your distinguished proposal for the reason that I am already betrothed to my future companion in life; so I sincerely trust that your Majesty will not be disappointed at what duty compels me to do."⁵⁴ However great Kalakaua's disappointment, it was not, as subsequent events would soon demonstrate, sufficient to dissuade him from his quest for international recognition.

As an aside, it is interesting to note that one of the earlier examples of this quest took Kalakaua beyond diplomacy and into the realm of architecture and ceremony. This involved the construction of an impressive royal palace between the years 1879 and 1882 and the staging of an elaborate coronation ceremony upon its completion. As both the palace and the coronation were inspired by European royal examples, they are evidence of his determination to call the world's attention to his kingdom and to his reign. Although the foreign business com-

Elusive Destiny



Iolani Palace shortly after completion. Hawaii State Archives

munity in Hawaii, far more concerned with good management and profits than international stature, grumbled over the cost and pretense, it did nothing of consequence to discourage either the projects or the increasingly regal aspirations they represented.⁵⁵ So it is that America's only royal palace and coronation pavilion now stand near the center of Honolulu's otherwise modern and utilitarian central business district.

Had the business community been able to foresee the future, it might well have taken a stronger stand against Kalakaua at this point, for the next effort in his internationalist quest involved a series of undertakings far more ambitious than any of his prior endeavors, and which took the kingdom once again to the fringes of the imperialist movement and, unbelievable as it may seem, to the brink of armed confrontation with Germany. These undertakings were not, however, solely the product of the king's fertile imagination. In large part, they were conceived and directed by Walter Murray Gibson, still another adventurer who found favor in Kalakaua's court.⁵⁶

Colossus of the Pacific

Opportunistic and demagogic but also sophisticated and immensely able, Gibson arrived in Honolulu during the summer of 1861, enroute to the Dutch East Indies where he was to act as a representative of the Mormon church which he had recently joined. He lingered some weeks in the Islands, speaking before several gatherings on the challenge of bolstering "commerce and civilization" in the East Indies and ousting the Dutch.⁵⁷ Apparently liking Hawaii, he stayed on and became involved with the local Mormon community which had grown up during the previous decade when the church first sent missionaries to the Islands.⁵⁸ Within a few months, he succeeded in drawing a good number of local Mormons (almost exclusively native Hawaiians) to the island of Lanai where earlier Mormon missionaries had endeavored to establish a settlement which Gibson, with church funds, attempted to revitalize. Always the visionary, he spoke enthusiastically of the time it would be a massive and prosperous agricultural commune centered around a great new city.⁵⁹

His motives in this venture were mixed. On occasion, his diary entries indicate noble hopes apparently inspired by the physical and cultural attributes of his newly adopted homeland. "The Hawaiian Islands," he wrote soon after his arrival, "take the place of the Malay Archipelago [his term for the Dutch East Indies] in my thoughts of which I have been thinking; so long; so long since first I sailed on the great ocean; and looked with love and hope upon the islands, and the island race."⁶⁰ An entry several months later hints at less altruistic aims but is still couched in fundamentally visionary terms. "The seed of Oceanican organization is in Lanai.... This is the nucleus of development. Lines of power, of influence shall radiate from this shining crater. I set up my standard here and it goes hence to the islands of the sea. Lanai shall be famous in Malaysia, in Oceania. It shall give birth to a better hope for humanity in Polynesia..."⁶¹ Still other entries celebrated the physical beauty of Lanai:

There never was a calmer and cheerfuller life than mine now. The valley smiles like a lover. I want to lay an arm around those browery blue mountain tops, delicately curtained with cloud gauze.... I might say furthermore so much balmy air, so much shining sea, such a rare scooped out valley, a great basin of milk and honey, such wooing leafy coverts on the hillsides, and such hills, with such a happifying view I am content when I sit upon

Elusive Destiny

them. My heart is full when I look over the island and the ocean. My soul is soothed. I say this is my haven, my shelter from the sad storms of life.⁶²

However, at the very time he was penning these sentiments, Gibson was also writing in a considerably more opportunistic fashion. An entry from late 1861, prior to the preceding two citations, illustrates. "I could make a glorious little kingdom out of this, or any other such chance, with such people; so loving and obedient; I would make a port and a commerce; a state and a civilization. I would make millions of fruits where one was never thought of. I would fill this lovely crater with corn and wine and oil and babies and love and health and brotherly rejoicing and sisters kisses and *the memory of me for evermore* [emphasis added]."⁶³ If the experience of the Mormon church is an indication, this entry more accurately describes Gibson's true motives and hopes. In 1864, a group of church officials visited Hawaii only to discover that Gibson's revitalized colony on Lanai, worked by local Mormons and improved with their funds, was registered in Gibson's name and that the church had no legal hold over it or him. Although promptly excommunicated, he still controlled the island "kingdom," and the church had no choice but to depart Lanai and seek lands elsewhere in the Islands.

Following this episode, Gibson shifted his interest from the settlement to Hawaiian politics. As might be expected, he did so in flamboyant fashion. After gaining a near-perfect fluency in the Hawaiian language, he developed extremely close ties with the Hawaiian community (closer than perhaps any other foreigner of his day) through publication of a Hawaiian language newspaper, and nurtured a reputation as a vigorous defender of Hawaiian interests. At the same time he became an advocate of immigration as a means of strengthening the local economy and soon attracted enough attention to gain appointment as an immigration official. Although the government apparently took little note of it, his principal achievement in this position was the manipulation of an assignment to Singapore as the occasion for a sixteen-month visit to the United States.⁶⁴ Rounding out his political skills, he also honed a talent for flattery. A note to Kamehameha V illustrates. "I am," he purred, "comforted and reassured with the conviction, that in Your Majesty's Person, will be found those humane, patriotic, and Kingly attributes, which have made illustrious the throne of the Kamehamehas; and are so well fitted to advance Polynesian Civilization."⁶⁵

Colossus of the Pacific



Walter Murray Gibson. Hawaii State Archives

Gibson used his growing influence within the Hawaiian community to help elect Lunalilo in 1873 and then Kalakaua in 1874. In 1878, no longer content with backstage politics, he moved to the political forefront by standing for election as a legislative candidate from the island of Maui. With the support of the Hawaiian community, he won by a sizable majority and embarked upon a vocal career as an elected official. The timing was propitious. Kalakaua, seeking still other ways to increase his authority at the expense of the business establishment, dissolved his cabinet in May 1882 and asked Gibson to form a new one with Gibson himself serving concurrently as premier and foreign minister. Gibson accepted and thereby initiated one of

the most colorful political periods in Island history.⁶⁶ He had gained his "kingdom" and he would indeed be remembered for "evermore."

For present purposes, Gibson's foreign policy is of paramount interest. Long concerned with the subject, he made periodic statements from the time he first arrived in Hawaii to the effect that the Islands' unique characteristics warranted a more active international stance. The passages from his diary and his interest in immigration (which led him to form the Hawaiian Immigration Company in 1872 despite his earlier problems with the Singapore appointment⁶⁷) are illustrative.⁶⁸ This outlook is likewise evident in his speeches to his Hawaiian constituents. His oft-cited "Address to the Hawaiian People," delivered in 1876, is a case in point. "We can," he said,

enliven once more the now silent shores of Hawaii with a thronging and a busy people. And then when an electric cable unites us to our neighboring continent, and to the rest of the world; and when the fleets of the Pacific rendezvous in our port of Honolulu, and the trafficking and traveling nations fill our marts with wealth gathered from all quarters of the globe,—then may little Hawaii the least, be one of the most blest of the family of nations; and being strong in her Christian, moral, and enlightened attitude, sit royally as the Queen of the great ocean, and shine forth as a proud and redeemed state before an admiring world!⁶⁹

After entering the legislature in 1878, Gibson sounded this theme with increasing frequency and force. A legislative resolution that he introduced and guided to passage in 1880 exemplifies:

Whereas the Hawaiian Kingdom by its geographic position, and political status is entitled to claim a Primacy in the family of Polynesian States; and,

Whereas it owes a duty in view of this Primacy to set the example of national enlightenment and integrity in all its relations with Polynesian races; and,

Whereas Complaints have reached the Government of improper actions under the Hawaiian flag in the South Seas;

Therefore,

Resolved that it is the sense of the Assembly, that a Royal Commissioner be appointed by His Majesty who shall be styled a Royal Hawaiian Commissioner to the States and Peoples of Polynesia, who shall investigate the sources of immigration for Hawaii

Colossus of the Pacific

nei, in Central and Western Polynesia; and who shall be instructed to represent the enlightened, humane, and hospitable spirit of our Government and People to the Kindred States of the Pacific Ocean.⁷⁰

Although nothing came of the resolution at the time of its passage, it is nonetheless important. In the first instance, it is an early and near-perfect example of the use of an acclamatory characterization of Hawaii to justify internationalist activity. Reflecting the union of internationalist thought and action, it is a harbinger of much that would follow. Indeed, Gibson himself used it to justify a number of the policies he initiated as the leader of the cabinet after 1882. Secondly, while most people paid little attention to the resolution when it was passed, a few noticed its adoption and commented upon its implications for future policy with some consternation. Among this group was the United States Minister in Honolulu who reported back to his superiors that "it is not generally known but I know from conversations with the King which I believe to have been entirely unique, that his imagination is inflamed with the idea of gathering all the cognate races of the Islands of the Pacific into a great Polynesian Confederacy, over which he will reign."⁷¹ Finally, and important from causal perspectives, the resolution represents an unfolding of the course of action initiated by Wyllie. Gibson was to be but the first of many inspired to action by the deeds of that determined Scotsman.⁷²

Still further insight to Gibson's internationalist views comes from the pages of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. He purchased the newspaper in 1880 and thereafter ran editorial after editorial urging a more active role for Hawaii in Pacific affairs. Commenting on Kalakaua's return from his global journey in 1881, for example, he observed that "Kalakaua by his world wide range and observation, has acquired the character of a cosmopolitan king; and it will be fitting; as his beneficent Government harmonises and assimilates within the Archipelago, the people of Europe and America; and of China, Japan, Hindustan, and other countries, that Kalakaua the foremost Man of the Pacific shall become the Sovereign of a glorious cosmopolitan Pacific State."⁷³ Several weeks later he argued that

the policy of this kingdom should be to assist ... to preserve the independence of all those communities of Polynesian race which have not already been driven by circumstances to seek the protection of foreign Powers.... The moral support too of Hawaii

Elusive Destiny

should be extended to them in no half-hearted way. Hawaii holds the first position among the native states in the Pacific, and should recognise a duty as attaching to that position. The people of the Southern groups are her people, united with her by no distant ties of race and kindred.⁷⁴

As if to remove any lingering doubts, he repeated the message again the following month, concluding that "this Hawaiian State is in all respects fit to take upon itself the responsibilities of an advisor, a referee, or a mediator in the affairs of the weaker but still independent divisions of the Polynesian race."⁷⁵

In light of these statements, it is predictable that Gibson, as premier, foreign minister, and principal advisor to an already interested Kalakaua, would initiate an ambitious foreign policy once he took office. It is equally predictable that he would base this policy upon the assertion that the superior nature of society in Hawaii both justified and destined such a policy. While there is some reason to wonder how deeply he believed this argument, the point remains that he was impressed enough with it to make serious use of it, thereby contributing mightily to its adoption as a standard part of the mainstream Island world view.

THEORY PUT TO PRACTICE

Although Gibson's appointment to the cabinet in May 1882 meant that Hawaii would soon embark upon a more vigorous international course, it is important to note at the outset that the prevailing Pacific Basin political and diplomatic climate was anything but favorable for such an undertaking. During the earlier period of international activism, most of the various Western nations with Pacific island interests were not, owing largely to Great Britain's anti-expansionist posture, actively seeking to expand their spheres of influence. Hence, St. Julian's and Wyllie's undertakings threatened no one. By the time Gibson took office, however, the New Imperialism had arisen and fundamentally altered circumstances in the Pacific. France, although defeated in the Prussian War of 1870-1871, was expanding into the New Hebrides. Germany, now unified, relatively secure in Europe, and anxious to establish an overseas empire, was seeking outposts in New Guinea, the Solomons, Samoa, and Micronesia. Great Britain, alarmed at these developments and under increasing pressure from Australia and New

Zealand to expand her domain, annexed Fiji in 1874, part of New Guinea shortly afterward, and then assumed a position of dominant influence in eastern Micronesia. The United States, while not yet ready to join the imperialist rush, was concerned enough about trade routes and harbors to arrange for rights to Pago Pago Harbor in Samoa in 1878. Germany and Great Britain hurriedly negotiated similar arrangements the following year. Thereafter Samoa became a major source of contention among the big powers as all sought to increase their influence in the divided and faction-ridden islands.⁷⁶ It is clear, thus, that any attempt on Hawaii's part to assume a more active diplomatic role was destined to involve complications. Nowhere was this more true than in the Samoan case, but Samoa, it goes almost without saying, is where Gibson would ultimately make his move.

Assuming actual responsibility for Hawaii's foreign policy does not appear to have moderated Gibson's ardor for activism. His newspaper continued publishing editorials similar to those previously noted, often with an even greater sense of urgency and a more pronounced tone of moral superiority than before. Time and again, they discussed such matters as the need to cease being "a mere nominal state," "the superior order of Government and society," "the especial political advantages" of the Islands, the responsibilities of the "national head and leader of all the Pacific States," and "Hawaiian interests ... [which], in the very nature of things, [are] superior to interests created by brute force."⁷⁷ On still other occasions, they openly advocated direct intervention abroad even if it should mean confrontation with the Western nations. An 1883 column, for example, discussed the tide of big power annexations and encroachments throughout the region and concluded, more bravely than wisely, that "if any one is to interfere to prevent further aggrandization of foreign and distant powers in the Pacific, Hawaii ought to do it."⁷⁸

Fired by such beliefs and apparently oblivious to the new realities of power politics in the Pacific, Gibson wasted no time in establishing an activist foreign policy. His first opportunity came little more than a month after he assumed the office. At that time a chief from Butaritari, one of the Gilbert Islands, requested that Hawaii establish a protectorate over the island and send a delegate to negotiate the arrangements. Responding somewhat indirectly and certainly less vigorously than might have been expected, Gibson sent a gift and a letter saying that Hawaii recognized the existence of a community of interest among all the lands of Polynesia and that he looked forward

to closer relations between Hawaii and Butaritari. He sent the gift and letter through Isaiah Bray who captained the *Morning Star*, a ship serving the missionaries of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association stationed in Micronesia and the Marquesas Islands, and Bray returned with similar requests from two other Gilbertese chiefs. These requests were answered with invitations to come to Honolulu at government expense for Kalakaua's pending coronation as well as for diplomatic negotiations. For reasons unknown, the chiefs never made the journey and the matter was dropped.⁷⁹

Innocuous as this debut of Gibson's foreign policy was, it nonetheless caused his opponents to denounce it as an indication of the dire consequences in store for Hawaii should similar ventures occur. The opposition *Daily Bulletin* editorialized that

Hawaii's true policy is to confine her attention to herself, and strive to "take rank with nations that command respect and consideration" [quoting from Gibson's editorials] by enlightened and judicious management of her own affairs and the development of her own resources. Patient and faithful adherence to this policy will ultimately result in the Hawaiian Kingdom becoming "no longer a mere nominal State" [quoting Gibson again], whereas a Napoleonic policy of conquest and acquisition would most likely end in "vaulting ambition overleaping itself and falling on the other side" [quoting anonymous sources].⁸⁰

In fact, both the Bray mission and the editorial criticism proved to be indications of things to come.

The next major episode came on July 31, 1883, when, in an act clearly inspired by the Wyllie-St. Julian era but justified by the language of the 1880 resolution, Gibson commissioned Alfred N. Tripp as Hawaii's "Special Commissioner for Central and Western Polynesia" and instructed him to travel among the Micronesian islands promoting friendly relations with Hawaii and providing advice on governance. The choice of Tripp for this position represents either extreme naiveté or remarkable insensitivity on Gibson's part, as Tripp was (and remained) captain of the schooner *Julia*, a vessel that regularly visited Micronesia in search of contract laborers to be carried back to Hawaii. Despite this, Tripp did succeed in arranging discussions with a number of Gilbertese chiefs and several of them requested advice and assistance. One, in fact, went so far as to request

Colossus of the Pacific

Hawaiian military assistance in a war he was waging with a neighboring chief. The mission ended abruptly, however, when the *Julia* was wrecked in the Gilberts early in 1884.

Although Tripp's mission produced little more than the added cost of retrieving the crew, it was nonetheless a source of controversy. When Gibson reported on it to the legislature in 1884, heated and sustained criticism arose and he was forced onto the defensive, a circumstance that would be increasingly common during the remainder of his tenure in office.⁸¹ An editorial from the *Hawaiian Gazette*, another opposition newspaper, illustrates.

The recent publication of a so-called report of the Commissioner at large in the South Pacific demands attention, not from the intrinsic value of the precious document and its appendices, but from the utter absurdity of it and from certain extraordinary statements, which *more suo*, the Government apologist [Gibson] has managed to group around his central idea.... The opponents of this stupid scheme ... pursued a legitimate course in laughing at a huge joke which the unfortunate tax payers will have to foot a bill for.... For results of this valuable expedition, we have a wrecked vessel and a bundle of letters, signed by half a dozen unbreeched barbarians who, thanks to the educating influence of the Hawaiian Envoy, burst forth into full blown Kings.⁸²

Gibson initiated another and more noteworthy venture at the same time he commissioned the Tripp mission. Prompted generally by the continued maneuverings of the Western powers in the Pacific and specifically by Australia's annexation of eastern New Guinea on behalf of Great Britain in April 1883, he obtained the approval of the cabinet in August to prepare a note of protest coupled with a defense of Polynesian independence to be presented to the offending nations. Generally known as the "Protest of 1883" or, more dramatically, as the "Monroe Doctrine of the Pacific," the document opened with strong words:

Whereas His Hawaiian Majesty's Government being informed that certain Sovereign and Colonial States propose to annex various Islands and Archipelagoes of Polynesia, does hereby solemnly protest against such projects of annexation, as unjust to a simple and ignorant people, and subversive in their case of those conditions for favorable national development, which have been so happily accorded to the Hawaiian Nation.⁸³

An appeal followed:

His Hawaiian Majesty's Government, speaking for the Hawaiian people, so happily prospering through national independence, makes earnest appeal to the Governments of great and enlightened States, that they will recognize the inalienable rights of the several native communities of Polynesia to enjoy opportunities for progress and self-government, and will guarantee to them the same favorable opportunities which have made Hawaii prosperous and happy, and which incite her national spirit to lift up a voice among the Nations in behalf of sister islands and groups in Polynesia.⁸⁴

Copies of this spirited document were sent to all the imperial powers and a number of others with no Pacific interests—twenty-six in all—but only the United States took enough interest in it to deliver an even remotely meaningful response. Secretary of State Frelinghuysen noted simply that the United States supported the notion of self-government but since the territory in question was outside the realm of American interests, no action would be taken. He also added that Hawaii was in error for terming the document a protest rather than an appeal.⁸⁵ Gibson was not cowed, however. Two years later in 1885 when Western meddling in Samoa was at a peak and there was talk of a big-power conference to resolve the issue, he issued a similar protest. The second document dealt largely with Samoan independence and was sent to the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Again, the response was nil, and Gibson concluded that he would have to find more effective ways of promoting Hawaii's influence in the Pacific.⁸⁶

In retrospect, the principal importance of these protests lies in the fact that they caused several of the European powers—particularly Germany which was emerging as the dominant power in Samoa—to wonder whether or not the United States was using Hawaii as a foil for her own ambitions in the area. The Germans simply could not believe that tiny Hawaii was serious.⁸⁷ Neither, for that matter, could Gibson's increasingly nervous local opponents. As one newspaper put it, "It does seem as if the Empire of the Calabash [the opposition's term for Gibson's internationalism] were still a distant dream. That 'protest' which caused so much amusement here and was so cavalierly treated ... [elsewhere], seems to have been singu-

larly unsuccessful. The Foreign Policy of the Government has not been crowned with laurels, but has been rather smothered with snubs."⁸⁸

Gibson's next move was appropriately dramatic. He used the proposal for a big-power conference on Pacific problems as the occasion to attempt the creation of a federation of independent Polynesian nations under Hawaiian leadership. Late in 1885, he dispatched Hawaii's minister to the United States, Henry A. P. Carter, on a tour of the European capitals with instructions to gain a seat for Hawaii at the pending conference (although it turned out that discussion of the conference was premature and that no such gathering was under serious consideration at the time), to propagandize on behalf of Samoan independence, and, above all, to seek European support for a Hawaii-led Polynesian federation. Carter, a loyal but also realistic official, agreed with the first two instructions but tried to persuade Gibson to withdraw the third directive. He knew it would not be viewed favorably by the major powers as they scrambled for control over various island groups. He argued that Hawaii's only believable and defensible position vis-à-vis the other Pacific islands was one emphasizing concern for the civilizing and Christianizing efforts of the Hawaii-sponsored Micronesian missionary effort, and that anything more adventurous would end only in embarrassment or disaster.⁸⁹ It soon became evident that he was correct.

Gibson, however, refused to be persuaded and Carter proceeded with the mission. He conferred with the various foreign offices and attempted to gain support for the positions outlined in his instructions. Predictably, he was unsuccessful. Returning to Washington early in 1886, he wrote Gibson, "Though I was too late to accomplish what His Majesty had hoped, I think that His Majesty's good intentions and generous proposals have added to the high esteem in which His Majesty and His Government are held by Foreign Powers."⁹⁰ Even this modest attempt to find something positive to report is probably overstated. If a dispatch from James H. Wodehouse, then Great Britain's commissioner in Hawaii, is any indication, the diplomats viewed Gibson's foreign policy in much the same fashion as did his local opponents. He reported to the Foreign Office that "Mr. Gibson's policy in this direction ... finds no echo ... here, Hawaiians being content to manage their own affairs, without involving themselves in disputed questions with other powers and striving after 'an Hawaiian Supremacy in the Pacific' which is the darling object of Mr. Gibson's ambition."⁹¹

The local press, moving from amused and then nervous dissent to bitter hostility, could not have agreed more. As one editorial on the Carter mission put it, "If all the visionary exploiting of our Foreign Office was done at the private charges of the man or men who are carried away by the prospective honors accruing therefrom, the matter might be dismissed with a smile at the matured vanity projecting it. But these foreign embassies after will-o'-the-wisps are using up the scant revenues of this kingdom, while the most necessary and important domestic services entrusted to the Government are starving and decaying for want of the means of sustenance."⁹²

Nonetheless, Gibson persevered. He ordered Carter to make one more attempt to persuade the European powers to accept the three proposals. When the effort again came to naught, he initiated an even more forceful strategy on behalf of Polynesian, and particularly Samoan, independence.⁹³ Preparations for this undertaking came to a head on December 23, 1886, when Kalakaua, ever fond of an elaborate ceremony, commissioned John E. Bush, a former cabinet member, as Hawaii's "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near His Majesty the King of Samoa," "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near His Majesty the King of Tonga," and "Our High Commissioner to the Sovereign Chiefs and Peoples of Polynesia." Three days later, Bush and his staff (which included Robert Louis Stevenson's artist son-in-law, Joseph Strong) sailed from Honolulu with secret instructions to negotiate a treaty of confederation between Hawaii and Samoa wherein Hawaii would protect the latter's independence by assuming control over its foreign policy, to negotiate the participation of Tonga and the Cook Islands in the confederation once it was established, and to annex territory in the Gilbert Islands should the opportunity arise.⁹⁴

The instructions to Bush are more ludicrous than bold when viewed within the context of current affairs in Samoa, the key to the strategy. Great Britain, the United States, and especially Germany were seeking to establish a greater measure of control over the islands and, in accord with their earlier refusal to seriously consider the 1883 and 1885 protests or the subsequent pleas of Carter, were not inclined to look with favor upon the Hawaiian venture. To further complicate matters, Samoa was divided into two warring camps as rival chiefs struggled to establish control over the island group, and one camp, under the

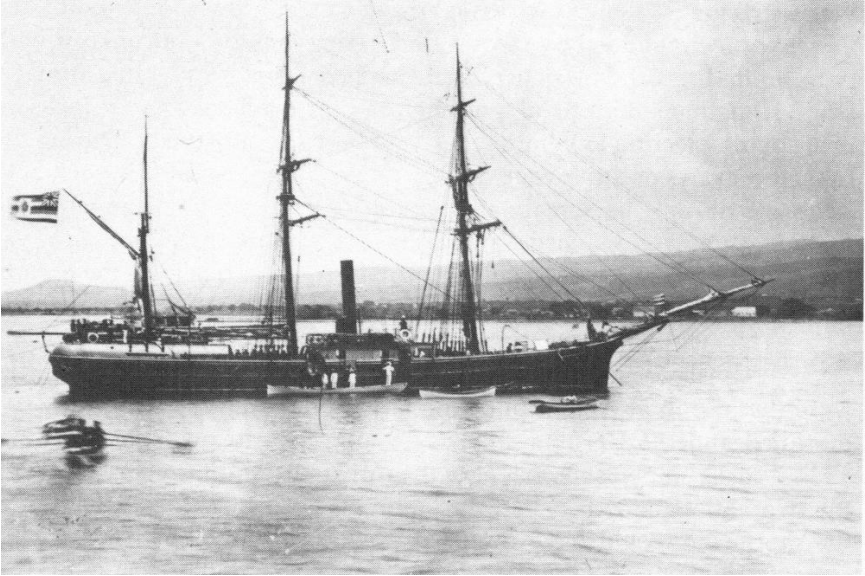
Colossus of the Pacific

leadership of Chief Malietoa, was supported by Great Britain and the United States, while the other, under a chief named Tamasese, had the backing of Germany.

Apparently these circumstances did not faze Gibson. He ordered Bush to deal exclusively with Malietoa and blandly informed the Western powers that the purpose of the Bush mission was not to meddle but rather to assist in the search for a diplomatic solution to the problem. Understandably, this disclaimer proved to be unpersuasive, and the mission, whatever its real purpose, came to be viewed by the big powers as an overt case of intervention. The United States, after briefly accepting Gibson's assurances, took a position disapproving the mission. Great Britain did likewise, interpreting it as an attempt to create trouble and confusion. More ominously, Germany chose to regard it as a direct threat to her interests in the area and, incredible as it sounds in retrospect, took preliminary steps toward preparing for war with Hawaii. An indication of the intensity of German feelings on this point is contained in a remark by Count Herbert Bismarck, Germany's foreign minister, to one of his colleagues during the summer of 1887. "We should not," he observed, "have [to] put up with [the] insolence of the Hawaiians any longer; if a German squadron were at anchor before Samoa, it could sail for Hawaii, and King Kalakaua could be told that, unless he desisted from his insolent intrigues in Samoa, we should shoot his legs in two, despite his American protection."⁹⁵ Clearly, Gibson was on the verge of overplaying his hand.

This, however, came later. In the meantime, Bush proceeded with the mission according to instructions. He arrived in Samoa early in January 1887, and immediately extended formal recognition to Malietoa by presenting him with the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Star of Oceania, an order inspired by St. Julian's Order of Arossi which Gibson and Kalakaua had created a few weeks earlier. This completed, he proceeded to fete Malietoa's followers with such a round of entertainment that one chief later remarked, "If you have come here to teach my people to drink, I wish you had stayed away."⁹⁶ In spite of this, the negotiations were successful and on February 17, 1887, Malietoa and Bush signed a treaty binding Samoa and Hawaii together in confederation. The document was then sent to Hawaii where it was ratified the following month. It should be noted, however, that the ratification was conditional. Gibson,

Elusive Destiny



The Kaimiloa flying her ensign. Hawaii State Archives

now nervous about anticipated Western reactions to the union, inserted a clause making the treaty subject to any limitations imposed by any treaties Samoa might previously have signed.

When news of this treaty reached the various Western capitals during April and May, unanimous opposition developed despite the conditioning clause. The United States reacted with "surprise and regret." Great Britain, for reasons of *realpolitik* now sympathetic with Germany's Samoan aspirations, viewed it as "a most audacious and unscrupulous attempt by American adventurers in the pay of King Kalakaua, to foment anarchy and disorder." Germany simply laughed at the document and said it would be ignored.⁹⁷ Trying at once to bolster the status of the mission and Malietoa's faltering courage in the face of such opposition, Gibson initiated what would be his final ploy in the adventure-gunboat diplomacy. On May 18, he dispatched the *Kaimiloa*, the Hawaiian navy's sole armed vessel, to Samoa.

This decision represents something less than genius. In the first instance, the *Kaimiloa* was not a ship to inspire awe. A hastily converted 171-ton copra and guano trader capable of no more than five knots at full steam and armed only with four six-pound brass cannons and two Gatling guns, she was

something less than a match for American, British, and German warships. Perhaps the most impressive thing about her was a striking flag sewn by Joseph Strong's wife.⁹⁸ More to the point, the vessel was commanded by George E. Gresley Jackson, a drunkard with only limited naval experience, and manned largely by young inmates from Honolulu's Industrial and Reformatory School where Jackson, prior to his selection as commander, had been the supervisor. During the first eleven days of the voyage, Jackson stayed in his cabin drinking, and, as he was the only person aboard capable of navigating, it is remarkable that the ship even reached Samoa. In fact, it almost did not. She was more than one degree of longitude off course upon reaching the area in mid-June.⁹⁹

This was only the beginning. After several weeks of cruising among the islands under the observation of a German naval vessel, the *Kaimiloa* put in at Apia. Following a night of revelry, part of the crew mutinied and the German ship came alongside to quell the uprising. This, it turns out, was the extent of the threatened military clash between the two nations. Further, had the Germans not assisted, it is likely that the mutineers would have fired the powder magazines. In a perverse sense, it is unfortunate that this did not happen as, in the absence of such a spectacular finale, there is almost nothing grand that can be said of the *Kaimiloa's* voyage. As Stevenson later remarked, "The *Kaimiloa* was from the first a scene of disaster and dilapidation; the stores were sold; the crew revolted; and for the great part of a night she was in the hands of mutineers, and the Secretary [of the Bush mission] lay bound upon the deck."¹⁰⁰

Following this disaster, the Samoan mission came to a rapid conclusion. Prior to the *Kaimiloa's* arrival, Gibson issued orders recalling Bush, whose crudeness and liberal use of gin as a diplomatic tool had caused protest, and replacing him with Henry F. Poor, the mission's secretary. At the same time, he also issued orders recalling the *Kaimiloa* as he had become fearful of the likely consequences of her presence. Perhaps Poor could have brought some dignity to the mission and obviously the recall of the *Kaimiloa* would have prevented the sorry spectacle that ensued, but Gibson's orders were unfortunately delayed in transit and did not arrive until mid-July. By that time his opponents in Hawaii had forced his removal from office in the so-called Bloodless Revolution of 1887. A new government was formed that immediately closed the mission and ordered it home aboard the *Kaimiloa*. This was fortunate timing. A few weeks later, a German squadron with some

seven hundred marines aboard arrived in Samoa with instructions to establish Tamasese as king (which it did, in the process deporting Malietoa) and to make war on Hawaii should the mission still be present.¹⁰¹ Thus ended the Islands' most extraordinary plunge into the international arena.

While no doubt there were sighs of relief in most quarters following Gibson's dismissal, they were surely most pronounced in Honolulu. Where his policies had caused a certain annoyance abroad, they had engendered persistent ridicule and even hatred among local critics. It is not likely, for example, that any foreign critic assessed the era with the same venom as the local editorialist who wrote that it was nothing short of "rotten." "We presume," he wrote, "no better word could be applied to the Hawaiian Government of the day. Yes, the Hawaiian Government is rotten, and rotten to the core. What has the King around him but rottenness. What care have those, who whisper in his ear, for the future? None. To them it is *vogue la galere*, let the boat swim, no matter whether down a waterfall or through a rapid."¹⁰² Neither is it likely that any foreign critic ever took the time, as one local critic did, to compose ridiculing doggerel as a means of expressing his dissatisfaction with the era:

How prospered the alliance grand
Among the Chiefs of Isles of sand
By the eternal trade winds fanned;
How there amid the breaker's dash
Is planted, now with armed clash
The Empire of the Calabash!¹⁰³

No matter how amusing and ultimately dismaying the Gibson era in Hawaiian foreign policy may have been, it was still a time of extraordinary significance so far as subsequent Hawaiian undertakings in the internationalist realm are concerned. While there would be no further ventures akin to those he sponsored (due in no small part to the fact that such activities can be more readily initiated by independent nations than political dependencies and Hawaii was soon to become the latter), he nonetheless contributed immensely to the notion that Hawaii has an internationalist destiny and an obligation to pursue it. In spite of contemporary opposition, he used the precedent for international activism established by Wyllie and St. Julian so effectively that it became, with time, simply another part of the Island definition of proper civic interest. It is no coincidence that virtually every subsequent local venture into

Colossus of the Pacific

the international realm has cited—perhaps with amusement and perhaps with chagrin but always with clear intent—the example of his endeavors.

Equally salient, Gibson also contributed heavily to the further development of the rationale for international activism. Almost without fail, he described his policies as instruments designed above all to pass on the experiences and accomplishments of a superior Hawaiian society to those less advanced societies elsewhere in the Pacific. Whether or not he actually believed this is, as noted, debatable. The fact that he consistently reiterated the notion and thereby helped establish it as a respectable theme in local thought is not. Ill-advised and perhaps even ill-motivated, his efforts nonetheless popularized as never before the kinds of ideas that lie at the root of the Island internationalist tradition.

Finally, it should also be noted that the internationalist undertakings of this era were at least partially successful in achieving Kalakaua's original objective of rekindling pride in the Hawaiian tradition. While such things are difficult to assess, the fervor with which Hawaiians defended the monarchy even after its fall and the extent to which the Kalakaua era has become a symbol in the contemporary effort to revive Hawaiian consciousness suggest that the undertakings of the period may be as noteworthy in socio-political terms as they are in internationalist terms.

IV

Our New Geneva

TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY REVIVAL

The collapse of the Gibson cabinet in 1887 marked the beginning of a lengthy eclipse in Island internationalist activity. With his authority almost completely eroded by a new constitution forced upon him as part of the ouster of Gibson, Kalakaua was in no position to initiate further ventures, and his new cabinet, firmly controlled by his business-oriented opponents, was concerned almost solely with reestablishing a fiscally sound domestic policy.

When Kalakaua died in 1891, his sister Liliuokalani assumed the throne, intent upon regaining the authority he had been forced to yield. Had she been successful, it is conceivable that she would have initiated policies similar to those of the Gibson era. This was not, of course, to be the case. Largely as a result of her determination to revive the stature of the crown, a revolution was instigated in 1893 and she was overthrown. This put an end to the Hawaiian monarchy and ushered in the shortlived Republic of Hawaii whose leaders were intent on arranging the annexation of the Islands by the United States and ending, for once and always, the spectre of a Hawaiian-led government embarking upon ventures contrary to commercial interests. Finally successful in 1898, the leaders of the Republic became the leaders of the new Territory of Hawaii. It goes without saying that events of these years discouraged all forms of internationalist activity.

Significantly, however, interest in internationalism survived, and by the early 1920s the movement was flourishing once again. A new group of activists, in this instance largely from the private sector, succeeded not only in reviving interest in

the movement but also in setting it on a course that carried it toward far more meaningful, if less flamboyant, ends than had been the case during the nineteenth century.

The first important indication of this revival came in 1910 when Alexander Hume Ford began publishing a monthly journal entitled *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. Ford's original hopes for the publication are not clear. He announced in the first issue (January 1911) that it would be essentially a literary magazine containing fiction, poetry, and highly illustrated informational articles on all the lands of the Pacific Basin, and that it would belong to "the entire Pacific" rather than simply Hawaii.¹ However, the magazine never developed along these lines. Aside from occasional poems, its only attempt at literary achievement came in Ford's own serialized "tale of the South Seas" entitled "Sabacco" which appeared throughout most of 1911.² He was, it turns out, no literary giant. His friend Jack London later told him that "Sabacco" was "the poorest novel ... [I] ever read."³ Perhaps for this reason, the magazine was composed more like a travel guide with correspondingly brief and bland articles extolling various tourist attractions in Hawaii and elsewhere in the Pacific. On occasion, there were also articles of a more social nature that usually reflected the then popular "white man's burden" perspective.⁴ Considering its tone and format, it is not surprising that a group of leading Honolulu businessmen found the new magazine a worthy "mouthpiece of Hawaii and the Pacific" following their review of the first issue.⁵

Despite this, *Mid-Pacific Magazine* was not to become simply another promotional journal. Interested in world affairs as well as literature and travel, Ford modified the thrust of the publication in subsequent issues and eventually turned it into a journal concerned almost solely with internationalist causes. In a fashion analogous to the evolution of the acclamatory characterization of the Islands, earlier issues of the magazine celebrated the local landscape while later issues took up the argument that Hawaii's destiny as a regional leader was assured by the unique and superior nature of local society. Once developed, the latter theme remained the principal focus of the magazine until its demise shortly before World War II.

An enchantment with the physical beauty of Hawaii is evident in the magazine from the time of the first issue. As the author of an early article, representative of many to follow, put it "the Paradise of the Pacific remains the choicest heritage of the American people. Here there is rest for the weary, and the troubled quickly cease from worrying; it is the little oasis in all

America that never disappoints; he who has not seen Hawaii cannot say, 'I have known perfect rest—I have seen the most beautiful thing in the whole world!'"⁶ However, while the magazine's never-flagging adoration of the Islands' physical characteristics is interesting, its evolving view of Hawaiian society and Hawaii's proper role in Pacific affairs is more important so far as the internationalist movement is concerned. In this respect, an editorial that appeared in mid-1915 illustrates the extent to which Ford had already come to believe that Hawaii was destined to lead the entire Pacific Basin—the nations of both the Pacific rim and the Pacific islands—toward a new era of trans-cultural understanding and cooperation. "Hawaii," he observed, "may well be termed the 'experimental melting-pot of the Pacific.' Here we may study at first-hand those things that go to make friendly feeling between the people of all races, and here is being born a Pacific Patriotism, a patriotism that in time it is believed will bind all the peoples of the Great Ocean together in a united movement to achieve the greatest destinies that belong to the peoples of the Pacific, who number more than half the population of the Globe."⁷ In short, Ford's commercial "mouth-piece" was on the way to becoming the most impassioned advocate of internationalism yet witnessed in Hawaii.

Ford's proclivity toward international activism soon led to an involvement in a series of new undertakings. One of the first and most significant of these endeavors came early in 1911 when he formed a group called the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club. Drawing key members from a government committee on tourism that he had earlier helped organize, Ford built the new group around a nucleus of prominent local citizens, put it to work upon a variety of internationalist tasks, and subsequently transformed it into the Pan-Pacific Union, an organization that would bring Hawaii to the attention of governments and civic leaders throughout the region.

From the time the group first met on March 17, 1911, ambitious goals were in evidence. As T. F. Sedgwick, one of the founding members, put it,

There is one great thing that all this must lead to and that is universal peace. If all of us [from around the world] get together and talk matters over we learn a great deal about each other's country. When the movement spreads and grows large enough for each of the countries we come in contact with to come to know more of each other, then our work must lead toward universal peace. A better knowledge of each other's manners and customs

Our New Geneva

will lead toward the breaking down of old traditions, and once these are severed and we find out that with the exception of a few minor details, we are only the same as the other fellow after all, then there will be an end to all talk of war, and we will live together side by side in peace.⁸

The group's formal statement of purpose embraces a similar perspective. The essential portions are the following:

To spread abroad around the Pacific a knowledge of Hawaii and to secure from each other and from around the Pacific a better knowledge of the lands in and about the great ocean and the objects, aims and ambitions of their respective peoples.

To aid in securing cooperation on the part of the many Pacific governments in worthy objects looking toward the attraction from Europe and America of tourists, immigrants, businessmen and all whose presence in Pacific lands will be a distinct gain to the common interests of all who live about the Pacific.

To take an active part in any movement directed toward the betterment of Hawaii as a place of residence or a land to visit.

To keep alive a pride in the land we live in as well as the land from whence we came, and to do all we can to make both more worthy of that pride.⁹

Thereafter variations of this perspective appeared regularly. In some instances the emphasis was on world peace through understanding. Percy Hunter, an Australian participant, addressed this point when he wrote, "We desire that the various great nations bordering ... [the Pacific] should live together in true amity, that they should come to know each other better, that they should trade and travel and join in industrial and commercial activity and know no cause of quarrel or bitterness. The basis of peace is knowledge and the best way to encourage the amity of nations is to ensure a knowledge ... among the nationals of each country."¹⁰ On other occasions, attention was directed at the Hawaiian transcultural experience. A comment by Jack London, speaking on behalf of the group, illustrates. "The tendency of the age ... [is]," he argued, "for a closer understanding between nations and between races, and ... the time ... [is] approaching when just such conditions ... [will] prevail all over the world as now prevail in these jewels of the Pacific [i.e., Hawaii], where many different peoples live together in harmony, finding that the more they try to harmonize, the more they ... [better] their own conditions."¹¹ In still other cases,

Elusive Destiny

these themes were syncretized, as in the following excerpt from a club resolution urging the convening of a world peace congress in Hawaii:

Whereas: In these Islands as nowhere else has rational race contact regardless of color or other adventitious circumstances resulted in that ideal dwelling together in unity, the complete realization of which on a worldwide scale is being hastened as never before, and

Whereas: These Islands are situated midway between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres at the center of the prophesied greatest theater of the world's future activities, the Pacific, which should be kept, true to its name, an arena of peaceful contests and conquests; Be it resolved [that a world peace congress be urged to convene in Hawaii].¹²

In sum, these men sought world understanding and peace and believed the Hawaiian model pointed the way toward achieving it.

As during the preceding century, ideas generated action. An early indication of this lies in Ford's attempt to build a network of Hands-Around-the-Pacific Clubs throughout the Pacific Basin and thereby create a lobby with sufficient influence to achieve the group's objectives.¹³ He began auspiciously enough by persuading a number of prominent Pacific leaders—among them the prime ministers of Australia and New Zealand—to serve as honorary officers of the club, thus providing it with an immediate element of respectability.¹⁴ Attempting to capitalize on these accomplishments, he embarked on an ambitious organizational drive late in 1913. Although concentrating his efforts in Asia and the United States, he circled the globe in search of organizations willing to join his crusade for peace and brotherhood.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the results were marginal. Although a fair number of the existing groups he approached pledged their affiliation and support, they in fact remained more committed to their own goals than to his internationalist ends. For example, the Million Club of West Australia, one of the new affiliates, retained its primary commitment to securing "a million white population for the state," while the City Club of Manila, another new affiliate, maintained its concern for assisting "all races of people in the Philippines to work together for the advancement of the Philippines."¹⁶ Similarly, a number of chambers of commerce and "ad" clubs in the western United States were listed as affiliates simply because

they promised to host an annual Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club banquet.¹⁷ Further, there is no indication that he was able to organize a single new group in support of his goals. Nonetheless, he was pleased with the outcome. Ever the optimist, he interpreted his generally friendly reception abroad as the portent of a great regional movement toward a new international consciousness and believed that Hawaii was destined to lead it. Hence, upon returning to the Islands, he announced that the movement was underway and that *Mid-Pacific Magazine* would be its official organ.¹⁸

While the newly affiliated organizations may not have taken their internationalist charge seriously, the original group in Hawaii did. It was active over the years sponsoring meetings, exhibits, discussions, and a host of other activities related to internationalism. One of the more interesting of these undertakings was the formation of a group known as the 12-12-12 Club that periodically invited twelve representatives from several of the Islands' various ethnic groups to dine together and discuss points of racial grievance and misunderstanding in much the same fashion employed in contemporary encounter therapy. An ongoing part of Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club activities after 1911, these gatherings attracted considerable attention in 1915 when Jack London praised them in a speech before a visiting congressional delegation and later published his remarks in an article entitled "The Language of the Tribe."¹⁹

A number of the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club's other activities during the 1911-1917 period are likewise of interest. The forerunner of Hawaii's present Aloha Week festival, known first as the Floral Parade and later as the Mid-Pacific Carnival, was given an international flavor during this period when the club persuaded the sponsors to include a "Pan-Pacific Day" as part of the scheduled activities. In a related development, during September 1915, Liliuokalani, the former queen, initiated an event variously known as Pacific Day and Balboa Day which featured flag ceremonies performed by representatives from Hawaii's different ethnic communities. Ford publicized this festival through *Mid-Pacific Magazine* and launched a campaign to make it an annual event observed around the Pacific as part of the Hands-Around-the-Pacific movement. He succeeded in persuading numerous Pacific Basin cities to sponsor ceremonies, but interest waned with the coming of World War I.²⁰ In what was perhaps the most noteworthy outcome of the effort, Lili-

uokalani returned to the throne room of Iolani Palace in 1917, the first time she had done so since her overthrow in 1893, to preside over that year's festivities.

Inspired by the excitement of the 1915 congressional visit, Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club members and supporters (including Korean nationalist leader Syngman Rhee, who then resided in Honolulu) conceived the idea of establishing a permanent Pan-Pacific Club to facilitate regular meetings and other special events.²¹ Castle and Cooke, a local business firm, donated space in an office building and in mid-1916 the club was opened.²² Although its location was changed several times, it served as the site for international dinners, displays, and gatherings over the next two decades. Encouraged by the club's initial success, Ford attempted to establish similar facilities throughout the Pacific as a means of strengthening the movement, but little came of the effort at the time.²³

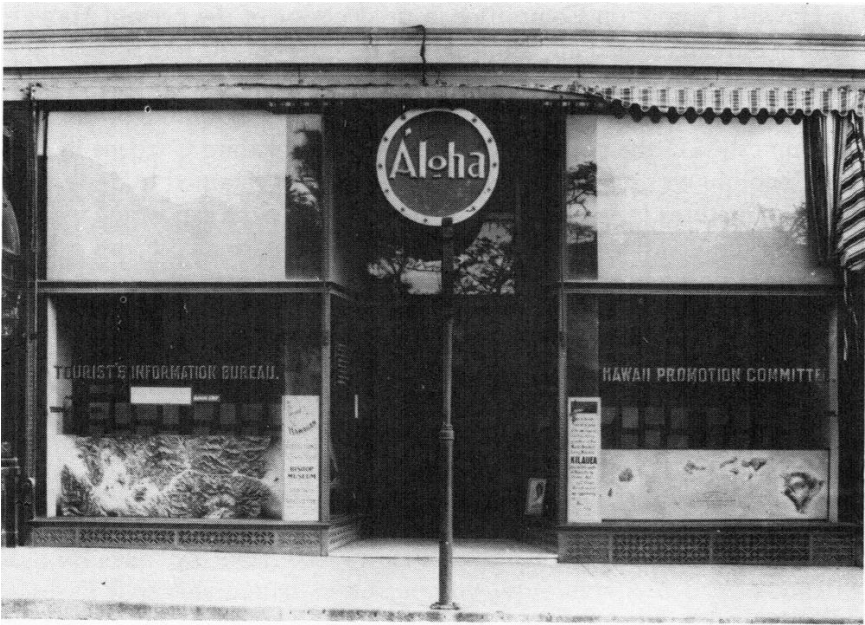
In 1915 San Francisco hosted the Panama-Pacific International Exposition and immediately thereafter San Diego sponsored the Panama-California Exposition. The Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club and the Hawaii Promotion Committee, a predecessor of the present Hawaii Visitors Bureau, staged an exhibit at the latter event. As might be anticipated, Ford concluded that Hawaii should sponsor a similar gathering. He broached the suggestion in early 1916 and by the middle of the year was enmeshed in the planning. A site near Liliuokalani Gardens in central Honolulu was selected, and an architect was retained to design the needed structures.²⁴ As Ford saw it, the purpose of the exposition was no less than the creation of a new era in Pacific relations. "From a Pan-Pacific beginning in Hawaii," he editorialized,

we may yet teach the whole world the lesson that the fruits of cooperation are sweeter far than those that grow in the garden of competition. It is for us to forward a movement that will tend to lift all to higher things, to strive together to attain a loftier standard in the material life for all the peoples of the Pacific, so that each and all will benefit, no matter what their race, nationality or country ... [and] ... to this end Hawaii invites her sisters of the Pacific to a cooperative Pan-Pacific Exposition and Congress of Pacific People....²⁵

Although hopes for the exposition were shattered by the advent of World War I, Ford persisted in his belief that Hawaii could become an international conference center and, as discussed below, he was eventually proved correct.

As the turn-of-the-century revival of internationalism was essentially a function of the interaction between efforts to develop a local tourist industry and Ford's own internationalist visions and ambitions, a word of background on each factor is necessary. With respect to tourism, developmental activities date from the last decades of the monarchy. As early as 1875 tourist guidebooks were appearing and by the 1880s some five to eight hundred tourists were visiting Hawaii annually. In 1888 a promotional magazine entitled *Paradise of the Pacific* was founded and it lured visitors with its depiction of Hawaii as a land of spectacular vistas, sunlit lagoons, and beautiful women until it folded during the middle of the twentieth century.²⁶ The Islands' first official bid for tourists came in 1892 with the formation of the Hawaiian Bureau of Information, but events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy and the creation of the republic disrupted its activities. In 1903 the Hawaii Promotion Committee was established under the joint direction of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and the Honolulu Merchants' Association, organizations that merged in 1913 to form the present Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, to replace the defunct Bureau of Information. Funded by contributions from the business community and an appropriation from the territorial legislature, the organization opened offices in the Alexander Young Hotel and immediately launched a nationwide advertising campaign.²⁷ Supported by the business sector and the legislature over the years, this organization evolved into the widely known Hawaii Visitors Bureau of the present era.²⁸

Both commercialism and internationalism are evident in the early activities of the Hawaii Promotion Committee. It sponsored exhibits at such events as the 1904 St. Louis Exposition and the 1909 Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle and built a permanent display at Atlantic City, then a major tourist center.²⁹ Utilizing a mainland American public relations firm, it placed advertisements in leading periodicals, prepared pamphlets for travel agents, and engaged lecturers to speak on Hawaii in hundreds of cities throughout the mainland. It prepared other pamphlets extolling Hawaii as a place of residence and mailed great numbers of them to potential immigrants. In 1913, for example, some five hundred thousand such items were mailed, making the committee the largest single user of the Honolulu Post



Hawaii Promotion Committee headquarters in the Alexander Young Building. Bishop Museum

Office.³⁰ Additionally, it played a key role in establishing trans-Pacific yacht racing, initiating the Floral Parade, attempting to attract national conventions to Honolulu, supporting civic beautification projects, and lobbying mightily, if unsuccessfully, to have Congress name a battleship after Hawaii.³¹

At the same time, the committee was engaged in other activities that were considerably more internationalist in nature. Most important in this respect was its interest in joint promotional activities involving other countries. An incident involving Ford that occurred during 1907 illustrates. Although a recent arrival, he detected the interest in joint promotional ventures and urged Walter F. Frear, soon to be named as the territory's third governor, to commission him as an official representative of the Islands during a forthcoming trip to Australia and New Zealand and empower him to negotiate arrangements whereby Hawaii would join the Australasian governments in establishing a "Pan-Pacific Tourist and Information Bureau" with offices in New York and other large cities.³² While Frear was not as yet

governor and had no authority to grant the request, Ford still embarked upon the journey and attempted to negotiate the proposed arrangements.³³

Despite the fact that the negotiations proved fruitless, this episode is significant in that it characterizes the early relationship between tourism and internationalism and, even more to the point, provided much of the incentive for Ford's subsequent involvement on the international front. He returned to Honolulu in March 1908 and immediately began promoting Hawaii as an international tourist center. He argued with some passion that Pacific tourism could become a profitable industry if local leaders would but expend the necessary promotional energy.³⁴ His fervor was rewarded late in March when Frear, by then governor, named him to the Territorial Transportation Committee that had recently been established to assist the Hawaii Promotion Committee and to explore joint working arrangements with Australia and New Zealand regarding the promotion of tourism.³⁵ As in previous cases, the consequences of this action were indirect. The committee itself accomplished little, but it did evolve into the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club which in turn became the Pan-Pacific Union. In all likelihood, none of this would have come to pass had there been no interest in tourism at the time.

The formation of the Outrigger Canoe Club, a well-known private dining and sports club in Waikiki, likewise illustrates the indirect but nonetheless real connection between tourism and internationalism. When Ford arrived in Honolulu, he observed that surfing—Hawaii's unique contribution to the world of sports as well as a potential tourist attraction—was on the verge of disappearance. Disturbed by this, he sponsored a series of meetings during the spring of 1908 which led to the formal organization of the club in May, the development of surfing and canoeing programs, and the erection of a clubhouse containing entertainment facilities.³⁶ While the club itself was not organized with internationalist ends in mind (indeed, from the time of its inception to the present it has, so far as can be determined, refused to accept people of Asian ancestry as members), Ford made use of it as a site for various international gatherings, and it thus became a factor in the revival of the movement. The most notable incident in this respect occurred during the 1915 congressional visit. London's previously cited paean to Ford and the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club came during a party for this group sponsored by the club. Warren G. Harding, then a senator, was among those present, and he was

Elusive Destiny



The Outrigger Canoe Club's original facility. Bishop Museum

particularly moved by the talk. Thereafter, he lent Ford considerable encouragement and support, which in turn contributed to the later success of the Pan-Pacific Union. Had the club not existed, it is conceivable that this important connection would not have been established.³⁷

Clearly, then, tourism was a factor in the revival of internationalism during the early years of the twentieth century. Ford himself put it best when he said that one of his earliest goals was "to enter into a Pan-Pacific campaign to attract travel to the Pacific area, inviting writers, investors, educators, and scientists to study the Pacific lands and make their potential possibilities for new enterprises known to the world."³⁸ At the same time, however, it is easy to overstate the importance of the relationship. While many of the people associated with tourism during this era were indeed internationalists who saw tourism as a means to international ends, in all likelihood most of them were entrepreneurs who viewed the enterprise as simply another form of business. Despite his strenuous efforts to associate the two undertakings, even Ford eventually had to admit that the connection was sometimes tenuous.³⁹

This being the case, the revival of the movement would never have occurred without forceful and dedicated leadership. Of all who were involved in the effort, Ford was the most important. This, however, is due largely to chance. Born April 3, 1868, in Charleston, South Carolina, to Frederick Winthrop and Mary Mazy Hume Ford, both members of prominent Southern families, his childhood was unremarkable. Like many of his contemporaries, he attended a military school—Porter Military Academy in his case—in preparation for college and a subsequent career in business. A developing interest in journalism and the theatre changed all this.⁴⁰ Foregoing college, he joined the staff of the *Charleston News and Courier* with hopes of establishing himself in the arts.⁴¹ Years later, he claimed that he was sufficiently talented as a youthful playwright to have attracted the attention of Samuel L. Clemens, but details of the relationship are vague.⁴²

Leaving Charleston during the 1880s, he settled in New York and achieved some acclaim when his play, *The Little Confederate*, was produced on Broadway in 1889. During this time he also developed what would subsequently prove a useful talent for cultivating the rich and the powerful. Jay Gould and Cyrus W. Field, for example, were among his New York friends.⁴³

Still in pursuit of a career in the arts, Ford moved to Chicago around 1890, where he was involved in the publication of several “little magazines,” but the effort foundered on economic grounds. Reverting to journalism, he joined the *Chicago Daily News Record* where he worked for nearly a decade, in the process becoming active in local social and political affairs. Distressed by Chicago’s bigotry and provincialism, he used his newspaper stories to editorialize on behalf of a more cosmopolitan point of view among his readers, formed a number of organizations designed to combat racial prejudice, and created the Society for the Prevention of Crime to lobby for changes in police tactics.⁴⁴ In addition, he became interested in religious matters and joined the Militant Church of Chicago, an organization known both for its decidedly temporal slogan (“Deeds not creeds. Act in this world, theorize in the next”) and its ecumenical governing board, which included an unfrocked Catholic priest, a Greek Orthodox priest, a Baptist minister, a Methodist minister, a Unitarian leader, a rabbi, an Episcopalian, and the celebrated orator, politician, and agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll. Despite its unorthodox makeup, however, the church was deeply

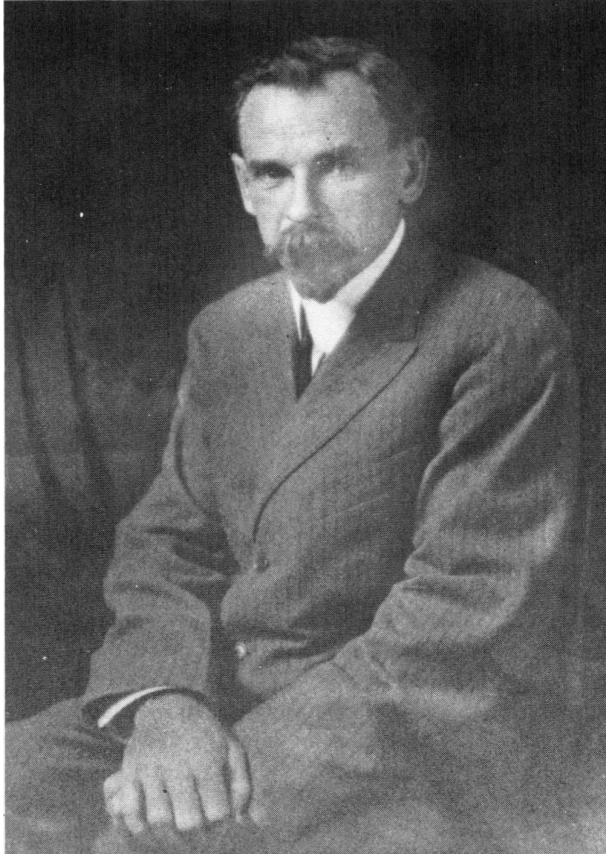
involved in social reform and offered such services as legal assistance and drug clinics long before most conventional churches developed similar concerns.⁴⁵

These years were also important in the development of Ford's internationalist inclinations. By chance, one of his colleagues at the *Daily News Record* was William E. Curtiss, an early advocate of regional international organizations and subsequently a leading official of the Bureau of American Republics, the predecessor of the Pan-American Union.⁴⁶ Ford later noted that it was Curtiss who convinced him of the importance of international cooperation and that he must, therefore, be credited with at least some of the inspiration behind the Pan-Pacific Union.⁴⁷ This understates the case. Of all the activities and causes Ford supported through the Union, none was more important to him than a continuing effort to turn the organization into a Pacific Basin version of the Pan-American Union and to obtain, at the expense of all else if need be, direct government sponsorship for it. His preoccupation with this end, while helpful in bringing his activities to the attention of governments and political leaders, also led him to substitute political aspiration for institutional philosophy within the organization. In the long run, this predilection caused a rigidity of purpose within the organization that proved to be a major factor in its ultimate collapse.

Although he apparently gained some stature in Chicago, Ford departed the city as abruptly as he came to it. A casual meeting with a Russian businessman at a turn-of-the-century exposition led to a job offer in Vladivostok with the M.S. Nicde Company, a supply firm involved with the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Inexperienced in business matters though he was, Ford immediately accepted the offer and departed for Russia via the Pacific. In all likelihood, this journey is the cause of his later move to Hawaii. Sailing between California and Hawaii, he became friends with George, William, and James Castle of the noted Island missionary-business family and was their guest during his brief layover in Honolulu.⁴⁸ Intrigued, he later commented, with what he heard and saw of Hawaii during the visit, he vowed to return in the future.⁴⁹

Ford's new job in Russia was apparently less than satisfactory for he soon left it and returned to journalism. Between the turn of the century and 1907 when he arrived again in Hawaii, he traveled much of the world writing for such publications as *Century*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *McClure's Magazine*. At the time of his return to the Islands, he was writing for

Our New Geneva



Alexander Hume Ford. Hawaii State Archives

Hampton's Magazine on problems of race relations and immigration.⁵⁰ There is little record of his career during these years save certain indications that he was a witness to such great events of the era as the Boxer Rebellion in China and the 1905 Revolution in Russia.⁵¹

While it was a worldly wise Ford who returned to Honolulu, he was still less sophisticated and cosmopolitan than he would doubtless have been willing to admit. For example, despite his earlier work with various ethnic groups, he never completely purged himself of racist views. "I was brought up in the South," he once remarked, "and inherited a racial prejudice. Yet, on the Pacific, I find I can control that prejudice toward all other races, save that one race."⁵² In fact, if the pages of *Mid-Pacific Mag-*

azine are any indication, he merely substituted paternalism for prejudice. Year after year he unremittingly used such pejorative generalizations as the "inscrutable Oriental," and "the placid expression of the Asiatic."⁵³

Further, advanced as Ford's internationalist ideas may have been, they were hardly as original as he liked to portray them. Indeed, virtually all his ventures were variations of undertakings initiated earlier, particularly the Hague conferences and the Pan-American Union. He was, in contrast with the image he cultivated, more an adaptor than an innovator. He was also somewhat less prophetic than he cared to admit. When, for instance, the 1917 Revolution began in Russia, he drew upon his experience in that country to make the unqualified prediction that it would fail and that the real revolution would come under Greek Orthodox church leadership.⁵⁴ Likewise, he consistently misjudged events within the internationalist movement, as evidenced by his conviction that he had converted various commercial organizations around the Pacific into Hands-Around-the-Pacific clubs and his subsequent belief that the Pacific governments would assume responsibility for the Pan-Pacific Union and thereby unite the region under a single political structure.

Ford also suffered a debilitating penchant for simplistic generalization and extraneous detail. To illustrate, one of his favorite explanations for problems in the Pacific centered around the notion that world peace was dependent on equalized living standards and, thus, greater opportunities for international travel and exchange. However, having once outlined his basic theme, he invariably turned away from it and slid into a rambling description of possible steamship and railway routes, proposed fare structures, likely hotel designs, and other changes necessary to accommodate more travelers.⁵⁵ Similarly, he once undertook to reform the local Chamber of Commerce. His manifesto, an article in *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, addressed the central question for several paragraphs and then shifted to the matter of constructing a new headquarters facility, going so far as to suggest a location, physical specifications, likely tenants, and anticipated rental income. Needless to say, the reform issue was never again mentioned and, more to the point, the effort accomplished nothing.⁵⁶

Finally, Ford was an egocentric man who frequently overstepped the bounds of propriety in satisfying his vanity. As in the case of his "commission" from Frear, he sometimes misrepresented his position in an attempt to attract the attention of highly placed people and whatever accolades they might direct

toward him. Further, he felt compelled to inform all who might listen of his stature in the circles of power and of the praise that came his way. *Mid-Pacific Magazine* is full of dropped names and reprints of assorted tributes to its editor.⁵⁷ In sum, while it is clear that Ford contributed immensely to the development of the local internationalist tradition and deserves much of the praise he received, it is equally clear that he was as much a Babbitt as a Wilson.

FORMATION OF THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION

During the course of his early efforts to rekindle Hawaii's interest in international undertakings, Ford apparently concluded that the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club was not an adequate vehicle for the task and that a new and more sophisticated organization less directly associated with commercial endeavors was needed. Accordingly, on May 28, 1917, he and six others who had been active in the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club filed articles of incorporation for the Pan-Pacific Union.⁵⁸ In doing so, they created a new organization that would transform Island internationalism from a frequently ineffectual, often commercially oriented, and generally little-known effort into an authentic international movement, fundamentally concerned with political and cultural relations throughout the Pacific, and known the world over. Through its own efforts and those of similar groups that grew out of it, the Union would capture the imagination of Hawaii's leaders to such a degree that legislatures would fund its projects and governors would work on them. It would bring the movement to the attention of the American government and press and, to a slightly lesser degree, governments and presses abroad. Finally and perhaps most significantly, its varied array of international programs would create at least a vague sense of common cause among the people of the Pacific.

It goes without saying that considerable enthusiasm and hope surrounded the formation of the Pan-Pacific Union, and much of it is captured in the statement of goals filed at the time of incorporation. It reads:

1. To call in conference delegates from and representatives of all Pacific peoples for the purpose of discussing and furthering the interests common to Pacific nations.

Elusive Destiny

2. To maintain in Honolulu a bureau of information and education concerning matters of interest to the people of the Pacific, and to disseminate to the world information of every kind of progress and opportunities in Pacific lands, and to promote the comfort and interests of all visitors to the Hawaiian islands.
3. To aid and assist those in Hawaii and from other Pacific communities to better understand each other and to work together for the furtherance of the best interests of the land of their adoption, and, through them, to spread abroad about the Pacific the friendly spirit of interracial cooperation.
4. To assist and to aid the different Pacific races in Hawaii to cooperate in local fairs, to raise produce, and to create home manufactured goods.
5. To own real estate or erect buildings needed for housing exhibits, dioramas, art galleries, or in taking care of visitors.
6. To maintain a Pan-Pacific Commercial Museum and Art Gallery of Hawaiian and Pacific paintings.
7. To create dioramas, gather exhibits, books and other material of educational or instructive value.
8. To promote and conduct in Honolulu, which is also called the "Cross-Roads of the Pacific," a Pan-Pacific Exposition of the handicrafts of the people about the Great Ocean, and especially of their works of art and scenic dioramas of the most beautiful bits of Pacific lands, as well as illustrating the important industries of the different countries of the Pacific.
9. To establish and maintain at the said "Cross-Roads of the Pacific" a permanent college and clearinghouse of information (printed and otherwise) concerning the lands, commerce, people, and trade opportunities in countries of the Pacific, and training young men in commercial knowledge of Pacific lands.
10. To secure in furtherance of those objects, the cooperation and support of Federal and State Governments, Chambers of Commerce, City Governments, and of individuals.
11. To enlist for this work of publicity in behalf of Alaska, the Territory of Hawaii, the Philippines, and other American possessions in the Pacific, Federal aid and financial support, as well as similar cooperation and support from all Pacific governments, in establishing at the said "Crossroads" of the Greatest of Oceans, to wit, the Pacific, a PAN-PACIFIC UNION, to act as Bureau of Information to the world at large and for Pacific lands and interests.

12. To bring all nations and peoples about the Pacific Ocean into closer friendly commercial contact and relationship.⁵⁹

In an important step toward amassing the support necessary to transform these objectives into programs, Ford put together a slate of officers and trustees from the elite stratum of Island society. Former Governor Frear accepted the position of president and Frank C. Atherton, a powerful figure in business and politics who would later emerge as an internationalist leader in his own right, agreed to serve as the first vice president. C. K. Ai, Frank F. Baldwin, William R. Castle, J. P. Cooke, Richard Cooke, Syngman Rhee, and George N. Wilcox, likewise potent figures within the community, were also on the list of initial officials. Ford modestly settled for the position of corresponding secretary.⁶⁰ However, while it is true that the organization's chances for success were greatly enhanced by the support of such leaders, it should also be noted that this group was in no fashion representative of the local populace. Perhaps there was no practical alternative at the time, but the fact remains that the Union's leadership was drawn almost exclusively from the governing elite and that multiethnic participation—surely of basic importance given the group's stated aims—was at best limited.

If Ford was aware of potential problems in this respect, he did not show it. In a newspaper interview several days prior to incorporation, he fairly bubbled with enthusiasm over planned activities. He was especially excited about the prospects for an international commercial college and was anxious to see work begin on a complex of museums and meeting halls that would form the nucleus of a permanent "Pan-Pacific" exposition site. He also waxed enthusiastic about Hawaii's role as a model society—a "natural experiment station" as he put it—and how local progress in interracial cooperation could be publicized throughout the Pacific.⁶¹ Whatever else may be said about his powers of prediction, he was remarkably prescient in his selection of these examples. Disregarding the commercial emphasis, his rationale for the college is not significantly different from that which led to the creation of the East-West Center some forty years later; his call for a major conference center was realized when the Honolulu International Center (now Neal S. Blaisdell Memorial Center) was completed during the 1960s; and his comments upon the unique attributes of local society have since become standard references in publicity about the Islands.

For all the support and enthusiasm, the public paid scant attention to the Union during the first years of its existence. The newspapers gave it little subsequent notice (for example, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, the principal evening paper, barely noted its formation and then only to comment that it might lend some support to an ongoing food preservation campaign⁶²), and few people rushed to its standard. As a consequence, it accomplished little during these years. Indeed, its only recorded activity during the 1917 period was the preparation of a "service flag" containing the names of Outrigger Canoe Club charter members serving in the military.⁶³ On reflection, none of this is surprising. By incorporating at the very time America was preparing to enter World War I, Ford had selected the worst possible moment. Patriotism and nationalism, not visionary internationalism, were the order of the day.

By mid-1918 talk of peace and the formation of the League of Nations changed the local climate of opinion. Newspapers at last took serious note of the Union, endorsing its plan for an international commercial college as well as its proposal for a postwar "peace exposition" in Honolulu. The prime ministers of Australia and New Zealand—William M. Hughes and W. F. Massey, respectively—endorsed the latter project which in turn brought it to the attention of the American national press.⁶⁴ During May of that year, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane visited Hawaii and was persuaded by Ford to attend a Union-sponsored Pan-Pacific celebration that ended with representatives of various ethnic groups presenting Lane with the flags of their ancestral homelands and asking that he present them to President Wilson.⁶⁵ Lane was so moved by the event that he delivered an impromptu speech endorsing the Union, attended a specially called Union meeting, and agreed to become the honorary president of the Pan-Pacific Association, a short-lived organization designed to complement the work of the Union.⁶⁶ To further celebrate the occasion, Prime Ministers Hughes and Massey and President Wilson were named as honorary presidents of the Union itself.⁶⁷ When Lane left Hawaii, he did so as Ford's friend and the Union's advocate, a development that would prove to be of great subsequent importance.

Throughout these months of renewed activity, Ford also paid attention to the more ordinary aspects of the Union's program. He scheduled regular meetings, one of which attracted over four hundred people including Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, at the time Hawaii's delegate to Congress, and had to be moved from the organization's new headquarters in the University

Club to the Alexander Young Hotel's rooftop garden.⁶⁸ In addition, he organized a series of special events such as the week-long "Inter-Island Pan-Pacific Conference" held during September 1918. Called to discuss "service to Hawaii and the world," this gathering was attended mainly by representatives of commercial interests from the various islands who spent most of the time debating local economic matters.⁶⁹ Only one day was actually devoted to the Union and its objectives, but even this was too visionary for some. The Maui delegation objected that it had come to Honolulu to discuss sugar and that delegates best take care not to dream of schemes which might jeopardize the status of that crop.⁷⁰ Ford was not discouraged, however. With some justification he felt that the fact such individuals even attended was a significant step forward.

Aided by continued newspaper support, Ford maintained the organization's momentum despite a momentary lapse of interest following the relatively frantic round of activities during 1918. Meetings were held regularly. Civic improvement projects ranging from parks to low-cost housing developments were discussed if never undertaken.⁷¹ Efforts were made to create a Pacific-wide federation of clubs by transforming the groups that had earlier affiliated with the old Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club into a union of Pan-Pacific Clubs. Although this met with failure everywhere except Tokyo and, of course, Honolulu, it kept the group's name before the public. Proposals for international conferences ranging from banking to youth work were developed and publicized. Finally, a new publication entitled the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* was initiated as a supplement to *Mid-Pacific Magazine*.⁷²

These efforts bore results. The superintendent of Hawaii's public school system took note of the Union and pledged to add an internationalist perspective to the school curriculum.⁷³ The *Nippu Jiji*, a leading Japanese-language newspaper, endorsed the Union as the best hope for improving race relations in Hawaii.⁷⁴ Most important, in 1919 the territorial legislature, responding to the rising tide of internationalist activism, appropriated \$10,000 to assist the Union in starting its long-planned conference program.⁷⁵ This led to a series of conferences during the 1920s that in turn brought attention and fame to both the Union and Hawaii.

Prior to the convening of the first conference in 1920, various events occurred that further accelerated the Union's growing momentum. Invited to address the Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference in Pittsburgh during No-

Elusive Destiny



A Pan-Pacific Union dinner meeting (Ford second from right). Bishop Museum

vember 1919 (an invitation that in itself was an indication of the Union's new stature⁷⁶), Ford used the trip as an opportunity to extend his contacts with government leaders which were limited at this point to his friendships with Harding and Lane.⁷⁷ Traveling to Washington following the talk, he arranged a meeting of senators and representatives where he showed promotional movies on Hawaii and the Union.⁷⁸ He staged similar meetings for a group of Pacific Basin diplomatic officials and obtained their pledge of support for the pending conference.⁷⁹ He even managed to persuade President Wilson, ill though he was, to view the promotional materials.⁸⁰ Following these meetings, he created something of a sensation by publicly offering the presidency and the executive directorship of the

Our New Geneva

Union to Wilson and Lane, respectively, following their departure from office. While some were offended by the audacity of this act, others defended it.⁸¹ Although it produced no new slate of officers, it did result in still more publicity for the Union and, not incidentally, Ford.

Buoyed by success, Ford embarked upon another venture that, if his recollection of it is in any fashion correct, must count as one of the more remarkable Capitol Hill episodes. Desiring federal assistance for the pending conference to supplement the funds already appropriated by the territory, he asked Lane to draft an amendment to the Diplomatic and Consular Act of 1919 then under consideration. Accompanied by Prince Kuhio and several other officials from Hawaii, he approached Senator Henry Cabot Lodge who, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, would have to support the amendment if it were to pass. As might have been expected given the ongoing struggle over the League of Nations, Lodge was simply not interested in appropriating funds for such activities. Leaving the senator's office, Ford decided to make a final attempt. As he recalls it:

I left my colleagues and walked up to the Senator. "Mr. Lodge," I said, as I brought my fist down on his desk, "you may not be interested in helping to bring together the leaders in Pacific lands for better understanding, but up there in the White House lies a man crucified to a bed of suffering, and even in his agony he is at this moment gazing on moving pictures of a pageant of all Pacific peoples who have brought the flags of their countries to Hawaii to be sent to the martyr at the White House in token of their fealty to the ideals of better understanding among the peoples about our great ocean." I got no further. Senator Lodge sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "Yes! That man at the White House has time to look at your Pan-Pacific films, but he hasn't a moment to receive us Senators."

I beamed on the Senator. "Now, Mr. Lodge," I said, "that your interest is aroused, will you listen to our plan for a Pan-Pacific League of Nations?" Senator Lodge, for once not only smiled, but he gave vent to a hearty laugh and put out his hand. "Sit down," he said, "let's talk it over." And we did. In five minutes Senator Lodge was an enthusiastic supporter of the Union. "I don't believe we can ever have a League of Nations composed of the countries around the Atlantic," he said, "for the traditions there have always been traditions of envy and hatred, thousands of years in Europe of war, envy and hatred. A world league of

Elusive Destiny

nations is a mad dream for the present, but out there in the Pacific, where you have never had a serious quarrel, your traditions are predominantly traditions of peace; there is the place to begin the work of a real League of Nations. You may do it there, and I am for such a League. How much do you want?" "Only nine thousand dollars." Again the Senator smiled. "Very well, my committee meets in five minutes, I will tack this on as an amendment. Come back in an hour."⁸²

The appropriation was obtained and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* spoke for everyone when it editorialized that Ford had succeeded "in doing what everybody here considered the impossible."⁸³

Ford brought his stay in Washington to an end with another grand gesture. He proposed a congressional junket to Hawaii and on to the Orient following the Democratic party convention in San Francisco during June 1920.⁸⁴ Whether or not it was Ford's doing, such a trip was announced early in April, and he immediately hosted a luncheon for all participants at the Cosmos Club.⁸⁵ It is of more than passing interest to note that he attached himself to this group once it arrived in Hawaii and remained with it during its travels in Asia despite the fact that this forced him to bypass the long-awaited 1920 conference.⁸⁶ Clearly he was more interested in politics and promotion than administration, at once a strength basic to the Union's initial success and a weakness that would contribute to its eventual ruin.

Supported by both the federal and territorial governments, the Union entered upon a period of unbounded optimism and enthusiasm. For the first time, it had the means of translating its rhetoric into action. Further and more important, believing that it was operating under formal government sanction, it began to anticipate the day when governments would assume full responsibility for its operation under arrangements similar to those enjoyed by the Pan-American Union and thus bring to pass what Ford, at least, always felt was its ultimate destiny.⁸⁷ The crucial breakthrough was in the offing.

Success bred success. With one international conference underway, a long list of subsequent gatherings and a host of related activities were discussed before an increasingly interested audience of government officials, businessmen, educators, and scientists from numerous Pacific Basin countries. Their enthusiasm encouraged still others to pledge support. For example, Representative Stephen G. Porter, chairman of the House Com-

mittee on Foreign Affairs, wrote Ford of his belief "that the Pan-Pacific Union ... [would] be productive of beneficial results as great as these now flowing from the Pan-American Union."⁸⁸ Representative Louis B. Goodall of Maine wrote, "Perhaps the Pan-Pacific Union is the beginning of something that may grow into a real practical world League of Nations."⁸⁹ Even the White House entered the act. In accepting an honorary presidency within the organization and continuing the practice established earlier by Hughes, Massey, and Wilson, President Harding stated the hope that the Union would "become an instrumentality of progress and development, and an inspiration to peace and cooperation, such as the Pan American Union has been in the relations among the states of the Western Continent."⁹⁰ Presidents Coolidge and Hoover would express similar sentiments as they accepted the same position following their election to office. Nor were such comments limited to Americans. Among others, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie-King of Canada wrote Ford praising "the worthy aims and aspirations of the Pan-Pacific Union ... [which are of great] patriotic ... [and] international value ... [in the] promotion of peace and progress."⁹¹ Finally, increasing numbers of newspapers gave the Union their editorial endorsement during these years.⁹²

The leaders of the Union responded to this onslaught of praise and publicity with predictable enthusiasm. Ford, convinced that his fondest hopes for the Union were soon to be realized, wrote Governor McCarthy shortly after Congress agreed to support the 1920 conference that the Pacific governments would probably assume responsibility for the organization within the next eighteen months.⁹³ A year later, the group was discussing an even more ambitious vision which had the Union evolving into a Pacific-based League of Nations. With characteristic hyperbole, Ford explained this possibility in a paper he prepared for the National Council for the Limitation of Armament in 1922. "The idea of a world league of nations was born in a manger in Bethlehem," he proclaimed, "[and] is now coming true at last ... for in the Pacific will be born a league of nations that will lighten and illuminate the whole world."⁹⁴

The Union was not alone in its enthusiasm. The *Star-Bulletin*, previously less than enthusiastic, reversed itself and observed that "Hawaii is destined to become the 'Hague of the Pacific'—but with a name and fame not borrowed but all its own—a center where representatives of all nations bordering the western ocean may meet in conference to discuss and solve their individual and joint problems.... To some this may seem a

chimerical dream, but who knows but that some day an area of ground on one of the Hawaiian islands may be set aside with its independence guaranteed by all nations, as the Hague of the Pacific, perhaps the Hague of the World?"⁹⁵ Not to be outdone, the territorial government lent further endorsement by adding a section on the Union in its annual report to the Secretary of the Interior beginning in 1921 and, more significantly, continued appropriating funds for the group's activities.⁹⁶

In some instances, excitement over the Union's new-found acceptance developed into sheer giddiness. In 1921, for example, Ford suggested to President Harding that Honolulu be made the "summer capital" of the country as it "is the central city of the United States ... halfway between Maine and Manila, and Alaska and Samoa."⁹⁷ He went on to argue that if the president were to spend his summers in Hawaii, leaders of other Pacific nations would be more likely to visit him and the creation of a "Pan-Pacific League of Nations" would thus be facilitated.⁹⁸ When an even more fanciful proposal to rebuild Honolulu as the "spiritual capital of the world ... [and] a forum of the nations" came from the World Conscious Society in 1922, Ford endorsed it outright in *Mid-Pacific Magazine*.⁹⁹

It goes without saying that much of the rhetoric of this period was something less than sensible. Remote and relatively unimportant, Hawaii was simply not a practical site for such developments, and, in all likelihood, most speakers in fact recognized this. Sifting the general rhetoric from the actual commitments of support, it is clear that meaningful backing for the Union was limited almost solely to particular conferences. Comments about more ambitious undertakings were seldom more than well-meant but idle musings. However, while all this would later become evident and eventually prove to be a major factor in the Union's collapse, it is understandable that Ford and his colleagues did not detect it at the time. The success that the movement was enjoying and the barrage of encouragement it was receiving created an atmosphere of incredible optimism that actively discouraged such pessimistic analysis and reflection. On the contrary, it inspired the belief that the movement's ultimate objectives were verging on realization and that the support necessary to propel Hawaii into its long-destined role as a Pacific regional leader had finally developed. As Seward had earlier prophesied, the Pacific was soon to be the "chief theatre" of global affairs, and Hawaii, they were quick

to note, would be on center stage.¹⁰⁰ Such ideas, unrealistic as they may be in historical perspective, were clearly in command of events.

UNION SPONSORED CONFERENCES

The Union's programmatic zenith also came during the 1920s. Believing sponsorship of international gatherings to be the most effective means of transforming the Union into a government-sponsored organization and thereby assuring Hawaii its destined place in world affairs, Ford and his colleagues arranged ten major conferences in Honolulu, one elsewhere, and participated in several others during these years.¹⁰¹ In addition, they played key roles in the formation of several new groups which embarked upon conference programs of their own, and, as in the past, supported a variety of other activities less directly related to the conference program.

The Union's first conference in 1920 grew from the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club's desire to sponsor an exposition in Honolulu on the order of those held in San Francisco and San Diego in 1915 and 1916. World War I disrupted plans for the exposition, but the general concept was retained and ultimately became a part of the Union's programming effort. By the end of the war, Union leaders had revised the original plans into a proposal for a "Pan-Pacific Commercial and Educational Congress" to be held during 1920 or 1921. The territorial legislature, as noted, funded this proposal in 1919, adding the proviso that at least three other Pacific nations must also contribute funds before the appropriation would be made available and that the funds must be used to support more than one gathering.¹⁰²

Following the action of the legislature, Governor McCarthy appointed a planning committee under the chairmanship of G. P. Denison, a Union activist. Ford, always more concerned with proposing than planning, was in Washington and Asia during most of this period and was not directly involved. Denison's group changed the subject of the conference to science and invited H. E. Gregory, director of Honolulu's respected Bishop Museum, to direct it.¹⁰³ Working with the Committee on Pacific Exploration of the National Research Council, Gregory put together an agenda dealing with anthropology, biology, botany, entomology, geography, geology, and seismology/volcanology in the Pacific and renamed the gathering the "First Pan-Pacific Science Congress."¹⁰⁴ Apparently impressed by the prepara-

tions, Australia and New Zealand contributed a total of \$3,000 to support the gathering.¹⁰⁵ A subsequent contribution of \$1,000 by China satisfied the legislature's conditions and the planners were free to call the conference. This occurred in April when the Department of State issued official invitations on behalf of the Union.¹⁰⁶

Response to the invitations was good. When the meeting convened on August 2, 1920, 103 delegates from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States were present. Joined by forty observers from Hawaii, they spent eighteen days presenting 138 papers on the seven topics of the conference and passing forty resolutions concerning Pacific scientific and instructional needs.¹⁰⁷ More important, they voted to form a steering committee independent of the Union to plan for a subsequent gathering.¹⁰⁸ The Union, perceiving itself as a catalyst, did not object. Working diligently, the steering committee organized the Second Pan-Pacific Science Congress which met in Melbourne and Sydney during the summer of 1923 where, among other things, the delegates voted to create a separate organization for Pacific scientists. Known as the Pacific Science Association, this group is still active and has conducted a long succession of conferences for Pacific scientists.¹⁰⁹ Ford, who was in Asia at the time and attended the meeting, was pleased by the group's initiative and would have been even happier if he could have foreseen the ultimate outcome.¹¹⁰

The Union's next major gathering occurred in 1921 when the First Pan-Pacific Educational Conference met in Honolulu during August. Although made possible in part by the territorial legislature's original grant, the immediate impetus for this meeting came when the federal government indicated an interest in a conference dealing with comparative educational conditions in the Pacific and asked the Union to undertake the task. Assistance from the Bureau of Education in the Department of Interior and government-issued invitations were promised as incentives.¹¹¹ The Union, predictably, was interested. As a consequence, F. F. Bunker from the Bureau of Education (who was subsequently hired for a brief period as the Union's executive secretary) was appointed to direct the meeting, and David Starr Jordan, the outspoken Progressive party leader, former president of Stanford University, and long-time Union supporter, was selected as its presiding officer.¹¹²

Eighty-six delegates representing seventeen Pacific Basin countries as well as representatives from numerous private organizations attended. Following opening ceremonies highlighted by a letter of greeting from President Harding, the delegates attended a variety of workshops and enjoyed a lively entertainment schedule. Their most significant activity involved resolutions. Largely ignoring educational topics, they concentrated upon such issues as peace, disarmament, and race relations, thus indicating their belief that these matters were of paramount importance in the Pacific. It is also worth noting that the local community, increasingly caught up in the enthusiasm generated by the Union, provided considerable assistance with conference arrangements.¹¹³ In the balance, however, the gathering accomplished little. No organization similar to the Pacific Science Association grew from it nor did it inspire any subsequent activity of note.

With three exceptions, much the same can be said of the remainder of the Union's conferences. Despite considerable publicity and various forms of government involvement, the only substantial outcome of most of these gatherings was the opportunity they provided for regional consultation. Worthwhile as this may have been, their lack of more precisely envisioned ends rendered them less consequential than might otherwise have been the case. Gatherings that fall into this category are the Pan-Pacific Press Conference of October 1921 which was held in conjunction with the World's Press Congress then meeting in Honolulu; the First Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference of October-November 1922; a "sub-conference" on Pacific education which was an adjunct to the National Education Association's World Conference on Education which met in San Francisco in June-July 1923; the First Pan-Pacific Food Conservation Congress of August 1924; and the Pan-Pacific Education, Recreation, Rehabilitation and Reclamation Conference (often cited simply as the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference, which is confusing as this is also the title of the Union's second gathering) of April 1926.¹¹⁴ However, as formal government recognition was the Union's real goal, all its conferences were seen primarily as vehicles for achieving this end, and it was less than totally concerned about their actual substance.

If little came of most of these conferences, three others held during the same period—the First Pan-Pacific Women's Conference of August 1928, the Second Pan-Pacific Women's Conference of August 1930, and the Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference of August 1929—did produce results of lasting signifi-

cance. Although the Union initiated these conferences much as it had the other gatherings and apparently had no precise objectives in mind, both groups responded in the same fashion as the scientists and created their own independent organizations which are likewise still active. Delegates to the two women's conferences formed the Pan-Pacific Women's Association (now the Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association), and those attending the surgeons' meeting organized the Pan-Pacific Surgical Congress (now the Pan-Pacific Surgical Association).

The origins of the women's organization lie in a statement by a delegate to the 1924 conference on food conservation concerning the desirability of a meeting to explore the status of women in the Pacific.¹¹⁵ Intrigued with the idea, the Union promptly announced that it would sponsor such a gathering in 1928 and grandiloquently stated that it would concern "all matters of interest to women."¹¹⁶ Preparations were initiated immediately by a group of Honolulu women who negotiated an agreement with Ford whereby the Union would provide funding for the conference but leave all decisions to the planners.¹¹⁷ This proved to be a good arrangement. Driven by enthusiasm and feminist conviction, the planners arranged for Jane Addams, then perhaps the best-known woman in America, to chair the meeting, overcame serious obstacles regarding the agenda and the choice of delegates, and prevailed upon Governor Wallace R. Farrington to persuade the Department of State to issue formal invitations to the various Pacific countries despite the fact that the conference was in no sense a governmental undertaking.¹¹⁸ As a result, when the 338 delegates and observers assembled at Punahou School in Honolulu on August 9, 1928, for the ten-day gathering, they were treated to what was probably the best prepared and publicized gathering yet to occur under Union auspices.

In addition to presenting the usual papers and addresses, the delegates adopted a series of resolutions mandating further research on a variety of topics pertaining to women in the Pacific and established working committees to accomplish the tasks.¹¹⁹ Tackling their assignments with enthusiasm, these committees completed their work during the following year. However, noteworthy as this effort may be, it is less important than the delegates' decision to create a planning task group charged with arranging a subsequent gathering in 1930. Inspired by praise from a wide variety of other organizations and the Union's continuing financial support, this group pre-

Our New Geneva



Jane Addams at the first Pan-Pacific Women's Association conference. Bishop Museum

pared an agenda for the meeting that, among other things, recommended the formation of a separate and independent Pacific women's association. When the conference convened once again at Punahou School during August, this recommendation was endorsed, and the Pan-Pacific Women's Association—the first international women's group in the Pacific and the first anywhere to be founded upon transcultural premises—came into being, pledged, in the words of its original constitution, "to strengthen the bonds of peace among Pacific people by promoting a better understanding and friendship among the women of all Pacific countries [and] to initiate and promote cooperation among the women of the Pacific region for the study and betterment of existing social conditions."¹²⁰

Although the group has subsequently attracted little attention, it has met regularly since 1930 and labored fruitfully if rather quietly to raise the level of transcultural understanding among its various Pacific Basin members. Fitting recognition

of this effort came in 1955 when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) extended "consultative status" to the Association.¹²¹ Joining some one hundred other nongovernmental organizations with special international competence, the group has since been a regular participant in UNESCO undertakings.¹²²

Prior to the second women's conference, the Union sponsored the Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference during August 1929. Since the early years of the decade, the Union had talked of sponsoring a conference on medical issues within the Pacific, but no action was taken. In 1925, the Hawaiian Medical Society undertook the organization of such a gathering and proposed that it be held in conjunction with the anticipated women's conference.¹²³ While this proposal attracted some attention, it failed to arouse sufficient interest and was dropped. A year later, Nils P. Larsen, medical director of Honolulu's Queen's Hospital and a Union participant, proposed another conference and suggested that its basic purpose be the formation of a Pacific-wide medical association.¹²⁴ This time the response was more enthusiastic. A conference on surgery was called and 115 doctors from thirteen Pacific countries were present when it convened.¹²⁵ Like the second women's conference, the meeting itself was interesting, but the more significant development came when the delegates elected to create the Pan-Pacific Surgical Congress as an independent international organization. Meeting periodically since its formation, this group has become one of the Pacific Basin's principal medical associations as well as one of the few enduring monuments to the Union's efforts.

It is reasonably clear that Ford and his colleagues would be better remembered today had they concentrated simply on arranging conferences for groups with focused interests and a need for continuing consultation, like the scientists, the women, and the surgeons. They were not, however, so inclined. Their attention was riveted to the task of brokering a leadership role for Hawaii in Pacific affairs, and almost any proposal that even hinted at progress toward this end was, in their eyes, worthy of attention and support. The problem, of course, is that such tactics were based on unsound premises. Others concerned with Pacific affairs were simply not yet ready to turn the scepter over to Hawaii, and the Union's ultimate hopes were thus doomed from the outset. As had been the case before, the Union's enthusiastic internationalism blinded it to geopolitical realities.

OTHER UNION PROGRAMS

Sponsorship of international conferences was not the Union's sole concern during the 1920s. Attention was also devoted to the definition of objectives, the revision of institutional arrangements, and the development of special programs. In the first instance, the Union prepared a new statement of goals in 1925 that acknowledged its increasing concern for transnational and transcultural issues at the expense of commercial matters and, in less direct fashion, its hopes with respect to obtaining formal governmental recognition and sponsorship. The full text is as follows:

From year to year the scope of the work before the Pan-Pacific Union has broadened, until today it assumes some of the aspects of a friendly unofficial Pan-Pacific League of Nations, a destiny that both the late Franklin K. Lane and Henry Cabot Lodge predicted for it.

The Pan-Pacific Union has conducted a number of successful conferences; scientific, educational, journalistic, commercial, and lastly and most vital of all, that on the conservation of food and food products in the Pacific area, for the Pacific regions from now on must insure the world against the horrors of food shortage and its inevitable conclusion.

The real serious human action of the Pan-Pacific Union begins. It is following up the work of the Pan-Pacific Food Conservation Conference by the establishment of a Pan-Pacific Research Institution where primarily the study and work will be along the lines necessary in solving the problems of food production and conservation in the Pacific area—land and sea. Added to this, will be the study of race and population problems that so vitally affect our vast area of the Pacific, the home of more than half of the peoples who inhabit this planet. The thoughts and actions of these peoples and races toward each other as they are today, and as they should be, for the welfare of all, will be a most important problem before the Union, as well as the problem of feeding in the future those teeming swarms of races, that must be well fed to preserve a peaceful attitude toward each other.

The Pan-Pacific Union is in no way the agency of any Pacific Government, yet having the goodwill of all, with the Presidents and Premiers of Pacific lands as its honorary heads. Affiliated and working with the Pan-Pacific Union are Chambers of Commerce, educational, scientific and other bodies. It is supported in part by government and private appropriations and sub-

Elusive Destiny

scriptions. Its central office is in Honolulu, because of its location at the ocean's crossroads. Its management is under an international board.

The following are the chief aims and objects of the Pan-Pacific Union:

1. To bring together from time to time, in friendly conference, leaders in all lines of thought and action in the Pacific area, that they may become better acquainted; to assist in pointing them toward cooperative effort for the advancement of those interests that are common to all the peoples.

2. To bring together ethical leaders from every Pacific land who will meet for the study of problems of fair dealings and ways to advance international justice in the Pacific area, that misunderstanding may be cleared.

3. To bring together from time to time scientific and other leaders from Pacific lands who will present the great vital Pan-Pacific scientific problems including those of race and population, that must be confronted, and if possible, solved by the present generation of Pacific peoples and those to follow.

4. To follow out the recommendations of the scientific and other leaders in the encouragement of all scientific research of value to Pacific peoples; in the establishment of a Research Institution where such need seems to exist, or in aiding in the establishment of such institutions.

5. To secure and collate accurate information concerning the material resources of Pacific lands; to study the ideas and opinions that mould public opinion among the peoples of the several Pacific races, and to bring men together who can understandingly discuss these in a spirit of fairness that they may point out a true course of justice in dealing with them internationally.

6. To bring together in round table discussion in every Pacific land those of all races resident therein who desire to bring about better understanding and cooperative effort among the peoples and races of the Pacific for their common advancement, material and spiritual.

7. To bring all nations and peoples about the Pacific Ocean into closer friendly commercial contact and relationship. To aid and assist those in all Pacific communities to better understand each other, and through them, spread abroad about the Pacific the friendly spirit of interracial cooperation.¹²⁶

Apparently satisfied with this document, the Union never again revised it.

The Union's growing concern for international peace and understanding is also evident in a number of the more specific activities it sponsored during the 1920s. For example, both *Mid-Pacific Magazine* and the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* addressed the issue with increasing intensity throughout the period.¹²⁷ In 1922 a "Minister of Friendship" award was created to honor outstanding contributions to the betterment of Pacific Basin relationships. Chonosuke Yada, a former Japanese consul general in Honolulu, was the first recipient, while his successor, Keiichi Yamasaki, Prince Chandaburi of Siam, and David Starr Jordan were among the subsequent recipients.¹²⁸ Further, the earlier suggestion that an area in Hawaii might somehow be designated as an international territory where all varieties of international organizations could be headquartered was revived and promoted. Frequent efforts were made to persuade Washington of the wisdom of such a move. The volcano region on the island of Hawaii and Palmyra Island south of Hawaii were frequently mentioned as possible sites, but the Department of State refused to take the proposals seriously.¹²⁹ Ford remained optimistic about the possibility, however, and in a burst of enthusiasm once declared that the process was all but complete and that henceforth Hawaii should be considered "our new Geneva."¹³⁰

The Union's structure was also modified during this period. The early practice of involving various national political figures as honorary officers and Hawaiian political and business leaders as active officers was continued, but most other aspects of the original organizational structure were modified.¹³¹ Non-functioning affiliate organizations such as the Pan-Pacific Association were simply dropped. The effort to foster Pan-Pacific Clubs in cities around the Pacific was continued, but without great success.¹³² Little was accomplished except in Honolulu and Tokyo, and even these clubs seldom attempted to do more than schedule luncheon meetings whenever an impressive guest was available.¹³³ Hence, partly by design and partly by default, the effort to federalize the Union never materialized and it became instead increasingly centralized.

The Union also sponsored a number of more specific activities during these years. Some were carried over from the program of the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club. In this regard, the Balboa Day/Pacific Day festivities and the 12-12-12 sessions are most noteworthy. The festival continued for a number of years before finally fading into obscurity during the 1930s. The 12-12-12 group followed a similar course. It met on a regular

Elusive Destiny



Alexander Hume Ford at Pan-Pacific Union headquarters. Bishop Museum

basis until 1923 when Ford restructured it into several different ethnic subsections (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Caucasian) called Good Relations Clubs.¹³⁴ The intent of the reorganization was to reach a greater number of participants, and the new groups, with Governor Farrington as an active member, attracted considerable initial attention. However, when little of consequence occurred during the first few years, they too drifted into inactivity.¹³⁵

In addition to continuing certain older programs, the Union initiated a variety of new "Pan-Pacific" projects. Ford had spoken of organizing an international commercial college at the time the Union was incorporated in 1917. He remained interested in the idea and actually prepared articles of incorporation during 1920.¹³⁶ Nothing further transpired, however, and, with the exception of a brief flurry of renewed interest

in 1931, the project was dropped. Similarly, a Pan-Pacific Publicity Council was formed in 1920 to disseminate international news items throughout the Pacific and a Pan-Pacific Information Bureau was created the following year to serve Pacific educators' needs, but neither functioned effectively or long.¹³⁷ Attempts to form a Pan-Pacific chamber of commerce and a Pan-Pacific bar association during the early 1920s were even less successful, although a Pan-Pacific Union Women's Auxiliary was established in 1926 and functioned briefly during the two women's conferences.¹³⁸

Union leaders were also concerned with programs for youth. A Junior Pan-Pacific Union was organized in 1922 and a group of Georgetown University students was encouraged to form a Pan-Pacific Students' Association in 1923. Although these undertakings failed, the effort was revived early in 1926 when the Union hired a YMCA staff worker to establish a youth program and began publishing a youth-oriented bulletin, *Pan-Pacific Youth*, composed largely of articles on world peace, student ideals, and various student movements.¹³⁹ At the same time, it also established a Cosmopolitan Club at the University of Hawaii.¹⁴⁰ Created to foster interracial amity within the student community, the club functioned until the early 1960s. An effort was made to create a network of similar clubs around the Pacific and join them with a revived Junior Pan-Pacific Union, but it was unsuccessful.¹⁴¹ Only one chapter was actually organized.¹⁴² In fact, with the exception of the Cosmopolitan Club and some periodic essay contests for public school children, the Union's entire youth program collapsed by the end of the decade. *Pan-Pacific Youth* was dropped, the youth director left, and the various other youth-oriented proposals were quietly shelved. Despite the many expressions of interest, participation was simply not sufficient.

Other auxiliary projects attempted during these years were even less successful. A Pan-Pacific Olympiad, a Honolulu "free port" movement, an international radio program, a textbook preparation project, a shipboard study program, a revival of Hawaiian music, a businessmen's "commercial esperanto" program, and a reconstruction project for traditional Hawaiian villages are among the many projects the Union endorsed but was unable to organize.¹⁴³ Indeed, of all the efforts the Union made to establish complementary programs during these years, only one, the scientific research center mentioned in the 1925 statement of goals, met with any measure of success.

This project began at the turn of the decade. Following the First Pan-Pacific Science Congress in 1920, Ford, perhaps inspired by an earlier attempt to create a scientific research center in the Islands, organized a Pan-Pacific Research Council to facilitate communication among Pacific scientists and to draw local agricultural scientists into a dialogue with their colleagues elsewhere.¹⁴⁴ Little came of the effort until mid-1924 when the Castle family offered its estate in Manoa valley near central Honolulu to the Union. The availability of extensive facilities (a large house, numerous outbuildings, and space for further construction) presented Ford with an opportunity to at once revive the languishing scientific council and lay the foundations for his long-planned international college.¹⁴⁵ Moving quickly, he transformed the council into a resident research center for scientists called the Pan-Pacific Research Institution which, he believed, would expand with time into a full-scale academic center.

Although the college failed to materialize, the Institution itself thrived for a number of years.¹⁴⁶ Within six months of its founding, a board of supervisors called the Pan-Pacific Science Council was formed, David Starr Jordan was appointed to direct the enterprise, and a decision was made to concentrate efforts on food production—particularly aqua-culture—in an attempt to relieve what was perceived as a primary source of world tension.¹⁴⁷ As a Union publication put it, “a well-fed world will not care to fight, and the Pacific can feed the world.”¹⁴⁸ Additionally, the new organization adopted the egalitarian motto “science without snobbery.”¹⁴⁹

The Institution experienced considerable initial success. In August 1925, it sponsored a conference on aquatic resources—the Pan-Pacific Fisheries Conference—which in turn led to a pioneering Pacific fish classification project. In January 1926, it began publication of a quarterly newsletter and scholarly review, the *Journal of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution*, and established a public lecture series, a student scholarship program, and a botanic research garden.¹⁵⁰ An emphasis on student programs during the following year led to the creation of the Junior Pan-Pacific Science Council. Thereafter, student participants distinguished themselves by developing an elementary oceanographic research facility, perfecting a new strain of okra, and building a sophisticated photography laboratory.¹⁵¹ Buoyed by these developments, the Institution established affiliate research centers in Tokyo and Manchuria during 1926 and 1927. However, they survived only briefly.¹⁵²

These and similar activities continued throughout the remainder of the decade and into the 1930s until the depression forced a retrenchment. Ford tried desperately to raise additional funds, but he was unsuccessful and the organization began to crumble. Publication of the review ceased in 1936 and four years later the Castle property, which had merely been on loan, was taken back. Attempts to relocate failed, and the organization was dissolved shortly before World War II. The grand scientific and educational visions of Ford and his colleagues thus came to an end.

COLLAPSE OF THE UNION

At the end of the 1920s, Union officials reviewed the decade with satisfaction and looked to the future with confidence. While they had failed in their attempts to establish a number of auxiliary projects, other programs such as the research center appeared to be on a satisfactory course and the conference program was generally acknowledged to be an enormous success. They had sponsored numerous international gatherings and inspired the formation of three separate organizations that had in turn embarked on international programs of their own. In the process, they had involved governments, presidents, prime ministers, governors, royalty, and a host of outstanding professional and civic leaders from all areas of the Pacific. As a consequence, they felt that there was reason to continue in their belief that the Union would soon be transformed into an instrument of Pacific governments and that their ultimate objective would thus be accomplished. Hence, they looked forward to the 1930s with undisguised enthusiasm, believing, as Ford once put it in remarkably Gibsonesque terms, that Hawaii is "the center from which radiates the newer civilization of the Pacific."¹⁵³

In retrospect, their enthusiasm could not have been more misplaced. The depression and the rise of Japanese-American tensions were destined to so severely affect economies and so thoroughly poison international relations in the Pacific that the Union and all of its various programs would wane and finally collapse. Ironically, the Union actually hastened its demise by the manner in which it responded to these developments. While it is understandable that the organization did not initially foresee the ultimate consequences of these specters, it is not unreasonable to expect that it would react in a realistic fashion

once they became clear. Unfortunately it did not. Rather, it attempted to ignore the depression and refused to believe that Japanese-American tensions were much more than an American failure to properly understand legitimate Japanese aspirations. Compounding its judgmental errors, it launched a major organizational drive in Asia during the early 1930s and endeavored to explain Japanese perspectives in a series of articles and comments that many took to be little more than crude propaganda. As a consequence, it ruined its financial base while destroying its once remarkable credibility.

The Union's effort to expand its program in Asia began in February 1931, when Ford embarked upon a three-year visit where he worked strenuously in Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and Siam attempting to arouse interest in various internationalist endeavors. Although he succeeded in creating new organizations in several locations and once reported back enthusiastically that the Pacific governments were ready to "fall in line and make the Pan-Pacific Union an official sister of the Pan-American Union," he in fact accomplished nothing of lasting significance.¹⁵⁴ Quite simply, there was no longer the money nor the energy for what he proposed. Perhaps in belated recognition of this, Ford, in contrast to his every action in the past, simply gave up. Without prior warning, he issued an announcement from Tokyo on November 9, 1934, that he was resigning his position with the Union so that he might have time to put his papers in order and write his memoirs before dying.¹⁵⁵ He departed for the United States via Europe, apparently without even consulting his staff colleagues in Hawaii.

If the Union was myopic in ignoring economic realities and attempting to expand its program during the depression, it was blind in its effort to rationalize the whole of Japanese policy in the years preceding the war. Given its long-standing ties with Japan, perhaps the Union understood better than most in the West that at least certain aspects of prewar Japanese policy were defensible and, indeed, enjoyed some popularity throughout colonial Asia, but, in a move particularly questionable for an organization devoted to world peace, it over-reacted with a comprehensive and totally uncritical defense. To illustrate, shortly after the Japanese takeover of Manchuria in 1931, the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* published a comment by an American teacher in Japan who enthused about "the fact that today that same spirit [as existed during the 1904-1905 Russian War], still at great cost and sacrifice, at heavy ex-

penditure of money and time and effort, is striving, not to carry on war, but to attain World Peace and to improve the economic conditions of the whole world."¹⁵⁶ Thereafter similar comments were published with some regularity, and as late as 1939, well after Japan had provoked outright war with China, an entire issue of *Pan-Pacific*, a short-lived successor to *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, was devoted to "Manchukuo" without raising a single question about the legitimacy of the puppet state or the more general problem of Japanese expansionism.¹⁵⁷ Although this created a tremendous outcry that led to the resignation of a number of Union leaders including that year's president, those who remained were undaunted.¹⁵⁸ The following year, they wrote the Department of State requesting that the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Mexico petition Japan and China to cease hostilities and negotiate a settlement.¹⁵⁹ Secretary of State Hull dismissed the request with the terse comment, "It is not the practice of this government to act as intermediary between private organizations and foreign governments."¹⁶⁰ Hull's rebuff ended the Union's efforts on behalf of Japan, but even then it was not able to bring itself to admit to any Japanese culpability in the deterioration of peaceful relations in the Pacific.

While the Union's response to the depression and Japanese-American tensions clearly hastened its decline, still other factors rendered the collapse inevitable. There was, for instance, no one of Ford's stature to provide leadership after he resigned in 1934.¹⁶¹ Ann Y. Satterthwaite, a longtime staff member under Ford, assumed his position and held it thereafter, but neither she nor the group's elected officers were able to arouse the interest and support Ford had inspired. He had been effective despite his unorthodox methods, although it is likely that he too would have failed under the circumstances of the times. In any event, the Union suffered from a lack of leadership during its most crucial period.

A lack of adequate funding posed similarly debilitating problems. Short of funds even during the best of times, the group was simply unable to raise the money necessary for any meaningful programming effort during the more difficult 1930s. Annual budgets of some \$20,000 during the 1920s fell to under \$5,000 during the latter period.¹⁶² Once again, the problem was as much within the Union as in external developments. In this instance, it involved Ford's tendency to rely on government funds rather than private sources. While the arrangement worked well enough during the prosperous 1920s,

it created a sense of security that discouraged the group from seeking alternative funding arrangements. Hence, with the coming of the depression and the corresponding retrenchment in government spending, the Union found itself with neither government funds nor the ability to raise them from other sources.¹⁶³ It was a double bind from which there was no escape.

Mid-Pacific Magazine, originally a profitable venture, declined in circulation and advertising over the years to the point where it merely added to the Union's financial woes. As near as can be determined, its circulation reached a high point of some five thousand copies in 1915 and remained around that level during most of the 1920s, but plummeted to a mere several hundred copies after 1930.¹⁶⁴ As a consequence, advertising revenues dropped and debts mounted. An effort was made to reduce costs by changing from a monthly to a quarterly publishing schedule, but the problems continued. Publication arrangements were further altered in 1935 but the deterioration continued and publication ceased the following year. *Pan Pacific*, a short-lived successor, appeared in 1937 and lasted until 1941 when it too failed for lack of readers and advertisers.¹⁶⁵

Following the collapse of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, the remaining vestiges of the Union's program simply expired. Publication of the *Journal of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution* ceased as noted and the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* suffered the same fate. Late in 1934, the Union, no longer able to meet the \$500 monthly rental charges on its longtime headquarters in the University Club, gave up its lease and moved to a small office in the central business district.¹⁶⁶ Shortly thereafter, this office was vacated for even more modest quarters.

Despite the fact that the Union's circumstances had become virtually hopeless, the remaining leaders refused to admit to the inevitable. They struggled to keep the old issues before the public, and, with an energy born of desperation, attempted to initiate new projects in hopes of reviving some of the former exhilaration and support. Throughout these years a flurry of proposals concerning such matters as diversified agriculture, cultured pearl production, and ornamental horticulture were put forth.¹⁶⁷ Earlier hopes of promoting a Pacific-wide athletic meet were revived as Los Angeles prepared to host the Olympic Games in 1932.¹⁶⁸ A variety of new international organizations were proposed, and an effort was made to share in the sponsorship of several international conferences arranged by other

groups.¹⁶⁹ The results, however, came to naught. The proposals were generally ignored, the projects failed to materialize, and public interest in internationalism continued to decline. Symptomatic of the latter circumstance, Governor Lawrence Judd broke the long-standing relationship between the Union and the territory by refusing to serve as the organization's president when he took office in 1929. Although former Governor Frear temporarily resolved the problem by accepting the position once again, he resigned in 1936 and was succeeded by a member of the University of Hawaii faculty. Thereafter, no high government official ever again held the position. Leadership, money, programs, and, finally, public sympathy evaporated.

In the midst of all this, Ford suddenly returned to Hawaii.¹⁷⁰ It is sad that he did so. Old, tired, and sick, he returned to find his once proud dream in its final throes. Unable to admit that he had outlived his labors, he plunged into a pathetic round of activity in an attempt to revive the movement and recapture some of the prominence it had once enjoyed. Exhausted and most likely unbalanced by the effort, he was put in a rest home on the island of Maui in 1939.¹⁷¹ Four years later, supposedly recovered, he returned to Honolulu where he wandered about the town, attempting first to build a display facility for some large dioramas he owned, then writing a rambling series of reminiscences for a newspaper, and finally just sitting at the Outrigger Canoe Club he had founded so long before.¹⁷² Like the Union, his last years were bitter and hopeless.

Mercifully, these circumstances were not prolonged. On October 14, 1945, he died at the Territorial Hospital at the age of seventy-seven.¹⁷³ Reflective of his frequently chaotic life, he left an estate consisting of seven dioramas and \$299 in cash.¹⁷⁴ Largely forgotten by the time of his death, he would have been especially pleased to know that his few remaining friends conducted a well-publicized funeral service at the Outrigger Canoe Club and that the obituaries generously recalled his more glorious past. As one newspaper put it, he was a man "who did more than any other one man to acquaint the whole wide world with the importance of Hawaii in the Pacific theater."¹⁷⁵

Final assessments are especially difficult in Ford's case. There is no denying that he was often as much the huckster as the visionary, that he was at best a poor administrator, and that he persistently confused grand aspiration and political ambition for geo-political realism and institutional philosophy. In short, it cannot be denied that he and, by extension, the Union might well have contributed much more than they actually did.¹⁷⁶

Elusive Destiny

In the same breath, there is likewise no denying that Ford is without question the central figure behind the Union, and, in turn, the entire turn-of-the-century revival of the internationalist movement. More than anyone else, he is responsible for establishing the Islands' modern role and reputation in international affairs. In view of what this has come to mean, surely his accomplishments must be accorded greater significance than his failings.

V

The Will to Good Relations

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVISM SPREADS

Despite the Pan-Pacific Union's persistently haphazard institutional arrangements and generally naïve objectives, no one associated with the organization during the 1920s foresaw its ultimate fate. On the contrary, most observers believed that its initial achievements foretold an even more spectacular future and that the long-sought millennium in Pacific Basin relations was at hand. Such a view was not without justification. Even before the effusive press notices on one conference began to fade, there were announcements that preparations for another and more significant gathering were underway. Statesmen from around the Pacific created at least the illusion of massive support for its programs through their quick acceptance of proffered positions of honorary leadership. Financial support from both the territorial and federal governments was forthcoming, in some instances even in the absence of prior request. In short, it seemed that the Union had generated an irreversible momentum toward a new international order in the Pacific, and this in turn generated enormous excitement and optimism among its supporters.

Against this background, it is almost axiomatic that still others would be drawn into the internationalist milieu and that a range of new international activities would come to the fore. Predictably, then, this is exactly what happened. To illustrate, in 1928, Theodore and Mary Atherton Richards, prominent missionary-educators from Hawaii, revamped a scholarship program they had organized some twenty years earlier for Japanese youth studying at local high schools into an East-West educational exchange that provided both Asian and American students with grants for study abroad. Known as the Friend

Peace Scholarships, these grants have since provided scores of students with an international education experience. Although never massive in scope, the Richards' program is nonetheless significant as both a pioneering effort in international education and an example of the expansion of local international activism during this period.¹

There are still other examples. In 1926, for instance, a group of local residents, interested in Lions Club activities and inspired by the Union's transcultural activities, petitioned national Lions Club officials for permission to undertake the then unorthodox project of forming an interracial club. Granted approval and assisted by Ford, they established one of the national organization's first integrated groups.² Similarly, in July 1930, local Buddhists hosted the Pan-Pacific Young Men's Buddhist Association Conference. The first gathering of its kind anywhere in the world, it attracted 170 delegates from Hawaii and the Pacific Basin who explored the problems of carrying the Buddhist message to youth outside Asia and discussed methods of healing sectarian cleavages within the movement. One scholar, perhaps somewhat enthusiastically, described the gathering as "one of the most significant events in the annals of Buddhism."³

Significant as these and a number of related undertakings doubtless are, a considerably more important development occurred during the summer of 1925 when, due largely to the leadership of local international activists, the Institute of Pacific Relations was formed. In all probability, the creation of this organization ranks as the most consequential single event in the history of the local internationalist movement. While it is difficult to make such judgments with precision, it can be said with reasonable assurance that no other organization or activity that grew out of this movement fostered more international understanding, exercised greater influence in international political circles, or enjoyed higher standing in the public mind.

The Institute's stature came as the result of a most impressive series of organizational and programmatic accomplishments over the years. Starting with an international decision-making body called the Pacific Council, it developed national councils in Australia, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Soviet Union (briefly), the United States, and, later, India and Pakistan. The various national councils in turn established a host of regional and metropolitan chapters. While the level of activity in these councils and chapters varied, ongoing participation was sufficient to enable the Institute to meet regularly

The Will to Good Relations

in a series of well-attended international conferences, sponsor a sophisticated research and publication program, and raise millions of dollars in support of its programs. Thirteen major international conferences between 1925 and 1948 brought thousands of civic, political, and academic leaders from the Pacific and Europe together for consultations that often influenced governmental decisions pertinent to the region. An extensive research program involving vast numbers of scholars resulted in the publication of hundreds of serious studies as well as the development of two respected academic journals. In all probability, the Institute contributed more to Asian, Pacific, and East-West scholarship through this program than any other single institution of the modern era. Finally, a continuing effort to involve leading local citizens in all locales in its programs created a reservoir of interest and goodwill that enabled it to withstand all but the most intense of the challenges it faced over the years. Hence, despite the fact that many of its achievements came after it relocated from Hawaii to New York during the mid-1930s, the Institute stands as a most substantial monument to the vision and determination of the local internationalist movement.⁴

ORIGINS OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

The origins of the Institute date to 1919 when national officials of the American YMCA designated Honolulu as the site for a Pacific Basin YMCA leadership conference on the “fundamental and universal” elements of Christianity and how these elements might form “a common basis of understanding and motivation for the Pacific peoples.”⁵ Planning for the event languished until December 1922, when a new arrangement committee under the direction of Frank C. Atherton, an influential Honolulu businessman and civic leader as well as active YMCA lay official, was appointed in an effort to revitalize the project.

The selection of Atherton was propitious. Long a pillar within the Island establishment, he found time in a pressing schedule of major business and social responsibilities to compile an impressive record of civic leadership. Although so reserved that little is generally known of his personal disposition, it is clear that he rarely undertook a task without first developing a firm sense of what he considered the proper course of action, and that he was not reluctant to use his considerable

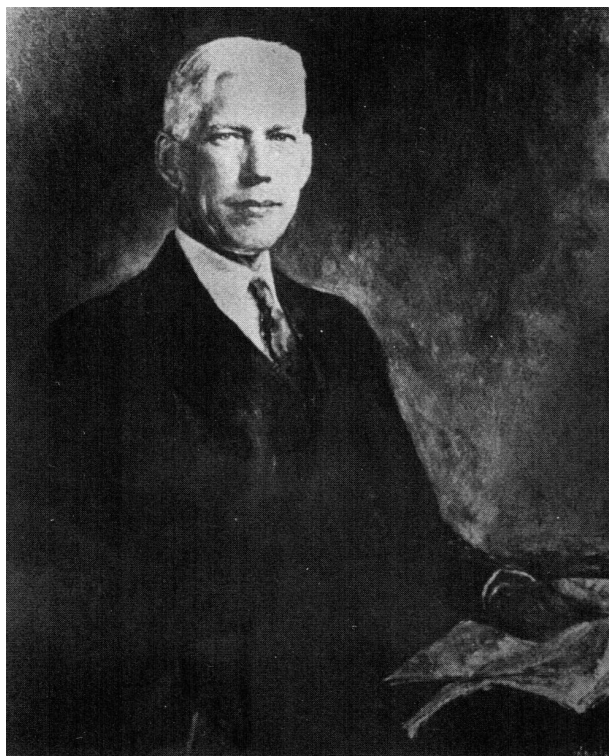
energy and influence to complete it. He was, in short, precisely the kind of concerned but tough individual the YMCA needed to untrack its planning efforts and organize the conference.

Born July 1, 1877, of wealthy and prominent parents (his father, Joseph Ballard Atherton, long headed Castle and Cooke, one of Hawaii's oldest and most important business firms, while his mother, Juliette Montague Cooke, was from the Cooke family of local missionary and commercial fame), Atherton grew up in an environment that provided him with the advantages of good schools and travel, a high regard for sound business practices, and a thorough appreciation of the Island missionary families' long-standing devotion to a mix of Christian commitment and paternal duty. The influence of these factors is readily apparent in all that he undertook. Returning to Hawaii after college in 1896, he immediately entered the business world.⁶ Although hampered by a nagging health problem that forced his withdrawal from several earlier ventures, he joined his father's firm in 1916 and thereafter moved rapidly toward the top ranks.⁷ In 1925 he was named manager of the corporation and a decade later moved on to the chairmanship of its Board of Directors. During this time, he also served as president of the local chamber of commerce, as head of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and as a board member for nearly a score of other local companies.⁸

Atherton was similarly active on the civic front. He served as a volunteer official with numerous civic organizations (including the Pan-Pacific Union) and earned a reputation as one of Hawaii's leading philanthropists. In the latter role, he directed a series of family trusts started by his mother that supported such institutions as Punahou School, Mid-Pacific Institute, Central Union Church, Kapiolani Maternity Hospital, the YMCA, and the YWCA. He also provided scholarship assistance for numerous college students and research scholars.⁹ Characteristic of his own personal habits, he was reluctant to see money spent in a wasteful or ostentatious fashion but was generous with "practical" projects likely to achieve "worthwhile" ends.¹⁰ Finally, despite his crowded schedule, Atherton devoted considerable time to his family and his famous orchid and stamp collections. A self-trained horticulturist and philatelist, he was widely known in both fields.¹¹

Of Atherton's various civic undertakings, none appears to have been more important to him than a long-time involvement with the local and national YMCA. Following in the footsteps of his father, who helped found the organization in Hawaii in 1869

The Will to Good Relations

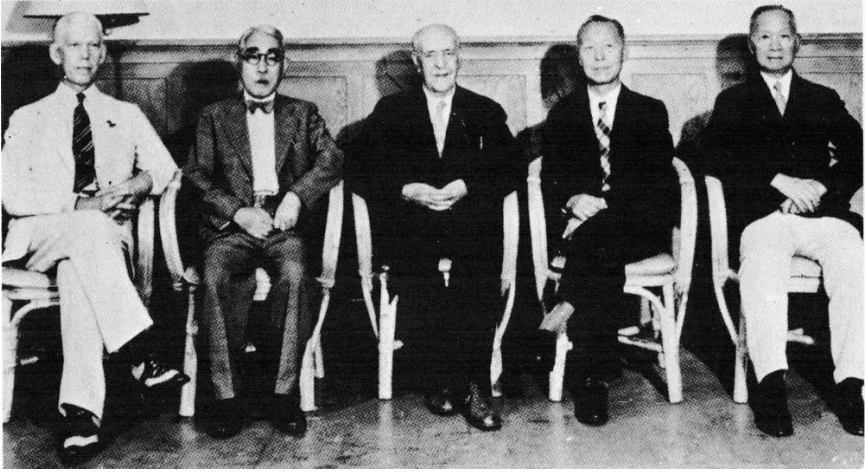


"Frank C. Atherton." Oil by Arthur Cahill. Honolulu Star-Bulletin Collection

and subsequently served as its lay president, he became active in the organization at the turn of the century and was soon elevated to its presidency, a position his son, J. Ballard Atherton, would likewise hold in years to come.¹²

Atherton was an active leader rather than a figurehead. He was instrumental in establishing YMCAs on the other islands of the Hawaiian chain and played a key role in the formation of the racially integrated Nuuanu YMCA in Honolulu in 1917, an undertaking of some consequence, as there was but one other integrated YMCA anywhere in the United States at the time.¹³ In 1916, he became a member of a national YMCA committee responsible for directing the organization's international program and remained a member until his death in 1945.¹⁴ The exposure to global issues gained through service on this committee ap-

Elusive Destiny



Founders of the Nuuanu YMCA. Left to right: Frank C. Atherton, Iga Mori, William D. Westervelt, Chung K. Ai, Syngman Rhee. YMCA photo

parently combined with his own elitist perception of Hawaii as a uniquely cosmopolitan society to generate a commitment to international activism that marked the remainder of his career.

Whatever the proper conclusions about the sources of Atherton's internationalist enthusiasm, the leaders of the national YMCA felt he was the right person to assume responsibility for the proposed conference, and they were correct. Traveling to the American mainland for meetings with leading YMCA officials and corresponding with others, he argued that the conference should be postponed until 1925 to provide time for a restructuring that would allow discussion of the full range of Pacific problems rather than simply those of immediate concern to the YMCA.¹⁵ It should be noted, however, that he did not seek a change of venue. Citing the familiar arguments about the special characteristics of Island life, he urged that the conference site remain as originally fixed and prepared a preliminary brochure in support of his position. Describing Hawaii not only as the "center of the Pacific" but as a society which has long promoted a "community of interest among the peoples of the Pacific basin," and which has achieved progress in the "development of inter-racial understanding and good will," the booklet concluded that the Islands would be an "eminently fitting place" to hold the meeting.¹⁶

The Will to Good Relations

The decision to broaden the focus of the conference was made in principle at a conference of international YMCA leaders in Austria during 1923. Following a long series of discussions, a meeting was held at Atlantic City on September 21, 1924, where it was declared that the proposed conference would seek to raise the level of mutual understanding in the Pacific through round table discussions based upon in-depth background papers and that the participants would be prominent citizens from all Pacific countries who employed a "Christian approach" but who were not necessarily Christians or YMCA members.¹⁷

Despite the acceptance of his suggested changes, Atherton remained unsatisfied with the envisioned results of the conference. Advised by J. Merle Davis of the American national YMCA and Charles F. Loomis of the Honolulu YMCA, who had been added to his planning committee as paid staff members, he finally arrived at the conclusion that what the Pacific really needed was not another conference but an independent organization dedicated to international consultation and research on regional issues. Broaching this idea at a fund-raising meeting at the Yale Club in New York during February 1925 which was attended by men of national prominence in business and educational circles, he was able to arouse considerable enthusiasm.¹⁸ This, in turn, led to the formation of a new planning committee under the leadership of Stanford University president (and later Secretary of the Interior) Ray Lyman Wilbur which, aided by hastily formed subcommittees in Australia, Canada, China, Japan, and the United States, developed a proposal calling for the creation of a new organization to be known as the Institute of Pacific Relations organized in accordance with the following objectives and procedures:

The Institute of Pacific Relations is [to be] a body of men and women deeply interested in the Pacific area, who meet and work, not as representatives of their Governments, or of any other organizations, but as individuals in order to promote the well-being of the peoples concerned.

The scope of the work of the Institute and the means to be employed in that work will be determined largely by its form of organization and the extent of its financial support.

Its main efforts will be devoted to collecting and elucidating the facts of international significance, which, by their influence in guiding public opinion, may assist constructively, the development of the countries concerned; to urging the improvement of legal and administrative procedure where present methods tend

Elusive Destiny

to hinder international harmony and good feeling; and directly to promoting international friendship by personal association and by the study of economic, educational, social, political, moral and religious conditions with a view to their improvement.

The Institute aims to keep its work practical, so that it may be of direct service in the removal of difficulties in international relations and in the promotion of constructive measures of assistance.

Scientific investigations of questions that may be purely academic for the present, although ultimately of vital importance, as for example, the biological and social effects of race intermixture or the best means of financing countries in need, are to be undertaken so far as financial resources permit. In all of its work, the Institute will cooperate with other organizations of similar purpose, so as to achieve the best and most far-reaching results.¹⁹

Arthur L. Dean, then president of the University of Hawaii and one of those active in preconference planning, explained the rationale behind the proposal in more conversational terms:

We might ask a good many questions about an Institute of this sort. One may ask what sort of things we propose to take up and in what spirit we propose to go into them. The situation is that the people around the Pacific have not known very much about one another until recent times. In the early days the Pacific was one of the world's great barriers. Its width and rather meager methods of transportation and communication meant that ... [it] was somewhat to be dreaded. With the development of modern improvements, the Pacific becomes a highway rather than a barrier and communication has become instantaneous instead of a matter of weeks and months. There is a drawing together of the people who live about it. We used to look at one another through somewhat tinted glasses; there was sort of a feeling of romance about the countries of the Orient—an aroma of incense as it were (they needed it in some places), but the contacts of the modern world have destroyed a good deal of this glamour. The Easterners have discovered that along with our control of science and commerce there seems to be a certain hardness about the Anglo-Saxon that was not expected. They have noted that for some reason or another, and they have noted it with considerable apprehension, soil seems to stick to our fingers once we have put our hands on it, and that there is not always apparent a harmony between our provocations and the things we seem to want.... They begin to substitute a feeling of fear and dislike for one of admi-

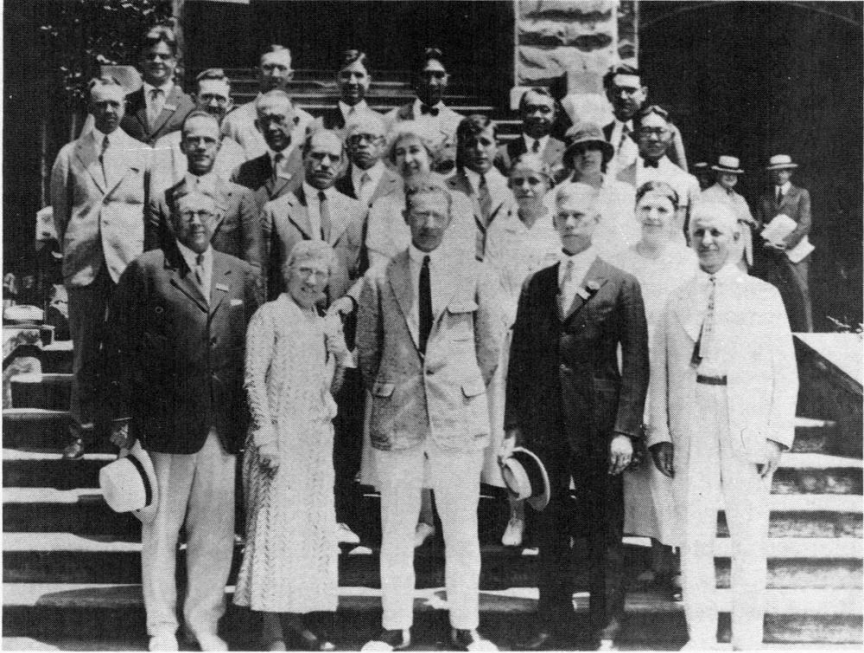
The Will to Good Relations

ration, so that we are beginning to be irritated with each other. However, the situation is so now that we have not a great deal to undo. We do not have to deal with the results of generations of hatred and strife as those in Europe and the Near East do. We have almost a clean sheet upon which to write, and it would seem a shame ... in these days when we suppose that intelligence and reason prevail if it should not be possible for reasonable men with unselfish aims to get together and to prevent the development of those prejudices and hatreds which, once they are rooted in the minds of men are so hard to eradicate.²⁰

While the Institute's founding assumptions and objectives may appear somewhat naïve in light of subsequent developments, YMCA leaders found them impressive and willingly relinquished all control over the planned conference in order that it might pursue an independent course.²¹ The planners were not hesitant in accepting the opportunity. When the long-awaited meeting was finally convened at Punahou School during the first two weeks of July in 1925, the main order of business for the 143 delegates and observers (109 national delegates from Australia, Canada, China, Hawaii, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States, three at-large delegates, and thirty-one observers) was the formation of the Institute.²² Following a series of "frank and free" round table discussions on such issues as discriminatory immigration policies, international monetary issues, extraterritoriality, and industrial development, the delegates approved Wilbur's proposal and the Institute came into being.²³ General officers were elected (Wilbur, chairman; Atherton, vice chairman; and L. Tenny Peck of Honolulu, treasurer); a secretariat headed by Davis and Loomis was established in Honolulu (as the group perceived Hawaii as a model for the kind of racial and transcultural understanding it hoped to nurture throughout the Pacific Basin²⁴); and delegates were directed to create national councils within their respective countries upon return to their homelands.²⁵ A decision was made to reconvene two years later on the assumption that the organizational issues would be resolved and the group would be ready to undertake the more substantial tasks outlined in Wilbur's proposal and the other formative documents.

The 1925 meeting was more than simply an organizational success. From a financial perspective, for example, although the conference cost approximately \$50,000, Atherton, who was responsible for arranging funding, was able to raise over \$72,000, all from private sources, even before it convened.²⁶ Considering

Elusive Destiny



Local delegates to the first Institute of Pacific Relations conference. First row (left to right): George R. Carter, Mrs. I. M. Cox, A. L. Dean, Frank C. Atherton, Romanzo Adams; second row: Charles F. Loomis, Herbert E. Gregory, Grace Channon, Elsie Wilcox, Mrs. Arthur Withington; third row: Riley H. Allen, K. C. Leebrick, Arthur F. Judd, Henry B. Schwartz, Arthur A. Hauck, unknown, David Tokimasa; fourth row: Andrew Westervelt, Norman C. Schenck, Lloyd Killam, George Sakamaki, Charles Wong, Galen R. Weaver. University of Hawaii Archives

the Pan-Pacific Union's persistent financial dilemma, this achievement was a particularly good omen. The meeting was equally successful from the standpoint of publicity. With a few exceptions (most notably Japanese unhappiness with Korean participation, and Philippine displeasure at being represented largely by American colonial officials²⁷), events proceeded smoothly and with considerable enthusiasm. This sparked a remarkable volume of complimentary press coverage from the reporters present, including one from the *Chicago Daily News* sent specifically to cover the event.²⁸ A *Star-Bulletin* editorial summarized the general opinion of the press when it concluded

The Will to Good Relations

that the “groups here from various countries ... can develop out of this first Institute a real step toward international harmony and cooperation in the Pacific”²⁹ Most of those attending would have agreed with Atherton when he wrote to an acquaintance that “The Institute passed off very well indeed, and we feel more than repaid for the effort put forth and the results accomplished. There was a splendid spirit throughout the conference and we all feel that we have laid the foundation for something worthwhile”³⁰

It should be noted at this juncture that Ford and the Pan-Pacific Union played no significant role—positive or negative—in the formation of the Institute. Despite an earlier suggestion that the YMCA host an international conference in Hawaii, Ford appears to have taken little interest in this particular event. He mentioned it in passing in several of his various publications, but never became involved in its planning and promotion.³¹ Indeed, he once even stated that he would not be taking an active part in the affair.³² Establishment of this point is of some importance, as one of the few secondary sources to discuss the initial steps in the formation of the Institute makes the observation that Ford “persuaded the YMCA to plan a Pan-Pacific YMCA secretaries’ conference in Honolulu in 1923 ... [and] the idea grew to consideration of the moral, economic, and political backgrounds in which men and boys [of the Pacific] lived, and the Institute of Pacific Relations was born”³³ Although Ford had indeed urged the YMCA to host a conference for its Pacific Basin leaders, it was only a casual suggestion and of little direct relationship to what eventually transpired.

None of this is to suggest, however, that there was any unpleasantness in the relationship between Ford and the YMCA and, later, the Institute. On the contrary, relations appear to have been entirely cordial if not particularly close. To illustrate, when the 1925 conference convened, Ford was invited to address it and he did so in a thoroughly pleasant fashion, noting that the “Union realizes that a large part of its mission is being fulfilled in the formation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It rejoices in the wonderful success that has attended the first sessions of the Institute and earnestly hopes that these may increase in strength and force.”³⁴ Moments later he added that while the “Union has no part in the deliberations of the Institute, it sincerely welcomes this new sister organization that promises to play a prominent and distinguished part in the bringing about of better understanding among the peoples of the Pacific”³⁵

Elusive Destiny

The Institute responded in kind, thanking Ford for his inspirational example and acknowledging his earlier suggestion that the YMCA convene a Pacific-wide gathering.³⁶ Subsequently, Ford issued a statement explaining that the two organizations were separate and distinct but that their relationship would be based upon mutual respect and close cooperation.³⁷ Although no close cooperation ever developed, both organizations periodically publicized the other's activities in their own publications and managed to work side by side in essential harmony.³⁸

Launched on such an enthusiastic and successful note, the Institute plunged into a round of organizing activities in preparation for its second meeting in 1927. Davis and Loomis, general secretary and assistant general secretary respectively, spent most of the period traveling throughout Asia and North America assisting with the organization of national councils and metropolitan chapters. Due in part to their efforts and in part to the enthusiasm in all quarters, six national councils (Australia, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States) and eleven metropolitan chapters (Auckland, Christchurch, Honolulu, Manila, Melbourne, Montreal, Seoul, Sydney, Toronto, Vancouver, and Wellington) were formed by 1927.³⁹ In most instances, these groups immediately initiated substantial activities of their own. Research projects concentrating upon the collection of data pertinent to matters of race, culture, population, food, industry, natural resources, extraterritoriality, and immigration were undertaken by most of the national councils and some of the metropolitan chapters. Publicity drives and educational programs, usually in the form of miniconferences modeled after the 1925 event, were likewise common.⁴⁰

Within the administrative sphere, Davis and Loomis molded the Pacific Council into a central headquarters unit composed of the Institute's elected officials, a representative from each national council, and a secretariat. Thereafter, policy decisions were made by the Pacific Council during its periodic meetings while the secretariat, the only professionally-staffed unit within the central core of the Institute, was responsible for ongoing administrative decisions concerning such things as recruitment drives, fiscal management, program development, and relations with other organizations.⁴¹ This is not to suggest, however, that all Institute activities were directed solely by the Pacific Council and its staff. The various national councils and metropolitan chapters, some with their own professional staffs but most with

The Will to Good Relations

volunteer assistance, administered separate, although complementary, programs in accordance with general guidelines established by the Pacific Council.

Considerable emphasis was placed on fund raising during this period. In 1926 some \$34,000 was subscribed, which was sufficient to cover that year's lower costs, and in 1927 the figure rose to approximately \$80,000, due in no small part to grants of \$25,000 from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and \$15,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.⁴² These grants made it possible to initiate a research program within the secretariat, retain a research secretary—J. B. Condliffe of New Zealand—to direct it, and begin issuing the *Institute News Bulletin*, the group's first formal publication.⁴³ The Institute's long and distinguished record in research and publication was thus underway.

The initial organizational details were largely completed when the second conference convened at Punahou School during the summer of 1927, and the participants—delegates from the same countries present in 1925 with the addition of Great Britain and observers from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office—concentrated almost exclusively upon round table discussions of issues akin to those debated at the earlier gathering.⁴⁴ On this occasion, however, the background papers were more numerous and much more carefully prepared.⁴⁵ Once these discussions were concluded, the delegates voted to accept a constitution embracing the original objectives presented in 1925 and the organizational arrangements worked out over the 1925–1927 period. According to the new document, various local and national activities were to result in a continuing series of international gatherings where participants would “study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.”⁴⁶ With this rather ambiguous charge as guidance, the group set forth to change the Pacific.⁴⁷

STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

The 1927 conference signaled the end of the Institute's formative period and the beginning of a new era which saw the organization evolve from a discussion-oriented consultative body essentially under the sway of Hawaiian internationalists into a research-and advocacy-oriented group controlled largely by foreign policy activists from the American mainland. This

change, supported principally by the American Council and strenuously resisted by the Hawaii group under Atherton's leadership, affected virtually every facet of Institute activity during the late 1920s and the first half of the 1930s.

With respect to research and publication, the group's original intent was simply to prepare background studies and informational bulletins to assist conference participants in conducting more informed and meaningful discussions. This began to change when Condliffe was hired as research secretary. He established the practice of raising funds to encourage and support academic research on selected Asian, Pacific, and East-West topics, frequently with little direct connection to conference agendas. He also encouraged the national councils and metropolitan chapters to do likewise. By expending research funds in this fashion rather than developing an in-house capability (although an internal research unit of considerable proportions was established later), he stimulated a broad array of scholarship which, as noted, contributed mightily to the body of modern knowledge on the Pacific area. Between 1925 and 1935, the Pacific Council raised some \$360,000 for research while the American Council, always the most active of the national councils, raised another \$400,000 for the same purpose. By 1950 when the organization became embroiled in the McCarthy controversy and began to lose its effectiveness, these sums had risen to approximately \$800,000 and \$765,000 respectively. These figures are part of an overall Pacific Council budget of some \$2,700,000 and an American Council budget of over \$3,100,000 for the 1927-1950 period.⁴⁸ It should be noted, however, that this remarkable financial achievement came to an abrupt halt with the McCarthy period, thus precipitating a fiscal crisis that was a major factor in the organization's disintegration during the 1950s.⁴⁹

The end result of Condliffe's research policy is likewise impressive. As early as 1930, twenty-three different projects ranging from a survey of Malaysian emigration to an analysis of Chinese industrialism were underway, one of which was George B. Cressey's landmark study of Chinese geography.⁵⁰ This was but the beginning. Thereafter the number of projects and publications expanded rapidly and by 1952 the Institute could claim responsibility for approximately fifteen hundred titles (including periodicals and pamphlets) and count among those whose work it sponsored such eminent scholars as Hugh Borton, Vera Micheles Dean, John King Fairbank, Hu Shih, Owen Lattimore, Walter Lippman, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Arnold Toynbee.⁵¹

The Will to Good Relations

While it is necessary to include certain unimpressive studies in this total, the vast majority of the work was prepared by scholars of considerable repute and is of high quality.

This achievement did not come easily, however. Condliffe's desire to emphasize academic research resulted in a decision during 1930 to move the research headquarters from Honolulu to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and, thus, closer to existing centers of scholarly activity. This decision caused great unhappiness among those from Hawaii and elsewhere who felt that the original intent of the research program was being eroded. They had a point. Although the shift in emphasis was ultimately of great significance from an academic perspective, there is no doubt that it did weaken the operational tie between research endeavors and conference discussion. Nonetheless, the decision was made, and thereafter the research program was headquartered at various academic centers in both America and Asia.⁵² Condliffe escaped most of this controversy by resigning his position in 1931, and he was replaced by William L. Holland who implemented the decision.⁵³

The Institute's publication program followed a similar course. In 1928 the *Institute News Bulletin* was replaced by *Pacific Affairs*, a combination monthly newsletter and semi-scholarly journal under the editorial direction of Elizabeth Green.⁵⁴ Beginning as a booklet of some forty pages with an approximate circulation of twelve hundred, it grew to an average of eighty pages per issue with a circulation of roughly two thousand by the end of the decade.⁵⁵ In 1933 Green was replaced as editor by Owen Lattimore, later to gain renown as a China scholar and notoriety as a chief target of the McCarthyites.⁵⁶ Like Condliffe, Lattimore also felt that Hawaii was too far removed from the centers of international activity and that the journal should be headquartered elsewhere. Following still another struggle, his view prevailed and the publication was relocated to New York, where its casual format was scrapped and it was remolded into a peppery academic journal which frequently published controversial and unpopular points of view. Accepted and respected by at least the scholarly community, it became the Institute's principal publication and retained this status until the organization collapsed.⁵⁷ At that time, the University of British Columbia assumed responsibility for the journal and has since issued it regularly. Its circulation has averaged around thirty-three hundred copies over the years since World War II.⁵⁸

Elusive Destiny

In the administrative realm, Davis and Loomis expanded the secretariat staff to include Hawking Yen and Keichi Yamasaki as associate general secretaries during the late 1920s.⁵⁹ Traveling regularly in Europe (including the Soviet Union), North America, Asia, and the Pacific in an effort to generate interest in the organization and to gain new members, the four officers succeeded in persuading Great Britain and France to join prior to the end of the decade, and laid groundwork for the affiliation of the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the Soviet Union during the 1930s.⁶⁰ Although the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, and China later dropped their membership, India and Pakistan joined following World War II, leaving Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and the United States as members when the organization was finally dissolved in 1961.⁶¹ Davis and his colleagues also arranged for the Institute's third conference to be held in Japan during 1929 and thereby inaugurated the practice of rotating meetings among the member nations.⁶² Unlike Ford, they had no intention of centering all activities in Hawaii.

Despite the drastic changes, the secretariat's Honolulu office remained busy during these years. Although the removal of the research and publication programs reduced the level of activity, regular administrative business was sufficient to occupy a substantial office staff, and library materials accumulated so rapidly that a regular librarian had to be retained. Indeed, when this collection was donated to the University of Hawaii following the Institute's move to New York, it nearly doubled the school's holdings on Asia and the Pacific.⁶³

Busyness, however, did not prevent the secretariat from becoming embroiled in the raging argument over procedures and objectives. Its officials were split from the time the debate first arose. Some wanted to take the organization more directly into the political arena while others insisted that its original consultative format be maintained. As early as 1929 it became apparent that the advocates of change were gaining the upper hand. In that year Davis took the podium during the organization's third conference in Japan to announce that he was resigning as general secretary because of disagreements over institutional philosophy. In the process, he denounced those who wanted to revamp the organization and warned that a shift away from economic and cultural issues toward political topics would turn participants into mere "mouthpieces" for their respective governments and destroy the founders' hopes of creating a forum for "frank and free" discussions among the peoples of

The Will to Good Relations

the Pacific. He also expressed the view that his warning would go unheeded so long as the influence of the activist American Council remained paramount.⁶⁴ His resignation was accepted, and Loomis was appointed acting general secretary.

Davis, it turns out, was at least partially correct. Except for a small group led by Atherton, his warning did go unheeded, and in 1933 Edward C. Carter, once a high-ranking American YMCA official who was chosen to lead the Institute's American Council in 1926, was selected as the new general secretary. As might be expected, he accelerated the change in institutional focus that Davis, Atherton, and others felt was so mistaken. In 1936 he brought the issue to a head by simply moving the secretariat—the last major vestige of the original Institute still in Hawaii—from Honolulu to New York. Little was left behind save a few files pertaining to local activities and the library which, as noted, was donated to the University of Hawaii. Thereafter the organization was only distantly associated with the local internationalist movement and the people who first conceived and formed it.

Clearly, then, the signal characteristic of the Institute during the late 1920s and the first half of the following decade was the controversy over its form and function. This dispute, in many respects more akin to a bareknuckled political donnybrook than a refined debate among concerned internationalists, ranged far beyond the central issue of institutional philosophy. Although this question always remained at the core, intense and seemingly irreconcilable disagreement over its proper resolution generated frequent and often bitter ancillary confrontations. Charges that certain councils and chapters were interested only in self-aggrandizement were recklessly hurled about as were counterclaims that still other councils and chapters were hopelessly parochial. Similarly unpleasant charges and counter-charges were directed at various individuals. It was, to say the least, an unpleasant spectacle, and the fact that the Institute was able to survive it at all is of some significance.

Although others were involved, the principal antagonists in this dispute were the American Council and the Hawaii group.⁶⁵ The former, always on the offensive and, one suspects frequently correct, was also consistently heavy-handed. In blunt language, it charged that Hawaii, far from being an inspirational social model as the local internationalists believed, was much too provincial to play host to such an organization. As Carter put it at the Institute's fourth conference in China during 1931, "Honolulu has no culture; no facilities for world news; and

is so tropical that no one can think of do[ing] serious work."⁶⁶ Others making similar arguments called Hawaii a "fairyland."⁶⁷ Local activists responded by collecting data from the University of Hawaii, various agricultural research centers, the newspapers, and even the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, to show that serious research was indeed possible in the Islands.⁶⁸ When this tactic proved ineffective, they resorted to equally heavy-handed techniques, charging the Hawaii Tourist Bureau with promoting a frivolous image of Hawaii and sneeringly referring to American Council personnel as the "young professionals."⁶⁹ Later, some members of this group went so far as to suggest that Hawaii withdraw from the Institute and affiliate with the Pan-Pacific Union.⁷⁰

To be certain, there were others who contributed to the dispute in a more refined fashion. Owen Lattimore, for example, supported the American Council's position by arguing that "if the I.P.R. can demonstrate that the Pacific is a *World* question, it should demonstrate its own organizational strength, as well as the importance of the questions it studies, by carrying its activities into localities that cannot be accused of local exaggeration of Pacific questions." Still, caught up in the intensity of the dispute and very much opposed to the position of the Hawaii group, he apparently could not resist the sarcastic conclusion that if Pacific questions are indeed world questions, "then it should be a challenge to the Branches actually within the Pacific area not to let Pacific provincialism allow the world to drop out of the sight of the Pacific."⁷¹

Lattimore's emphasis upon the global dimensions of Pacific problems illustrates still another aspect of the dispute. The Hawaii group was inclined to view Pacific issues in essentially technical terms and believed they were subject to negotiated settlement on a case-by-case basis so long as sufficient data were available.⁷² To American Council leaders who generally saw the same issues in geo-political terms, the Hawaii position was both narrow and naive. They believed that any effort to focus on certain specific issues was unrealistic and, more to the point, that a fact gathering approach was doomed to fail, as all of the issues in question ultimately involved value judgments—choices—beyond the pale of mere data. In their view, the Institute could be effective only if it engaged in research on a wide range of issues, conducted the research in a fashion calculated to facilitate the making of often controversial choices, and was willing to support its choices within the political arena.⁷³ These people could not, therefore, agree with charges

The Will to Good Relations

from Hawaii that their approach to research was overly academic and that their willingness to engage in political debate was a dangerous mistake. On the contrary, they felt their approach was absolutely fundamental to any hope of achieving the Institute's original goals and that anything less direct was destined to failure. It is evident, then, that the two factions were as widely split on methodological grounds as they were over personal and organizational issues.

Although the dispute raged on, it became increasingly a matter of sound and fury. The American Council activists had in fact carried the day and were in firm control of the organization. They had succeeded in forcing through the turn-of-the-decade changes in the research and publication programs, selecting Carter as the new general secretary, and removing the secretariat from Honolulu. They had, in other words, prevailed in every instance. Finally recognizing this, Atherton gave up the fight late in 1935, resigned his position as treasurer of the Pacific Council, and withdrew from all participation in the organization save the activities of the Hawaii chapter. His last act was to address a long letter to the Pacific Council in which he made a final plea for a return to the original procedures of the Institute. While it is not clear what he hoped to accomplish with this letter—perhaps he simply wished to demonstrate that while beaten he was not persuaded—it outlines the main arguments of both groups, in the process summarizing the central issue:

We believe ... that the original primary purpose of the Institute needs more emphasis in the future than it has received in recent years. The Founders of the IPR desired that there should be developed in the various peoples of the Pacific area the will to good relations and an intelligent basis therefor.

The will to good relations has in part an ethical basis; in part it rests on the belief that harmonious contacts are advantageous. At no time has the Institute emphasized the emotional appeal. We have doubted the wisdom of such appeals and recognized the ease with which they get out of hand. Our emphasis has been rational. Nevertheless the great bulk of human actions are not rational, they arise from our desires and antipathies. It would be a mistake wholly to ignore the promotion of good will as an essential feature of ethical, altruistic and religious conduct.

We have proceeded on the assumption that our chief task was to overcome ignorance. In part this means general illumination; in part it means throwing light on specific problems, situations and issues. This has led us into fact finding enterprises.

Elusive Destiny

Many of our research projects are concerned with tendencies and trends which look to the future rather than the immediate present. Undoubtedly they are of value, but on the other hand we feel not enough attention has been given to matters and problems that are causing friction now and ill will among the peoples of some of the Pacific countries. We also feel that little attention has been given to popular opinion and motivation. They are of the greatest importance. It is not enough to know the facts of a given situation, but we must know what the parties thereto think of the facts and how they feel about them.

If the IPR is to have influence in the direction of good relations between Pacific peoples, it must reach a much larger and more diverse group. Following the first two conferences held in Honolulu, there was considerable interest in widespread educational effort. This has not been sufficiently developed. As it now stands the membership of the IPR embraces but a small number of persons. No matter how much they know or how well disposed they may be, little can be accomplished unless a substantial number ... [of civic leaders] can be reached.

It is time to decide just what we are driving at. If we are not trying merely to enlighten the small group comprised in our membership, but to accomplish something of broad inter-racial and international scope we would do well to shape our program accordingly. Most of us shy off from propaganda, so let us call it education. It is well to get knowledge, but there comes a time when something needs to be done about it.

The present trend seems to be to transform the IPR into too much of a pure research organization without due regard for the practical application of the results.... To prevent the Institute from becoming "too academic" we must secure more active participation on the part of ... [labor, journalistic, educational, and especially commercial] leaders in all countries.

[Finally], the Institute must be on guard against any tendency to be too much of an Occidental institution rather than an International organization of and for the Pacific Region.⁷⁴

As suggested, Atherton's letter changed nothing so far as the Institute's new leaders were concerned. Their triumph was secure.⁷⁵ However, whether their victory was in the long-term interests of the organization remains a question. Clearly, their more ambitious perception of the Institute's proper role is responsible for virtually all of the organization's notable achievements, but just as clearly it is also responsible for leading the Institute into the political arena where it eventually ran afoul

of the McCarthy movement and was destroyed.⁷⁶ Still, if the Pan-Pacific Union is any measure, perhaps it is better to have taken an effective if controversial stance and have been destroyed than to have simply wasted away in benign neutrality, hoping always for a measure of meaningful recognition from some quarter.

Atherton and the other Island activists accepted their defeat with remarkable grace. Although convinced that the parent organization had gravely erred, they accepted the decision and returned to the task of expanding the program of the Hawaii chapter. There was no more petulant talk of disaffiliation from the Institute, and neither Atherton nor any other local participant of stature quit the group. Loomis, to be certain, resigned his secretariat position but only in order to assume the chief administrative post with the local chapter. Relations with the Pacific Council and the American Council were maintained in a thoroughly proper, if sometimes strained, fashion. Indeed, on numerous occasions Carter, Lattimore, and other former adversaries were hosted by local leaders as they passed through Honolulu on business. Finally, Hawaii continued to send at least a few delegates to the Institute's periodic international conferences.

Nonetheless, things had changed. Their spirit apparently sapped by the long and acrimonious struggle, local activists seemed to forget their once soaring vision of the role the Islands might play in Pacific and world affairs. Virtually all talk of Hawaii's special destiny as a model and a leader ceased after the mid-1930s and was never again revived. From that time onward, they were content simply to sponsor various research and educational programs designed to encourage internationalist perspectives within the community, particularly among high school and college students. The era of great hope and excitement had passed.

LOCAL PROGRAMS AND PROBLEMS

Expanding its local program was a relatively easy task for the Hawaii chapter as it had been meeting informally since shortly after the 1927 conference and on a formal basis since late in 1928. In fact, it was the first local chapter to formally organize and affiliate with any national council.⁷⁷ The original members and those who subsequently joined were almost without exception from the elite segment of local society, and they used

their influence to assure that the organization was adequately funded and properly active.⁷⁸ From the outset, the group's activities were focused on research and education in an effort, as stated in its 1929 constitution, to "study ... the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations and otherwise to aid in the work and purposes of the Institute of Pacific Relations."⁷⁹ Research activities, organized and directed for a number of years by University of Hawaii president A. L. Dean, were concentrated upon the study of local issues bearing some connection with international problems, while the educational program, long under the supervision of Punahou School president Oscar F. Shepard, was built around a seemingly endless series of round table discussion forums on a great variety of international topics.⁸⁰

These programs produced certain noteworthy results and, on several occasions, considerable controversy. With respect to research, one of the initial projects was a symposium on traditional Hawaiian culture involving authorities in the field as well as interested Institute members. The papers presented were thorough enough that they were subsequently published as a high school textbook entitled *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization*.⁸¹ A revised edition of the text is still in use.

This sparked an interest in schoolbooks which, with the encouragement of the American Council, resulted in the preparation of several other texts. In 1930, for example, it was decided that a more balanced and sensitive high school level text on China was needed. With financial assistance from the local school system and the proceeds of a special fund-raising drive, local Institute leaders hired Helen Gay Pratt, a then unknown schoolteacher who later gained some repute as a historian, to undertake the task.⁸² Working with Peng-chun Chang, she completed the text in 1934 and published it under the title *China: Whence and Whither*.⁸³ The Hawaii school system purchased approximately a thousand copies of the volume and numerous other school systems subsequently adopted it.⁸⁴ In addition, it was well received by prominent China scholars.⁸⁵

A second project on Japan was not so successful. Pratt and Masamichi Royama drafted what they termed a "sympathetic, adequate, graphic, and relevant" treatment of Japan.⁸⁶ Others, citing its uncritical treatment of Japan's actions in China, found it little more than pro-Japanese propaganda and suggested that it be either redone or withdrawn.⁸⁷ Still others reacted even more stridently. The Sino-Korean Peoples' League, for example, presented a fifteen-page petition to the Hawaii Territorial Leg-



Institute of Pacific Relations headquarters. Honolulu Star-Bulletin photo

islature charging that the pro-Japanese bias of the text was proof that Japan had infiltrated the local educational system.⁸⁸ This inflated charge attracted the attention of V. S. McClatchy, a well-known California newspaper publisher and outspoken opponent of Asian immigration, who subsequently attempted to turn the matter into a national issue. Local school authorities were thus forced into supporting a flawed product in order to defend the integrity of the school system. They were no doubt relieved when the American Council assumed responsibility for the project, rewrote the book with a much harsher interpretation of Japanese actions, and published it as *Japan: Where Ancient Loyalties Survive*.⁸⁹ In the confusion of charges and countercharges, it is unlikely that many were aware of an ironic development in the case. When copies of the original manuscript reached Japan, a cry arose accusing Royama of having helped author an *anti-Japanese* book.⁹⁰

Still another textbook project initiated at the same time raised a similar controversy which, before it was finally over, revealed a darker side of the men who ran the Institute. In 1933 the research committee formed a "standard of living" task force under the direction of Royal N. Chapman, a long-time Institute activist who was also an official of the Pineapple Producers' Cooperative Association as well as dean of the University of Hawaii's School of Tropical Agriculture, to explore the ramifications of the idea, then current in Institute circles, that there could be no lasting world peace so long as domestic social and economic injustices existed.⁹¹ Impressed by this argument, the task force decided to study living conditions among Filipino laborers working at one of the Islands' principal sugar plantations. On the recommendation of American Council leaders, local officials hired Edna C. Wentworth, a University of Chicago-trained social worker with a special interest in labor problems, to direct the project.⁹² She began work early in 1934 and completed a first draft of the study in August 1935. It was criticized only on technical grounds, and a revised version was well received by the American Council later that year.⁹³ With the exception of Loomis, the Institute's local leaders apparently saw the report for the first time at this point, and they were, to put it mildly, less than favorably impressed. They flatly rejected it, ostensibly upon the grounds that it was more detailed than necessary and not particularly well written but in fact because it was much too sympathetic to the plight of the laborers and too critical of the plantation management.⁹⁴ One of these men, putting it ever so gently but with unmistakable intent, commented that the "paper is a valuable contribution but there appears to be a somewhat antagonistic undercurrent toward the plantation, to which I object."⁹⁵

Facing such objections, Loomis and his staff decided that the study should be redone to eliminate the objectionable material. Frederick Simpich, Jr., was hired for the task and one of his earlier memorandums indicates that he clearly understood his assignment. The manuscript was to be "tempered," he wrote, so that it would be "approved by the sugar people"⁹⁶ Simpich did as he was told, but even his "tempered" version did not satisfy the critics. They felt it was still an incitement to labor agitation and feared that it contained information useful to their rivals in the sugar beet industry on the American mainland.⁹⁷ Led by Atherton, they demanded that it be shelved.⁹⁸

The Will to Good Relations

A lengthy argument ensued involving most of the Hawaii group as well as many from the American Council. Officials from the latter organization insisted that the report be published, even if in abridged form, while local leaders (save Loomis who felt the new report had merit) maintained the position that it should be withdrawn. The issue was finally resolved in 1937 when the American Council forced the decision and the report was sent to a Honolulu printer. Local leaders, however, had the last word. The day the printing was completed, Atherton went to the printer's office, purchased the entire press run, and disposed of it!⁹⁹ Although another printing was sponsored by the American Council in 1941, other issues had moved to the fore and the incident passed largely unnoticed.¹⁰⁰ To say the least, this episode raises some doubts about the selflessness that otherwise appears so characteristic of most of the Institute's local leaders.

The local chapter undertook a number of other research activities during this era that resulted in several worthwhile studies, particularly Jean Hobbs' well-received *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, but none generated the same interest or controversy as the Pratt and Wentworth projects.¹⁰¹ Research was not, however, the group's only area of endeavor. Throughout this period, Shepard's education committee was actively engaged in sponsoring an extensive series of round table discussion forums that were open to both Institute members and other interested persons. As a consequence, many people from the community had the opportunity to hear a multitude of topics discussed by such speakers as Hu Shih, the distinguished Chinese scholar-diplomat, Karl Wittfogel, later to become a prominent if controversial figure in Chinese studies, Alexander A. Troyanovsky, the Soviet Union's first ambassador to the United States, and Henry Luce, the *Time-Life* publisher.¹⁰²

Besides the round table series, more specialized gatherings were periodically organized to explore matters of current interest. Of these undertakings, a news analysis series conducted during the late 1930s and early 1940s by Klaus Mehnert, a prominent member of the University of Hawaii faculty whose alleged pro-Nazi views had aroused some controversy, attracted the most attention.¹⁰³ In addition, a series of local conferences dealing with questions of war and postwar national security was sponsored prior to and after World War II. The Schofield Conferences of 1939, 1940, 1949, and 1950; the Seminar on America and the World at War held between November 19, 1940, and January 21, 1941; and the Japan-America Conference of 1953



Charles F. Loomis and Institute of Pacific Relations participant. University of Hawaii Archives

are the most significant examples. All were modeled after the original Institute conferences and involved discussion sessions based upon in-depth research papers. Also of interest in this respect are conferences held in 1947 and 1951 on the role of Christianity in the modernization of Asia and Micronesia.¹⁰⁴

Of all the special functions organized by the local chapter of the Institute, the most noteworthy was a student-oriented program initiated during the early 1930s. Inspired by an international organization for students formed in the San Francisco area during 1926, local leaders created the Student Institute

The Will to Good Relations

of International Relations in 1931 and used it to sponsor numerous mock international conferences and round table discussion forums over the following years.¹⁰⁵ Directed first at college students and later at high school students, this organization introduced thousands of local youths to serious discussions on international issues. Many of those who later became important civic leaders in Hawaii were participants. Among the names appearing from time to time are Abraham Akaka, Hung Wo Ching, Hung Wai Ching, Herbert Choy, Jack Mizuha, Hebden Porteus, Minoru Shinoda, Arthur Trask, and Douglas Yamamura.¹⁰⁶ No doubt others equally prominent also participated. Although no direct connection has been established, it is a reasonable assumption that much of the concern for international affairs characteristic of Hawaii's present leadership can be traced to this program.

While research and educational activities were central to the Institute's program during the years preceding World War II, the group was involved with still other undertakings. There were, for example, periodic attempts after 1931 to conduct internationally oriented radio programs.¹⁰⁷ Scholars connected with the Institute were encouraged to come to the Islands and assist the University of Hawaii with the expansion of its Asian studies program.¹⁰⁸ Still other related exercises were proposed if never implemented. Among the more interesting of these activities was an effort during 1940 and 1941 to bring Japan and the United States together in negotiations that would at once remove the growing acrimony from the relationship between the two nations and keep World War II from spreading to the Pacific.

Akin to ongoing efforts in the diplomatic realm, this undertaking began in 1940 when David L. Crawford, then president of the University of Hawaii and an Institute activist, wrote a brief memorandum suggesting that Japan and the United States might resolve their differences and prevent the otherwise certain outbreak of war if Japan would withdraw its armies from China, if the United States would recognize Japan's conquest of Manchuria and pull its own forces back to the West Coast, and if both would negotiate a treaty of commerce and nonaggression. He argued that the Institute should promote negotiations based on this formula.¹⁰⁹ Debatable as Crawford's particular suggestions may have been, they inspired Frank E. Midkiff, then chairman of the local chapter of the Institute, to draft a similar proposal late in 1941. Save for a more detailed discussion of economic concessions to Japan and elimi-

nation of the suggestion that the United States withdraw from the mid-Pacific, Midkiff's document was essentially the same as Crawford's.¹¹⁰

While it may be that the substance of this document reflects a certain naïveté, there is little doubt that its sponsors were well prepared with respect to the politics of submitting it to higher authorities. Midkiff had previously consulted General Walter C. Short, the commander of all army forces in Hawaii, and found that he was willing to see that the proposal reached the White House providing the Institute was able to agree on a final version.¹¹¹ A rushed week of meetings ensued, ending with a Friday afternoon session where a finished document was finally approved.¹¹² Unfortunately, what might have happened next will never be known. By incredible coincidence, that particular Friday was December 5, and Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo's Pearl Harbor Striking Force was moving into attack position north of the Hawaiian chain. The "day of infamy" was at hand and the Institute's proposal was to be among the casualties.

Regrettably, the incident did not end on this tragi-comic note. In 1949, Admiral Peyton Harrison, an occasional participant in Institute programs during the prewar years and at the time a naval aide to the governor of Hawaii, wrote an unaddressed memorandum charging that the entire venture had been instigated by the "Jap War Lords" and that the participants were guilty of indirectly aiding the enemy and being at least accessories to treason.¹¹³ Although his proof was nonexistent (he offered no supporting evidence and none had been presented during the numerous investigations of the Pearl Harbor attack) and he seems to have been more interested in arousing interest in the general question of enemy subversion than in the particulars of this case, Midkiff was alarmed enough to attempt a suppression of the charges and a cover-up of all related materials. He instructed the Institute's staff to file the material away forever so as not to "reopen this old wound."¹¹⁴ For whatever the reasons—lack of evidence or suppression of evidence—the episode ground to a halt on this unsavory note.¹¹⁵ As in the Wentworth case, a project inspired by thoroughly decent motives degenerated into a malevolent squabble that served only to expose the worst sides of all concerned.

When war finally came, the Institute's program was rapidly and almost totally curtailed. In the first instance, the imposition of martial law between 1941 and 1944 made it difficult to conduct any activity. In addition, most of the leaders undertook

The Will to Good Relations



Local Institute of Pacific Relations meeting during early 1950s. University of Hawaii Archives

new responsibilities with the military government or the military forces and were no longer available. Even Loomis put aside his administrative duties and joined the military government as head of the Morale Section where he was responsible for maintaining racial tranquility throughout the Territory and, with the aid of a multiracial staff, did an outstanding job.¹¹⁶ A few minor discussion sessions were conducted during the latter years of the war, but nothing of major importance was even attempted.

With the end of the war at hand, local members of the Institute began planning for the resumption of activities. Unfortunately, they were to be disappointed. Even before the war ended, certain critics of the American Council charged that its officials harbored pro-Communist sentiments. The charge had enough validity to arouse doubts, as at least one acknowledged Communist—Frederick Vanderbilt Field—had long been

an American Council staff member, and by the end of the decade the organization had become one of the chief targets of the McCarthy campaign. The McCarthyites developed the charge that the Institute had provided information to the government which in turn abetted the victory of communism in China. As one of McCarthy's sympathetic colleagues put it, "But for the machinations of the small group that controlled and activated ... [the Institute], China today would be free and a bulwark against the further advance of the Red hordes into the Far East."¹¹⁷ Although the American Council fought these largely groundless charges, its credibility was so badly impugned in the process that it was no longer able to perform effectively and it collapsed during the latter years of the decade.¹¹⁸ This was a fatal blow so far as the Pacific Council and the other national councils were concerned, as they had long been heavily dependent upon the Americans for funds and leadership. By the end of the decade they too collapsed and the McCarthyites added another victim to their appalling score.

The effect of this struggle upon the local chapter of the Institute was profound. Although activities in the immediate postwar period followed much the same pattern as those of the late 1930s with periodic radio programs, specialized discussion groups, fetes for visiting Institute dignitaries, and occasional special projects (one of note concerned an abortive effort to establish an "international university" as a living memorial to Hawaii's war dead¹¹⁹), only the student program operated in any consequential fashion. The reason is simple. Despite earlier differences with the American Council activists, the local group energetically rallied to the defense of the national organization once the McCarthyist attack began to gather momentum, and it exhausted itself in the process. There was no time or energy left for the full-scale resumption of its own program.

Letters denying the charges were drafted and sent to all local Institute members.¹²⁰ Similar letters were addressed to public leaders across the country.¹²¹ Walter F. Dillingham, perhaps Hawaii's most prominent business leader and a well-known opponent of communism, agreed to serve on the American Council's board of trustees in 1948 in an effort to help reestablish its credibility.¹²² When these tactics failed to stem the tide, resolutions adamantly rejecting the charges were adopted by the local group and passed on for public consumption.¹²³ These were followed by still other resolutions condemning McCarthyism and all related tactics.¹²⁴ Finally, during 1952 and 1953 when all else appeared to have failed, a move

The Will to Good Relations

was initiated to bring the entire organization back to Honolulu and thereby remove it from the spotlight.¹²⁵ Despite considerable support, this too failed when local leaders concluded, on second thought, that they might not be able to finance the move and that they were not certain they could adequately defend the tainted organization.¹²⁶ All came to naught when the American Council finally collapsed, and the local group, in response, gave up the fight and reorganized itself as the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council late in 1953.¹²⁷

Perhaps the struggle had been doomed from the outset. The national organization was vulnerable to the kinds of charges that can be supported in a witch hunt if not in a court of law and was thus destined to be found guilty. As witch hunting was as much a vogue in Hawaii as on the American mainland during these years, the efforts of the local branch to rally solid support for the Institute were similarly doomed to failure. The community grew increasingly willing to accept the McCarthyist viewpoint, and in time even certain members of the Institute accepted it. In doing so, they destroyed any semblance of unity within the group and weakened the leaders' determination to maintain a defiant posture.

Most of the local opposition to the Institute appears to have originated with K. C. Leebrick, a University of Hawaii instructor who was in close contact with Alfred Kohlberg, one of the Institute's original critics and the person largely responsible for bringing the organization to the attention of the anti-Communist movement.¹²⁸ The two men corresponded regularly, and Leebrick was one of four local members who supported Kohlberg in an unsuccessful attempt in 1947 to gain control over the national organization through proxy votes.¹²⁹ Coupled with the Institute's increasingly negative press, such opposition led to a rash of resignations during this period that made it increasingly difficult for the leaders to maintain their adamant stance. In mid-1947, St. Louis College, a local parochial school, announced that it was severing all connections with the Institute because of the Communist issue.¹³⁰ Early in the following year, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, a subsidiary of the Castle and Cooke Company which F. C. Atherton headed for so long, stated that it would no longer support the Institute, and its president, Henry A. White, circulated an anonymous flyer purporting to prove the organization's leftist connections.¹³¹ Four years later, James D. Dole, the original founder of the pineapple company and a member of the Institute since its formation, resigned because of the charges.¹³² The following year Riley Allen and

Midkiff, both key leaders of the group, submitted their resignations for the same reasons.¹³³ Pressure to give up the struggle was mounting.

J. Ballard Atherton, F. C. Atherton's son and the dominant figure in the local organization in the years after his father's death in 1945, resisted these pressures as best he could, but the tide was running against him. In 1950, the FBI investigated the group. Although it found nothing of substance to criticize, the fact that the investigation had even occurred caused some members to withdraw their support.¹³⁴ Complicating matters, Loomis retired in 1952 after twenty-eight years with the Institute, and Atherton was burdened with the additional handicap of recruiting and training a replacement, something that became a regular occurrence thereafter, as few of the subsequent administrators remained for any length of time.¹³⁵ Hence, as the American Council lost its effectiveness, Atherton and his supporters had no real alternative but to give up the struggle and try to fashion an independent organization capable of carrying on the local program. This, as noted, led to the formation of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council.¹³⁶ It is to their credit, however, that they struggled to the very end. Even after the American Council had made the decision to fold, they wrote urging a reconsideration lest "McCarthy, McCarran, *et al.*... attempt to chalk this up as a victory for their point of view."¹³⁷

The end of the old era came on December 15, 1953, when a special meeting was called to dissolve the local chapter of the Institute and create a successor organization.¹³⁸ Although Atherton explained in a general membership letter that the purpose of the meeting was simply to acknowledge the local group's long-time independence from the national organization, few could have failed to recognize the real significance of the gathering.¹³⁹ It was an admission of the fact that they, too, had fallen victim to McCarthyism.

Although the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council has been active since its formation, it has generated none of the excitement and controversy that so frequently characterized its predecessor. To be certain, during its earlier years efforts were made to sponsor programs of far-reaching impact generally akin to the old Institute's programs, but little came of them. Shortly after the changeover, for example, there was an attempt to establish a link with the Council on Foreign Relations but this was ultimately discouraged by the latter group.¹⁴⁰ In 1955, there was an effort to interest a number of world statesmen in es-

The Will to Good Relations

tablishing an organization in the Pacific similar to the original Institute.¹⁴¹ Again, the proposal was shunned and such dreams subsequently faded away.

Thereafter the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council directed its energies at student-related issues. The high school program, which had been started by the Institute and had attracted some eight hundred participants annually during the 1950s, received most attention, although certain projects related to the University of Hawaii were also undertaken.¹⁴² In the latter respect, two activities are most noteworthy. The organization supported a drive to build an international student residence that finally succeeded during the early 1960s when the "Gateway House" dormitory was constructed.¹⁴³ Similarly, the group assisted with the lobbying effort on behalf of the East-West Center which ultimately brought that institution into being.¹⁴⁴ These are, however, something less than overwhelming achievements when measured against the old record.

Perhaps the future holds better prospects for the Council. Although plagued by a debilitating financial crisis during most of the 1970s, the organization still survives, due in no small part to emergency financial assistance from the state government, and is presently struggling to revitalize its staff and program. Should it succeed, it will have preserved not only its own program but also the last vestige of the original Institute.

LEGACY OF THE INSTITUTE

Conclusions about the Institute must be mixed. Without question, this organization contributed more toward internationalist ends than any other activity inspired by the local internationalist tradition. Hence, in general terms, its record is clearly the most significant chapter to date in the history of local internationalism. This said, it must also be added that Hawaii's direct contribution to internationalism through the Institute amounts to surprisingly little. While the Institute's contribution is obvious, it is true if not always so obvious that local leaders contributed little to this process after the formative period. It was internationalists from the American mainland—not local activists—who set the organization upon its permanent course, and it is they who must be given most of the credit for whatever the Institute may have contributed to a better understanding among the nations and peoples of the Pacific. While local inter-

nationalists of course laid the groundwork for all of this, the fact remains that their subsequent role within the group was not of great consequence.

Similar things must be said of the local chapter of the Institute during the period following the removal of the central headquarters to New York. Although it remained active to the end and its successor organization is still active, the scope of its operations was so drastically reduced over the years that it ceased to be of any great significance. To be certain, it did spark its share of controversy, sponsor certain worthwhile projects, and above all contribute to the development of an international consciousness among Island youth, but, in scaling down its objectives and attempting to cope with its increasingly difficult political circumstances, it also lost touch with the reforming vision that was the basis of its original uniqueness. The key loss in this respect concerns the gradual disappearance of its perception of Hawaii as a social model. Whatever the shortcomings of this notion, it is clearly the generative power behind all Island internationalist ventures, and, as seen time and again, it provided the essential initiative and creativity that made these ventures noteworthy. Without it, the movement lacks a *raison d'être*. This, in short, is what the local chapter of the Institute and its successor came to. As a consequence, their only lasting significance is as a reminder of what once was and what again might be.

VI

A Duty to Perform

POSTWAR PUBLIC SECTOR ACTIVISM

As seen, the advent of World War II put a halt to virtually all internationalist activity in the Islands. It drew most of the leaders into war-related tasks, forced the organizations they directed into a period of suspension, and actually destroyed such faltering efforts as the Pan-Pacific Union. This was, of course, predictable. With war at hand, the general response to the continuing call for international peace and understanding was at best phlegmatic.

The more significant fact is that the movement survived the war and became active once again following its conclusion. There were changes, however. Where prewar activities had centered around several organizations, the postwar era was a time of burgeoning international activism that saw new groups and a seemingly endless stream of new activities and new participants appear at a dizzying rate.

The most striking new feature of the movement during this period was its spread into the realms of education and government. Although people from both arenas had been involved during the prewar era, the incentive had clearly come from the private sector. With the end of the war, the balance shifted. While privately sponsored undertakings remained important, educators and government officials took the initiative and pushed publicly sponsored endeavors to center stage. This did not change the elitist nature of Island internationalism—in no sense did it become a truly popular movement—but it did open the movement to more than the original handful of socially and economically prominent activists.



University of Hawaii campus in 1926. University of Hawaii Archives

While the reasons for this change are not entirely clear, it is evident that at least two important factors are involved. In the first instance, it is clearly due in part to the passing of Alexander Hume Ford and Frank C. Atherton, men who were influential enough to assure that the organizations they dominated in turn dominated the movement. In the second case, although the precise connections are more difficult to ascertain, it is likewise clear that it is also due in part to the postwar emergence of a generation of new leaders, active largely in the educational and governmental arenas, who authored the political reforms of those years that ended the dominance of the old elite and who, perhaps in reflection of the fact that many of them had been youthful participants in the movement prior to the war, took up the internationalist cause once in power. It was, it appears, a way of symbolizing their cosmopolitan triumph.

EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONALISM

Whatever the proper explanation for the postwar surge of international activism, the fact remains that the movement spread outward from the private sector to the educational and governmental sectors in the years following the war and the process is

A Duty to Perform



University of Hawaii campus in 1979 (East-West Center at center right). Photo by David Dinell

still underway. While it is as yet too early to draw conclusions about the relative significance of these sectors, it is clear that the level of activity within the educational arena has consistently been higher and that the University of Hawaii has been the prime generator of this action. It has sponsored an immense variety of endeavors including international studies programs, Pacific-wide research and development consortiums, the nation's major Peace Corps training project, and the world's only international educational satellite network. Some forty percent of its present curriculum is international in nature, its foreign student enrollment is among the largest in the nation, its faculty is composed of people from approximately fifty different nations, its language departments provide an estimated thirty percent of the nation's total instruction in East Asian languages, and its campus is the site of the East-West Center, the nation's most noteworthy single experiment in international education.¹ In short, the University has become an international institution of considerable stature.

The University's international roots date from the time of its formation and early development in the period between the world wars. Superseding the College of Hawaii, an agricultural and mechanical school established in 1907, the new institution

came into being at least in part as the result of a drive led by several prominent citizens and educators who, inspired by the local internationalist movement, felt that the primary focus of public higher education in Hawaii should be upon regional and international matters rather than on vocational subjects as was then the case.² William Kwai Fong Yap, one of the leaders of this drive, subsequently wrote a book about the effort, in which he summarized his (and presumably his colleagues') hopes as follows:

It is the writer's sincere belief that our local University will ... stand as a beacon of enlightenment that will draw people from all the countries bordering this great Pacific Ocean to the Paradise of the Pacific.... It is my hope for the future that our University will be the means of establishing a better understanding between the peoples of the Orient and the Occident and thus be a real factor in bringing about international good-will and the establishment of permanent world peace, and that our young people of Oriental parentage will carry back to the lands of their ancestors the ideals and practical knowledge that will aid those countries in their struggle for development to a state of ideal culture combined with efficiency.³

The very existence of the present institution is, thus, due in large part to the Island internationalist tradition.

Leaders of the new school moved quickly to restructure it along more ambitious lines. A Japanese studies program was established under the direction of Tasuku Harada, a former president of Japan's Doshisha University, at the same time the school's title was changed. Two years later a Chinese studies program was initiated under the leadership of Shao Chang Lee. By 1930 these programs were offering such an array of courses and attracting such numbers of students that the Institute of Pacific Relations ranked the University as the nation's third leading school for Asian studies.⁴

Buoyed by success, University officials formed a School of Pacific and Asian Affairs in 1931 to offer special summer programs on interracial and international issues in the Pacific. This venture proved so successful that it was quickly integrated with the existing Japanese and Chinese programs and made a part of the institution's regular curriculum.⁵ Still not satisfied, University leaders undertook a more complete reorganization of the Asian-related curriculum during the 1935-1936⁶ academic year. Aided by grants from various local trusts and families as

well as a small legislative appropriation, they formed a separate institute—the Oriental Institute—within the University and made it responsible for all undergraduate and graduate programs relative to Japan, China, and India. Under the leadership of Gregg M. Sinclair, an able scholar and imaginative internationalist who later became president of the University, the Institute began with a small full-time faculty and a larger collateral faculty drawn from throughout the campus. Within a short period, Sinclair and his associates established a bulletin called the *Oriental Institute Journal*, created a graduate scholarship program, initiated a series of scholarly publications, started a separate Asian library collection that grew to some forty-five thousand volumes by 1941, and, most important, attracted significant enrollments in their classes.⁶ Considering the fact that it came in the midst of the depression, the Institute enjoyed a most auspicious inception.⁷

As in so many previous instances, notions about the special characteristics of Hawaii were a factor in the formation of the Institute. As University president David L. Crawford put it in an early publication explaining the organization, "Hawaii is in a very strategical position to serve both the Occident and the Orient as an interpreter of each to the other. Realizing that there is a great need for such service ... the University of Hawaii is establishing its Oriental Institute and dedicating it to the high purpose of bringing about a more nearly adequate understanding and appreciation of Oriental civilizations and cultures on the part of Occidental peoples."⁸ A few years later, Sinclair made the same point more directly. Commenting upon the Islands' physical beauty and cosmopolitan society, he proclaimed that "Hawaii is a living environment for the study of the East. We have something essential to the real study of the Orient which other universities do not possess."⁹ It should also be noted that this sentiment was not restricted solely to those from Hawaii. Upon learning of the founding of the Institute, the famed Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore observed that nothing is so important for the modern world as transcultural understanding and that "Hawaii, situated as it is in the midst of the seas that separate the East from the West, is preeminently fitted to be the center of such an institute."¹⁰

Similar convictions led to the organization of the East-West Philosophers' Conference, another important internationalist venture initiated by the University prior to World War II. Encouraged by Sinclair, Charles A. Moore, a young philosopher on the University faculty, arranged a gathering of prominent

Elusive Destiny



Gregg M. Sinclair. University of Hawaii photo

thinkers from various nations in 1939 to explore “the possibility of a world philosophy through a synthesis of the ideas and ideals of East and West.”¹¹ The Hawaiian socio-cultural experience was a factor in both the conception of the event and the decision to convene it in the Islands. As Moore later observed, Hawaii’s “cosmopolitan population, predominantly Asian but also thoroughly Westernized in education, institutions, etc., presents an ideal location between East and West where racial prejudice is relatively unknown and where both Easterner and Westerner may feel fully at home, neither an ‘outsider’.”¹²

Although Moore was later forced to redefine his extremely ambitious goals along somewhat narrower and more technical lines, his dream of an international philosophers’ conference

was realized. With support from the University and a number of local families, the first meeting was held during the summer of 1939 and attracted some twenty philosophers. Among them were such prominent scholars as D. T. Suzuki and F. S. C. Northrop. Subsequent gatherings in the summers of 1949, 1959, 1964, and 1969 were supported by national foundations and international organizations (including UNESCO) as well as local sources, and they attracted numerous eminent participants.¹³ These gatherings, centered around the presentation of papers addressing particular issues in East-West understanding, sparked sufficient interest to warrant the publication of the proceedings of each conference and to sustain a scholarly periodical entitled *Issues in East-West Philosophy*.¹⁴ In addition, they are credited with inspiring a number of texts in philosophy including Northrop's pioneering attempt at a global philosophic synthesis entitled *The Meeting of East and West*.¹⁵

Like all other varieties of local internationalism, the University's burgeoning activism came to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of World War II. Plans for a second philosophers' conference were shelved until the conclusion of the war, while the Oriental Institute, not able simply to suspend its activities, suffered a harsher fate. Lacking sufficient funds after 1940, the University was forced to dissolve it during the 1941-1942 academic year. An effort was made to integrate its faculty and courses into the regular academic structure, but the school was too involved with the war effort—conducting research on foodstuffs, providing special courses for military personnel, and monitoring local social tensions—to devote significant resources to an Asian studies program.¹⁶ Ironically, Sinclair, the man primarily responsible for establishing the Institute and the one who believed most strongly in its potential, became president of the University at precisely the time it failed and was thus responsible for formally reporting its demise.¹⁷ It should be noted, however, that he couched his report in defiant terms that portended things to come. Refusing to concede final defeat, he declared that the University “has a duty to perform in making clear to our world the real significance of Pacific and Asiatic civilizations,” and he pledged to revive the effort once the war passed.¹⁸

Sinclair's assessment of the University's commitment to internationalism was accurate. The postwar years proved to be a time of pronounced activity on many fronts that led to the host of international programs, perspectives, and linkages now characteristic of the school. Still under Sinclair's leadership,

Elusive Destiny



Charles A. Moore. University of Hawaii photo

the school signaled its reembarkation upon this course in 1948 during the celebration of its fortieth anniversary when it invited the leaders of a number of outstanding American and European universities to lecture in the Islands on the future role of the Pacific and, not incidentally, Hawaii in world affairs.¹⁹ More concretely, it also used the occasion to announce that it had formed a Graduate School of Pacific and Asiatic Affairs and was, hence, returning to its prewar concern for Pacific and Asian studies.²⁰ In the planning stages since the end of the war, the new program was modeled after the Oriental Institute but offered only an advanced degree.²¹ The University's present graduate program in Asian studies, while subsequently renamed, evolved from this beginning.

A Duty to Perform

An end-of-the-decade movement on behalf of foreign students likewise helped revive international activism on the campus. Although approximately seventy students from abroad were enrolled at the time, the University had no formal program for providing assistance with such matters as visas, housing, community visitations, and financial support. Distressed by these circumstances, a group of students and faculty organized a drive to create a foreign student office with an appropriate staff. Composed largely of students from the long-active Cosmopolitan Club, the group was led by Agnes Niyekawa from Japan and Lorrin Gill from Hawaii. Advised by a number of sympathetic members of the academic community including Paul Miho of the campus YMCA and John Stalker of the Department of History, a veteran of the Pacific war who emerged from the conflict committed to a cosmopolitan perspective and determined to advance it through international activism, the students based their arguments largely on the grounds that the University had already compiled an enviable internationalist record and was therefore obligated to continue it. In 1952 the University responded by establishing and staffing a foreign student office.²² With time, this office became an integral part of the school, just as foreign students became an integral part of its student body. During the 1975-1976 academic year, for example, the University enrolled approximately thirteen hundred students from abroad, more than all but nine other colleges and universities in the nation.²³ For at least some of those who participated in the original effort, however, the subsequent statistics are less important than the original act. It is their conviction that the undertaking was basic to the general postwar revival of internationalism on the campus and throughout the Islands.²⁴

Whether or not this effort sparked the renaissance of internationalism at the University, the tempo of activities increased dramatically in the following years. In 1952, for instance, the University joined the American Universities Field Staff, a consortium of eight universities formed the previous year to provide the American academic community with a better source of information and analysis on foreign affairs. The University was one of the first schools other than the original founders to join the organization and, with the exception of a brief hiatus during the late 1960s, remained one of its active supporters until the relationship was again severed during a financial crisis in 1977.²⁵ Although nothing of great significance developed from the University's membership in the organi-

zation, the decision to participate was one more signal of the school's determination to reestablish an international orientation in the years after the war.

A related venture began in 1954 when the United States International Cooperation Administration (the predecessor of the current Agency for International Development) and the Territory of Hawaii jointly established the International Cooperation Center of Hawaii to provide transcultural and technical training for government employees from nations receiving American foreign aid. While not a University project, the Center drew heavily on faculty resources to provide courses for the approximately eleven hundred trainees who attended courses between the time the facility was opened and 1960 when it was absorbed by the new East-West Center. During this period, people from thirty-three different countries were trained in fields as diverse as banking, education, medicine, and city planning.²⁶ The lasting significance of this endeavor with respect to the University is that it aroused the interest of certain faculty members and administrators in transcultural training and education and led to an involvement in a series of even more ambitious training programs in the 1960s.

There are numerous other examples of the revival of internationalism on the campus during the years after the war. As noted, the East-West Philosophers' Conference reconvened in 1949 and met on numerous occasions thereafter. Plans for research institutes in such areas as public health, marine biology, and geophysics were initiated. In addition, student exchange programs, foreign teacher training projects, and language training programs for American government personnel were undertaken.²⁷ In 1959 the legislature passed a measure that restructured and refinanced the Asian studies program and created a new enterprise known as the Overseas Operations Program.²⁸ The new program was an especially imaginative development in international education. Headed by John Stalker, by this time a well-established figure in local internationalist circles, it was built around a combination of formal course work and practical overseas experience designed to prepare its graduates for careers in the foreign service, in foreign assistance programs, and in any number of other internationally oriented endeavors. Regrettably, problems with the experiential side of the program led to its deemphasis during the mid-1960s and elimination in 1974. Hence, throughout the 1950s, the University was remarkably successful in reviving its commitment—performing its “duty” as Sinclair had put it—to

A Duty to Perform



John Stalker. University of Hawaii photo

international activism. In the process, it also laid the groundwork for its emergence during the following decade as one of the world's major institutions for international education.

Whatever the importance of particular events during the 1950s, none contributed as much to the University's international image and, most likely, substance as the creation of the East-West Center in 1959. This event focused worldwide attention on the school, produced a host of significant ancillary effects, reinforced the institution's own perception of itself as a leader in international education, and led many elsewhere to adopt a similar view. In short, it precipitated an institutional coming of age for the University.

In theory, there is nothing particularly surprising about a decision to establish an experiment in East-West international education at the University given its mid-Pacific location, cos-

mopolitan student body, and long-standing concern for international education. In fact, however, the decision came as an almost total surprise. On April 16, 1959, Lyndon B. Johnson, then Senate Majority Leader, addressed a banquet of the Women's National Press Club in Washington and proposed, without advance notice, that the federal government establish an international university in Hawaii "as a meeting place for the intellectuals of the East and the West." He went on to note that "for too many years, we have neglected the simple things that would break down the barriers between ourselves and people who should be our friends."²⁹ The creation of such an institution, Johnson believed, was the proper way to break down those barriers.

Johnson's proposal surprised Hawaii as much as it did Washington. So far as can be determined, he consulted no one in Island educational circles and discussed the concept only generally with his good friend John A. Burns, then the Territory of Hawaii's delegate to Congress. As recounted by Dan Aoki, a long-time Burns' aide, one evening in early April Johnson telephoned Burns, suggesting that they meet at the Senate later that night for a chat. Happy to oblige, Burns walked over to the Majority Leader's office and joined in a casual discussion with Johnson and some of his aides. In the course of the conversation, Johnson remarked that he was scheduled to deliver an address and that he wanted some additional information on social and cultural issues in Hawaii, as he intended to make that the subject of his talk. As the two men had discussed the question before, Burns knew Johnson was interested in the Islands and his request did not, thus, seem unusual. Burns left Johnson's office several hours later, happy that Hawaii would receive a bit more publicity but expecting nothing more.³⁰

There was, of course, considerably more. Johnson's speech caused great excitement in the Islands and more followed in June and July when measures were introduced and passed in Congress establishing a "Center for Technical and Cultural Interchange Between East and West in Hawaii." Local newspapers vigorously promoted the concept while University and government officials hastily convened planning task forces. Working in consultation, the planners drafted a proposal for an international college within the University's existing structure built around a scholarship program for students from Pacific Basin countries and a new operational training facility to replace the old International Cooperation Center. Department of State officials, also involved as the new institution was to come

under their jurisdiction, agreed with most of these suggestions and incorporated them in their final report, taking exception only on the issue of autonomy. They proposed that the institution be made semi-independent rather than placed directly under the University's control.³¹ Congress agreed and passed the necessary appropriation measure. Late in October final details were arranged, and the East-West Center was formally established as a federally sponsored program in international education operating under the broad supervision of the University.³²

Over the years following its creation, the East-West Center has generated worldwide attention—partly negative but largely favorable—through its various scholarship, applied research, and operational training programs. Most significant, during the 1960-1975 period it provided scholarships and research grants in all fields of study for approximately twenty-five thousand degree candidates, research scholars, and technical trainees from forty-one Asian and Pacific countries and the United States.³³ Less important, perhaps, but more apparent, the establishment of the Center also resulted in the construction of an architecturally pleasing complex of student dormitories, research facilities, and administrative buildings on a site adjacent to the University campus. Approximately \$90,000,000 was invested in these programs and facilities between 1960 and 1975. In addition, during recent years, the Center has received significant supplemental funding from numerous Asian and Pacific nations. There have been two major programmatic and administrative changes at the Center since 1960. In 1970 it shifted its program focus from what was basically a traditional academic orientation to one emphasizing the solution of technical problems in such areas as population growth and food production. In 1975 it was incorporated as an independent entity and thus set apart—and free—from the University.³⁴

Clearly the institutional history of the Center is a topic of great importance and one that warrants more concentrated study than it has received to date.³⁵ Within the broader context of the local internationalist movement, however, the more significant aspect of its history concerns the manner in which Island leaders have responded to it and the extent to which their response further illustrates the perspectives of the movement. Once recovered from the shock of Johnson's unexpected proposal, the local establishment waxed eloquent in support of the idea, drawing heavily on familiar internationalist arguments. Newly elected United States Senator Hiram L. Fong capsulized

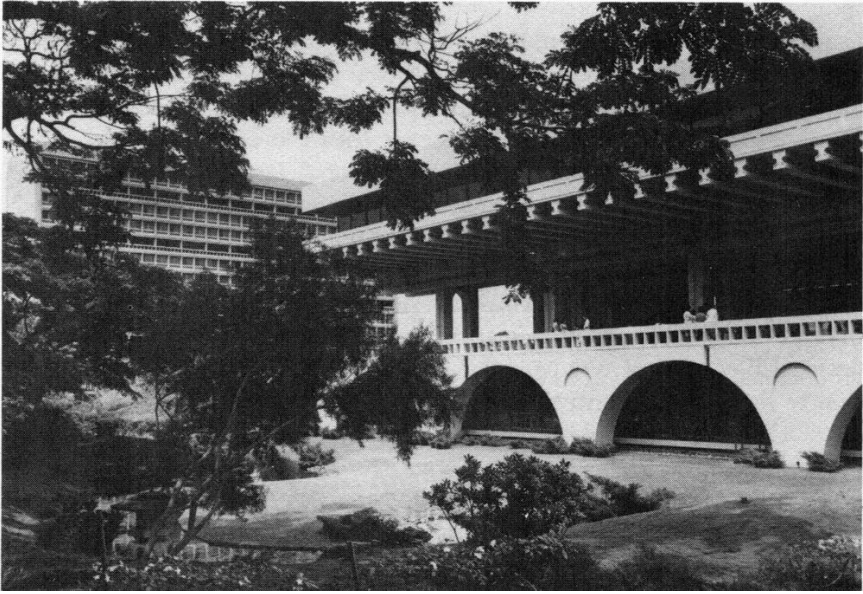
Elusive Destiny



Lyndon B. Johnson, John A. Burns, and others break ground for the East-West Center. East-West Center photo

the essence of this response in floor debate early in 1960 when he argued that “it is important to recognize that an international culture center in Hawaii is neither a vague dream nor a new idea. The proposal is the culmination of a long history of ethnic integration, cultural interchange, and dynamic growth, all of which mark Hawaii’s emergence into the modern world. Thus Hawaii is, in a sense, already an international center for cultural and technical interchange, which makes her unique in

A Duty to Perform



Thomas Jefferson Hall and garden at East-West Center. University of Hawaii photo

the world and which at the same time charges her with deep responsibility to the world.” Buttressing his point, he concluded by quoting President Eisenhower who had earlier observed that “Hawaii cries insistently to a divided world that all our differences of race and origin are less than the grand and indestructible unity of our common brotherhood. The world should take time to listen with attentive ear to Hawaii.”³⁶

Others from Hawaii made similar statements in Congress, to the media, at public gatherings, and wherever else an audience was available. These arguments and assumptions are neatly abstracted in the Center’s first annual report to Congress. Under the heading “Uniqueness of Hawaii,” it states:

The creation of a Center in Hawaii, the crossroads of the Pacific, to facilitate the interchange of knowledge and ideas between the peoples of the countries of Asia and of both the United States and of the rest of the occidental world has been advocated in a number of forms over the years.

Elusive Destiny

Hawaii stands as a symbol of the day-by-day success of the democratic processes as they respond to the creative impact of varied cultural and racial groups. Our newest State provides a tangible demonstration of the cooperative accomplishments of peoples of diverse origins, working together as free men, with mutual respect and consideration. It represents the reality of the American dream, not as a bland assimilation of differences, but as a fulfilled promise in the useful employment of diversities for mutual good. Indeed, Hawaii's people constitute a visible proof that men can live together in harmony. Against this background, and with the knowledge that contact under favorable circumstances between people of different nationalities aids in bring [*sic*] about understanding, Hawaii is uniquely appropriate as the site of a center to facilitate the interchange of ideas between the countries of the Pacific area and the United States. Establishment of the Center in the Hawaiian Islands permits utilizing, for the benefit of the entire Nation, the unusual resources of the University of Hawaii, the several agencies of the State, the schools, museums, private institutions, and the innumerable services of an alert, informed, and active citizenry.

The promise of the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West is not formed on idle speculation or casual good will, but grows naturally out of Hawaii's geographic location and its combination of an innately friendly people and an extraordinary social mixture of nationalities, the majority of them Asian in origin. In this setting, the State university has taken advantage of challenges and opportunities provided by its living community laboratory to play an active role in the development of the democratic society which is its base and its support.

When the opportunity was presented to prepare a program for a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, the university was ready, on the strength of its experience and the enthusiasm of its interests, to assist in the planning of a series of proposals to achieve the purposes of the act, and subsequently to effectuate them by assuming responsibility for the State of Hawaii to carry out the establishment and operation of the Center.³⁷

Despite such discourse, from time to time critics have passed off the creation of the Center as little more than part of Johnson's 1960 campaign for the presidency. They claim that he succeeded because he was able to manipulate Cold War fears (the Soviet Union was then in the process of opening a

well-publicized international university of its own) and force the measure through an otherwise disinterested Congress. There is a kernel of truth in these claims. Burns recognized from the outset that the proposal would at least do no harm to Johnson's candidacy, and a portion of the related congressional debate rather pointedly noted that the institution would strengthen America's hand in the "struggle for men's minds."³⁸

In the balance, however, these claims are unpersuasive. There is little question that Johnson was truly fascinated with Burns' acclamatory portrayal of Hawaiian society and his vision of the Islands' potential contribution to transcultural relations throughout the world. In this instance, at least, the available evidence suggests that Johnson was genuinely concerned with promoting better world understanding and that he felt Hawaii was an ideal place to initiate an experiment in that direction.³⁹ If he could accomplish this while boosting his own campaign, so much the better.

Much the same can be said of the Cold War issue. While there were references to the Center as a factor in the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, most of the debate relative to its establishment addressed more altruistic concerns. The language of Johnson's original bill illustrates. It stated simply that the fundamental purpose of the Center was "to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study and research ... [by establishing a Center] where scholars and students in various fields from the nations of the East and the West may study, give and receive training [and] exchange ideas and views."⁴⁰ Congress accepted Johnson's rationale. A subsequent conference report listed the various educational advantages of the proposal without mentioning Soviet-American relations and concluded that "Hawaii is the crossroads of the East and the West. Here the cultures of Asia and of Europe and of the Americas have met and have learned to live together. Consequently, it is most appropriate that a center such as this should be established in Hawaii where cooperation has been the rule for many years."⁴¹ The Department of State took a similar position in its study of the original proposal. It noted that such a center would "make a valuable contribution to the programs of the United States for the promotion of international educational, cultural, and related activities."⁴² In sum, unless there is some as yet undisclosed evidence that these statements of intent were in fact contrived to cloak a different purpose, it is clear that the government

viewed the Center as an essentially idealistic experiment based upon much the same perception of Hawaiian society as Island internationalists themselves held. Assuming this to be the case, the creation of the Center ranks as an achievement of immense proportions in the history of local internationalism. It is the modern era's greatest single triumph in a continuing effort to popularize an idea which, despite tremendous publicity over the years, has attracted discouragingly few adherents beyond the bounds of the Islands.

By both coincidence and design, the establishment of the Center marked a decided upsurge of international activity at the University. Under the vigorous leadership of President Thomas H. Hamilton, the school embarked on a period of rapid general expansion. Many new ventures were initiated during this era including a variety of internationally oriented programs.⁴³ Among the more noteworthy of these undertakings was a training program for Peace Corps personnel that began in 1962 under terms of a contract between the University and the federal government. Conceived in large part and directed for a number of years by the ever-active Stalker, this program broke new ground in language, trans-cultural, and technical training methods. By the time it was phased out during 1970 in favor of "in-country" training, more Peace Corps members had been trained in Hawaii than at any other single location in the nation. In all, some five thousand people—the majority of those who served in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific during these years—passed through the program, most of them gaining remarkable language skills as well as the ability to live and work effectively in a foreign cultural environment.⁴⁴ University officials were pleased with the program, and the Peace Corps hierarchy apparently felt likewise. Sargeant Shriver, the organization's original director, frequently praised the operation, as did most of the members of his field staff.⁴⁵

Encouraged by the success of the Peace Corps program, the University and the government entered into another contract in 1966 to provide similar training for Agency for International Development personnel assigned to Vietnam and other Asian nations. Again Stalker was the driving force behind the project. A training center, known first as the Far East Training Center and later as the Asia Training Center, was established in Honolulu, and a program modeled after the Peace Corps experience was initiated. Unfortunately, the effort foundered upon a com-

A Duty to Perform



*Thomas H. Hamilton. University of Hawaii
photo*

bination of University politics and Washington's decision to de-emphasize the role of developmental assistance in the Vietnam conflict and it was quietly dropped in 1969.⁴⁶

In response to a desire for more applied exercises in the Peace Corps and Agency for International Development programs, a rice production training center was also established during this period. Known as the Tropical Rice Production Center and once again principally the work of Stalker, it was utilized for several years to introduce trainees to the complexities of rice culture. However, when strategic changes in Vietnam resulted in declining use after 1968, it was turned over to the University's School of Tropical Agriculture.⁴⁷

When support for its various training programs suddenly disappeared at the end of the decade, the University made an effort to consolidate these programs under a single institution called the Center for Cross-Cultural Training and Research.⁴⁸

Regrettably, this too failed, and the entire training endeavor came to an end. There simply were no longer enough clients to support the operation. Not all was lost, however, as the University gained and has since retained a level of expertise in transcultural training that few institutions anywhere can equal.

While transcultural training activities have been among the most visible of the University's international activities in recent years, the decade of the 1960s was a time of intense activity on many fronts, and numerous other projects of consequence were also undertaken. A recent survey of University-sanctioned international projects inventories approximately three hundred separate activities involving some forty different nations.⁴⁹ The College of Business Administration, for example, offers travel industry management programs in cooperation with various national and international tourist bureaus and conducts a joint academic program in business administration with Aoyama Gakuin, a major Japanese university. In addition, it has embarked on an internationalization of its curriculum that will make it the Pacific Basin's leading business education and research center.⁵⁰ The School of Public Health is engaged in numerous health development programs ranging from the organization of an integrated health delivery system for a community in Thailand to the training of physician assistants for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Among the various international projects of the College of Tropical Agriculture are training programs for Asian farmers, comparative research in international crop production and soil capability, and an inter-university research program in tropical soil science. Elsewhere within the University are such undertakings as the PEACESAT Project's Pacific-wide information sharing system which is based upon satellite communication, the Institute of Astronomy's multinational telescopic project which involves Canada and France, the Population Genetics Laboratory which serves as the World Health Organization's International Reference Center for human genetics data, and the University Press of Hawaii which is one of the world's leading publishers and distributors of materials on Asia and the Pacific.⁵¹

As a consequence of its programmatic expansion during the 1960s, the University developed linkages with a host of other institutions and projects throughout Asia and the Pacific and, to a lesser degree, the world. This in turn led to the creation of a separate administrative unit within the institution to provide managerial oversight. In 1965 the Office of International Programs was formed for this purpose, predictably

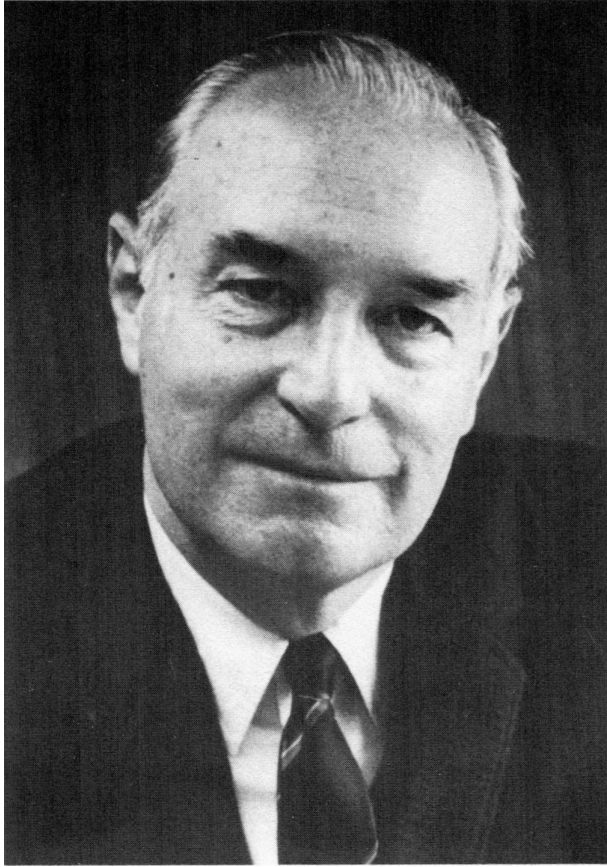


Stuart Gerry Brown. University of Hawaii photo

enough under Stalker's direction. In 1970 it was replaced by the Advisory Council on the International Relations of the University of Hawaii under the chairmanship of Stuart Gerry Brown, a long-time international scholar and activist. Charged with facilitating consultation on international issues among the faculty and providing advice on international decisions for the administration—then headed by scholar-diplomat Harlan Cleveland—the Council remained active until it was dissolved in 1977 during the same retrenchment that led to the severance of ties with the American Universities Field Staff.⁵²

While there is no guarantee that all the accomplishments of the past will be preserved—recent developments are a case in point—it is nonetheless clear that the University moved to the center of the internationalist stage during the 1960s and

Elusive Destiny



Harlan Cleveland. University of Hawaii photo

can remain there if it so chooses.⁵³ Although the propitious mix of personalities, national legislation, momentum from the past, and availability of state and federal funds may not always be present as during the 1960s, there is reason to believe that the urge to pursue an internationalist course remains, and this, as should be evident, is the truly crucial ingredient.⁵⁴

POLITICS AND INTERNATIONALISM

While the University has been the center of substantive internationalist activity in Hawaii during the postwar period, Island governors, in particular William F. Quinn (1957-1962) and John A. Burns (1962-1974), have been the leading spokesmen for the concept. Both men frequently addressed the topic, usually with soaring and visionary rhetoric. Of the two, Burns was the more vocal and, in fact, is generally recognized as the modern prophet of the movement.⁵⁵ His advocacy of internationalism was a consuming passion that found expression throughout his years in public office, both in official statements and in private conversations. Beginning with his election as Hawaii's delegate to Congress in 1956, he spoke with increasing frequency on the point, first in an effort to convince Congress that Island people were indeed fit subjects for full citizenship and later in a general attempt to persuade all categories of audiences that Hawaii was a unique land with a special destiny.⁵⁶ His inaugural address following his election as governor in 1962 set the theme for many other talks that would follow, including the 1969 "State of the State" address cited at the outset. Summarizing his view of the essential elements of the internationalist argument, he spoke of Hawaii as "the hub of the great wheel of the Pacific," how Island people are "the greatest ambassadors on the face of the earth," and how a "dramatic upsurge in Pacific trade ... commerce ... understanding ... trust... [and] good intent" would be spearheaded by people from the Islands.⁵⁷

Burns founded his internationalist arguments on both practical and philosophic grounds and presented them before groups as diverse as the Pacific Trade and Development Conference and the 41st Annual Propeller Club Convention.⁵⁸ For the most part, he cast his remarks in practical terms, tying Hawaii's international destiny to the development of an ever-stronger Pacific Basin commercial community. A talk delivered before a group of local businessmen in 1970 illustrates:

A good deal hinges on the initiative of Hawaii's *business community*—on what *you* do, for it is increasingly clear that Hawaii's economic prosperity is inextricably tied to commerce in the Pacific. It is estimated that Hawaii's volume of business in the Pacific-Asia region in 1968 alone amounted to approximately \$500 million. That represents a significant proportion of our gross domestic product and in the years ahead it should be even greater. But the question is—how much greater?

Elusive Destiny



William F. Quinn.

To put it another way, will Hawaii's businessmen look for opportunities westward, the Pacific Basin and in Asia? Will they expand in the Pacific-Asia region? Or will they ignore the opportunities and challenges beyond for the relative comfort at home?

If Hawaii businessmen need a slogan for the 70's, let me suggest "Go west and grow up with the Pacific."

There's a sign-post out there in the Pacific that says "Opportunities Unlimited," and it points to our neighbors in the Pacific and in Asia. It is the world's largest market, economically one of the world's fastest growing regions, and it probably has the greatest potential in both human and natural resources for long-time growth than any comparable area of the world.⁵⁹

A Duty to Perform

Burns was not, however, unmindful of the fact that Hawaii's effort to forge closer economic and technical ties in the Pacific required a reasonably sophisticated rationale as well as simply a vision. Hence, on other occasions he, like so many before him, spoke of Hawaii's unique historical experience and how that experience must inevitably lead to new and even more ambitious roles for the Islands. Speaking to this point in a talk delivered before an American Bankers Association Convention in 1969, he declared:

We in Hawaii are in the Center of the Sea, in the quiet vastness of the awesome Pacific, geographically unique, like no other State in the Nation. It is most logical, therefore, that our outlook, our political and social philosophy, our culture, our thinking, our habits of work, and recreation will, in many ways, be refreshingly different to those of you who may not be familiar with our history and our special place in this world.

We are more than a collection of Islands; we are an Island people—a free people—of all races, colors, creeds, and cultures. We are an amalgamation, a fusion, of East and West. We are not a *collection* of differences; rather, we are a *melding* of differences, forming what some have called—in their enthusiasm for the process and the product—a Golden People.

Because we are different, although still thoroughly American, we view the world with an outlook different from that of our fellow citizens of our Mainland Sister-States....

Here in Hawaii, we developed long ago the profound conviction that all mankind is one family; that no man, no State, no nation, is an Island complete unto itself; that there is no peace for us when anyone, anywhere, is at war; and that peace, prosperity, and progress are available to all who will struggle and work together to gain these gifts offered to us.

We have learned that unity is not achieved by voluntarily alienating ourselves from others or by withdrawing from regions of struggle because the effort is extremely difficult.

We in Hawaii yearn for, and work for, the development of a spirit of community in the Pacific basin. We seek to inspire and promote a Pacific Community of Nations, a spiritual unity of peoples of diverse ethnic origins.

We see this as our special role and duty and destiny by reason of the precious gift of American freedom given to us; by reason of our unique geographical location; by reason of our total blending of the cultures of East and West in our interracial unity and

Elusive Destiny



John A. Burns.

harmony; by reason of our extraordinary prosperity and attractive physical and social environment, and by reason of our proven history of dedication to man's highest ideals.

Because of these things, he concluded, "Hawaii wants to be of service to the world. We want to lead by the power of good example, by the perfecting of our Island society. We want the shining light of our prosperity, our remarkable social advances and our compassion for all the lesser developed regions of the Pacific to inspire others so they will honor and cherish the basic principles of justice, freedom, and mutual assistance which have made our country so great."⁶⁰

Burns' belief in Hawaii's destiny was expressed privately as well as in public. While his comments here are more difficult to document, several examples are a matter of record. His conversations with Lyndon Johnson are best known in this respect but are by no means the only ones. Former state legislator Toshio Serizawa, one of the Islands' more vocal advocates of internationalism during the 1960s, recalls spending long hours with Burns and Shelly M. Mark, Burns' chief economic advisor, discussing various aspects of the topic.⁶¹ Mark himself agrees that this was clearly one of Burns' chief concerns throughout his years as governor.⁶² Still others who worked closely with Burns during this period—in particular Myron Thompson, who served as his administrative assistant and later in his cabinet, and George Kanahale, who was also a member of his cabinet—recall that he was as much an advocate of internationalism in private as in public.⁶³ In short, Burns was a true believer and not, as some detractors have intimated, simply another politician who happened to stumble on a good issue. One may dispute the substance of his views but not the depth of his conviction.⁶⁴

Although Burns was the most vocal and eloquent spokesman for the internationalist viewpoint throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, his assumption of this role could hardly have been predicted. Unlike the widely traveled Ford or the well-born Atherton, he grew up in poverty, obtained only a high school education, rarely traveled, and spent almost half his adult life as a policeman. Born March 30, 1909, of army parents stationed in Montana, he came to Hawaii at the age of four when his father, a sergeant, was transferred to an Island post. His father deserted the family shortly thereafter and his mother, a postal clerk, was left with the task of raising him, a younger brother, and two younger sisters.

The family lived in the economically depressed Kalihi section of Honolulu and Burns grew up there, becoming wise in the ways of the street and forming many life-long friendships with others from the area. He attended St. Louis College, a local Catholic elementary and secondary institution, through the tenth grade and then moved to Kansas to live with an uncle. After another year of school, he quit and joined the army with dreams of obtaining a West Point appointment. This ambition faded after a year of strict discipline coupled with ready supplies of liquor, and he returned to the Islands where he completed high school, studied briefly at the University of Hawaii, worked at a variety of minor jobs, and then married Beatrice Majors Van Vleet in 1931. After several more years of assorted

jobs and a year in California farming his father-in-law's ranch, he returned to Honolulu in 1934 and joined the municipal police force, an occupation he found enjoyable and satisfying.

Burns was a success as a policeman. He held a number of important positions and rose to the rank of captain, but he resigned late in 1945 to undertake the seemingly hopeless task of building a viable Democratic party in a society totally and completely dominated by Republicans. So far as can be determined, his reasons for taking this step were a combination of the simple and the profound. In part, they stemmed from his dislike of the paternal and mildly racist form of rule practiced by Hawaii's long dominant white elite. Although he was white, most of his friends were not and he felt they suffered an unjust lot which should be changed.

In addition, despite a meager education, he read extensively and was familiar with a number of works that excited him and provided a rationale for his youthful reformist inclinations. Works by and on Thomas Jefferson and, particularly, Andrew Jackson appear to have convinced him that the elite's rule was altogether contrary to American tradition, while a highly critical study of Hawaii and the South Pacific entitled *Anatomy of Paradise* seems to be the source of his internationalist inclinations.⁶⁵ His reaction to the latter work is interesting. Although its treatment of Hawaii is restricted largely to domestic politics, he later recalled that it, more than anything else, caused him to start thinking in internationalist terms and to associate his views on local political reform with dreams of a greater international role for the Islands.⁶⁶ With this as background—an idealistic response to injustice, an introduction to liberal political theory, a vision of Hawaii's internationalist destiny, and, some say, a taste for political power—Burns and a small group of like-minded and, for the most part, non-white colleagues set forth to reform and reshape Island society.⁶⁷

The rest is largely a matter of record. After a decade of struggle, the Democrats broke the Republican political monopoly and, ironically, went on to create one of their own. After several attempts, Burns himself won election as Hawaii's delegate to Congress in 1956 and proceeded to devise the strategy that produced statehood for the Islands in 1959. Following an unsuccessful attempt in 1959, he was elected governor in 1962 and served until 1974. He died of cancer in March of the following year. The eulogies offered on this occasion correctly observed that he, more than anyone, built the movement that

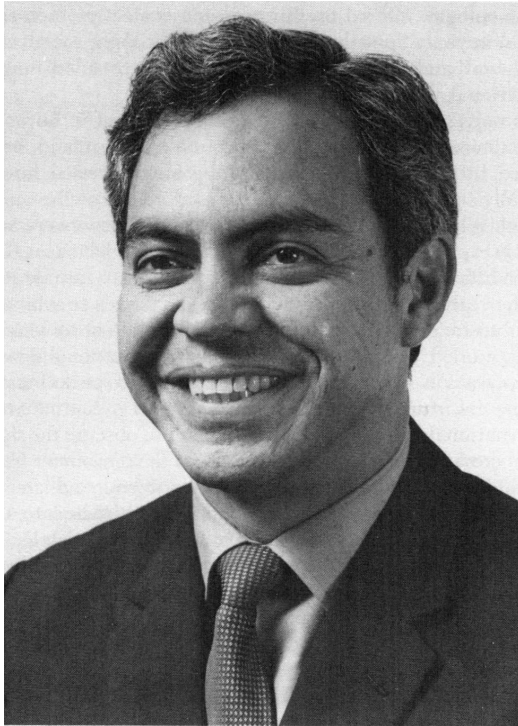
brought social modernization to Hawaii and, in the process, produced the broadest ranging surge of international activism yet seen in the Islands.

As suggested at the outset, there is an element in Burns' vision of Hawaii's international destiny that is at best optimism and, less charitably judged, little more than mysticism.⁶⁸ As also suggested, however, this is not really important so far as the general course of the movement is concerned. What counts is the extent to which his views were accepted as reasonable expressions of desirable objectives and, hence, as the inspiration for substantive action by those in a position to initiate it. In other words, the reality of his views lies not in the degree to which they can withstand technical dissection but rather in the extent to which they encouraged, guided, and ultimately produced international developments during his years in office. In this respect, the record speaks for itself.

One unfortunate consequence of the chief executive's highly visible internationalist leadership is that it tends to obscure the significance of a number of other governmental bodies in the movement. Perhaps the most notable example in this regard is the territorial, and later state, legislature, the body that translated gubernatorial rhetoric into actual programs. Urged to action by the executive branch and such legislative internationalists as Serizawa, Island lawmakers considered a broad array of internationally oriented proposals over the years and adopted many of them. More specifically, between 1955, the first year of significant activity, and 1972 approximately one hundred such bills and resolutions were introduced and twenty were passed.⁶⁹ These proposals involved a wide spectrum of activities ranging from transcultural training and Pacific Basin athletics to international trade and foreign government loans, and it is remarkable that a local legislature would even consider—let alone pass—such measures.

Most remarkable among the various measures passed was one adopted in 1967 that established an office within the executive branch responsible for developing a state program in foreign affairs, originally entitled the International Development Assistance Program.⁷⁰ The directors of this venture interpreted their mandate with considerable exuberance. In addition to promoting commercial ties between Hawaii and other Pacific Basin countries, they seriously explored the possibility of involving the state in developmental assistance—foreign aid—programs abroad.⁷¹ Needless to say, it was soon discovered that this was well beyond the state's political and economic

Elusive Destiny



George S. Kanahale. Honolulu Advertiser photo

capabilities, but the fact that it was even considered suggests something of the enthusiasm for international projects then current. Bowing to reality, the original program was restructured in 1968. Renamed the Hawaii International Services Agency and put under the supervision of George Kanahale, it concentrated its efforts on the promotion of international investments and international conferences in the Islands.

While the restructuring may have diminished the program's role, it did not noticeably inhibit the enthusiasm of the staff members. They have since published and distributed an impressive array of research reports and newsletters, sponsored a variety of conferences and seminars, and energetically solicited foreign investment in Hawaii.⁷² In more recent years they have concentrated on encouraging Japanese investment in the Islands and, to the extent that current investment levels are any indication, they have been immensely successful. While

this may be less than originally intended, the program is nonetheless remarkable as both an operational entity and a symbol of the government's determination to play a role in Pacific Basin affairs.

Another legislative action that ultimately proved significant in internationalist terms was a decision to sponsor a conference during 1970 dealing with long-term planning for the Islands. Known as the Governor's Conference on the Year 2000 and chaired by George Chaplin, the imaginative editor of the *Honolulu Advertiser* who generated the original proposal, the gathering was structured around various task forces charged with exploring options in areas ranging from the arts to housing. Predictably, one of the task forces dealt with the question of the state's role in Asia and the Pacific. Among other recommendations in this group's report was the suggestion that Hawaii take the lead in generating a sense of community within the Pacific akin to that among the North Atlantic nations.⁷³ This suggestion, perhaps inspired by Burns himself who had discussed the matter on several prior occasions, sparked a series of discussions that is still underway.⁷⁴ Largely the result of encouragement from Kanahele and Chaplin, these talks have involved a number of prominent individuals from throughout the Pacific and have provoked considerable interest that may someday result in closer ties throughout the Pacific.⁷⁵

There are still other examples of the involvement of local government in the promotion of internationalism—older programs such as the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council have been subsidized, special projects such as the International Cooperation Center and the Overseas Operations Program have been created, and entirely new undertakings such as the Pacific-Asian Congress of Municipalities, a group organized largely by Honolulu Mayor Frank F. Fasi, have been initiated—but further discussion is unnecessary. It is clear that government has indeed been part of the internationalist movement. At the same time, however, it must also be noted that the extent to which the government has actually been involved with the movement has frequently been less than the supporting rhetoric would suggest. This circumstance, despairingly termed “the rhetoric gap” by some, once again illustrates the elitist nature of the movement. As in times past, internationalism is a subject that is more appealing to the elite than to the general public, and the leaders have not always been successful in rallying the broader support necessary to translate their oft-times elaborate hopes into actual programs.



George Chaplin. Honolulu Advertiser photo

INTERNATIONALISM IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

As suggested earlier, during the years following World War II international activities within the educational and governmental sectors pushed those sponsored by the private sector from their accustomed place at center stage. This does not, however, mean that activism in the private sector has diminished. If anything, the opposite is true. Although educational and government-related programs have attracted more attention in this period, there has been a steady increase, in some instances involving new ventures and in other instances involving the continuation of earlier initiatives, in private-sector activism. Only in a relative sense has there been a decline.

The most significant new developments within this sector have occurred in the business community. Island businessmen, once oriented almost exclusively toward local and mainland

American markets, cast off their insular perspectives during the 1960s and began investing throughout the Pacific and elsewhere around the globe. Conversely, they also began welcoming (or at least accepting) a similarly global investment in Hawaii. The related changes are evident in numerous ways.

In the first instance, the major local commercial houses (the so-called "Big Five" composed of Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer and Company, Castle and Cooke, and Theo. H. Davies and Company) have outgrown their Island foundations. Their stock, once largely owned by the local families that founded them, is now traded on the major exchanges, their managers are professionals from the business world rather than descendants of the founding families, and several are currently investing larger amounts abroad than in the Islands. With the possible exception of Alexander and Baldwin, they have ceased to be local companies solely concerned with the management of the local economy. Instead, they are in the process of becoming national and even international conglomerates.⁷⁶

More spectacular, a variety of new corporations, some subsidiaries of the old line firms and others independent ventures, have been organized specifically for international business. C. Brewer and Company's Hawaiian Agronomics Company, for example, was established as a developmental agriculture consulting firm and has gained a worldwide reputation in marginal land reclamation as a result of its projects in some sixty nations around the globe. Illustrative of the company's skills, Iran, the site of one of its major sugar production projects, once depended almost solely upon imported sugar and is now approaching self-sufficiency.⁷⁷ The construction-oriented Dillingham Corporation, a company formed in 1961 when the Dillingham family merged its Oahu Railway and Land Company with its Hawaiian Dredging Company, is another example. The directors of the new firm initiated a search for business opportunities abroad and found them. Military construction projects throughout the Pacific, a subway in Washington, D.C., a "new town" in the Australian outback, a highrise office building in San Francisco, an ocean floor mining project in the Bahamas, and a construction worker training center in Papua New Guinea are among the international ventures the company has since undertaken.⁷⁸

Independent companies have also become involved in a similar array of international projects. Belt, Collins, and Associates, a firm of planning and engineering consultants special-

izing in tourism development, is representative. In addition to extensive work in Hawaii, the firm has been active in Western Samoa, Ceylon, Australia, Singapore, American Samoa, Taiwan, Fiji, and India. As a consequence, it is now recognized by the World Bank as one of the few firms anywhere in the world with the capacity and experience necessary to assist developing nations in planning for tourism. Closely associated with Belt, Collins, and Associates is the architectural firm of Wimberly, Whisenand, Allison, Tong, and Goo. Frequently retained to design physical facilities in accordance with Belt, Collins, and Associates' planning studies, the company has also been active in Japan, Okinawa, Guam, Tahiti, Indonesia, Saipan, and Malaysia.⁷⁹ Both firms are widely recognized for their international clientele and for their ability to adapt essentially Western practices to non-Western circumstances.

Still another category of contemporary international business activity in Hawaii centers around the efforts of the state government to attract foreign business activity and those of the semi-public Hawaii Visitors Bureau to promote international conferences. Following the lead of others, during the late 1960s the state established a Foreign Trade Zone on the Honolulu waterfront (with a secondary facility at the Campbell Industrial Park on the southwest coast of Oahu) where foreign corporations may import merchandise and raw materials for storage or further processing and delay paying duty until the goods are actually sold on the American market. This program has made Hawaii an international transshipment point for products ranging from jet fuel to clothing while generating an annual average of some \$10,000,000 in salaries and business revenues.⁸⁰

In a related venture dating from the mid-1970s, the state, backed by local business leaders and officials from the University's College of Business Administration, initiated a campaign to encourage multinational corporations to establish regional headquarters facilities in Honolulu. The objective of the effort is to transform Honolulu into a "regional headquarters city" for the Pacific Basin akin to such other regiocentric cities as Paris, Brussels, Coral Gables, and Hong Kong. As a measure of initial success, some twenty firms, including Sheraton Hotels, Pan American World Airways, and General Electric, have recently established such facilities and others are expected to do likewise in the near future.⁸¹

A Duty to Perform

The Hawaii Visitors Bureau envisions similar ends with respect to international conferences. Aided by the Hawaii International Services Agency, the Bureau is attempting to establish the Islands as a conference center serving the Pacific Basin and, in so far as possible, the world. Citing Honolulu's multicultural environment and varied meeting facilities, the organization has been soliciting conventions since the turn of the present decade. The effort has been marginally successful. Conventions brought approximately a hundred and twenty thousand additional visitors to the State in 1972 and it is predicted that this figure will climb to five-hundred thousand by the late 1970s.⁸² However, to date most of these gatherings have been American rather than international in character.

Substantial as the expansion and internationalization of local business has been, an even more impressive development has occurred in the area of foreign investment in Hawaii. Japanese business firms have been most active in this respect. Motivated by pre-oil crisis prosperity and encouragement from local governmental agencies, numerous Japanese investors poured some \$200,000,000 into the Islands during the late 1960s and early 1970s. At the end of 1972, approximately eighty Japanese-owned firms were doing business in the state in such diverse areas as tourism, recreation, advertising, electronics, general merchandising, real estate, finance, food distribution, film processing, fishing, motion pictures, and dry cleaning.⁸³ In fact, the volume of this investment became so great that a number of people were moved to warn against the possibility of a "Japanese takeover."⁸⁴ While this was never a real possibility as the number of firms involved and their overall investment constituted only a small percentage of gross business totals in the state, the very existence of the outcry serves as a rough indication of the impact of foreign investment in the Islands.

These developments suggest that the internationalist urge so long influential in local social and political circles has at last penetrated the commercial realm. Perhaps this is so. The statistics are self-evident, and more than a few business leaders have adopted the characteristic rhetoric of the movement. Talk of Hawaii's "location between East and West," its "multicultural environment," its "understanding of Asian culture," and how these factors are combining to make the Islands the "hub of Pacific commerce" is now common in the business sector.⁸⁵ There remains, however, a question as to how much of this talk is inspired by a genuine sense of internationalism and how much is rhetorical flourish used to decorate a more traditional concern

for ordinary profits. While the two considerations are not necessarily incompatible—the multinational corporations make a good case in their argument that international business interests constitute a strong incentive for the maintenance of global peace—episodes such as the outcry against Japanese investment raise certain doubts.

To the extent that Hawaii's postwar venture into the international business realm can be classified as truly internationalist, it is a new category of activity in the private sector. Another category in this sector that is not new involves the continuation of activities similar to those initiated earlier by the Pan-Pacific Union and the Institute of Pacific Relations. As noted, a number of the organizations that grew from these groups survived the demise of the parent organizations and are still active today. The Pacific Science Association, the Pan-Pacific Surgical Association, the Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association, and the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council are the principal examples. Other groups inspired by the Union and the Institute but without direct connections are likewise active. Still other organizations and activities with similar objectives have been formed more recently. All, thus, are factors in contemporary private-sector internationalism.

Enough has been said of the groups spawned by the Union and the Institute, but further comment on the others is necessary. Of these, the local YMCA is most significant. As discussed earlier, this group was active on the international front during the 1920s and is largely responsible for the creation of the Institute in 1925. This was, however, the apex of its involvement until the late 1960s. Although it was in no sense inactive during the intervening period, it sponsored no further projects of such magnitude. Concerned largely with domestic programs, it restricted its international programming to a few projects directed at such ends as improving the relationship among different ethnic groups in the Islands, providing housing and assistance to foreign students at the University (the creation of a University YMCA in 1922 and the construction of an administrative center and dormitory—appropriately enough named Atherton House—in 1932 are high points in this respect), encouraging participation in the Institute's student program, providing financial support for the national YMCA's overseas programs, and promoting international student exchange.⁸⁶ However, low-keyed as these programs may have been, they were firmly rooted in the traditional Island internationalist perspective. As a YMCA leader from this era once put it, "The

youth of these cosmopolitan islands perhaps have a deeper understanding of real world brotherhood than those of any other community. We pride ourselves in our maximum of races and minimum of race prejudice ... [upon which this deeper understanding is based]."⁸⁷

While interesting, YMCA activities during this period are obviously of less significance than those surrounding the formation of the Institute. Indeed, given the subsequent consequence of the Institute, it is conceivable that the YMCA will never again achieve a similar level of international accomplishment. Should this be so, it will not be for want of trying. In the late 1960s, the group's chief staff and lay leaders initiated a concerted effort to develop closer ties with the various Asian YMCA movements, provide Micronesia with leadership and recreational development assistance, encourage a greater understanding of Asian and Pacific issues within the American YMCA, and transform the local YMCA into a sort of institutional consultant for the American movement with respect to decisions regarding Asia and the Pacific.

The person largely responsible for this resurgence is Masao Isobe, a California-born Nisei who became a YMCA staff member following his release from one of the infamous World War II "relocation centers" for Japanese-Americans. Coming to Honolulu in 1948 as a YMCA youth worker, he rose through the ranks to become the organization's chief executive officer in 1972. Long concerned with transcultural issues, one of his first acts in the new position was the creation of a task force to explore ways of revitalizing the organization's international program and strengthening the relationship between the American and various Pacific Basin movements. The task force, composed of Isobe, fellow administrators Hisao Nakamura, Robert K. Masuda, William Suzuki, and several interested lay leaders, has also considered even more ambitious undertakings akin to the activities of the 1920s, although nothing has yet materialized.⁸⁸

Isobe's task force is responsible for a number of recent accomplishments. Among these, the Asia-Pacific YMCA Consultation on International Cooperation which met in the Philippines during the summer of 1974 and an ongoing leadership and recreation program in Micronesia are perhaps most noteworthy. The meeting in the Philippines, the outgrowth of a task force proposal, brought some one hundred major Asian, Pacific, and American YMCA executives together for a week of discussion on inter-movement cooperation. Quickly developing into

what one observer called a "transcultural summit conference," the participants engaged in an extremely frank review of cultural barriers and found ways of surmounting at least some of them.⁸⁹ The Micronesian program, underway since 1972, involves a variety of leadership training and recreational projects sponsored in collaboration with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands government. A possible measure of its effectiveness lies in the fact that a number of the participants have gone on to assume important social and political positions in Micronesia.⁹⁰

Predictably, the urge behind the YMCA's new program is part of the same sense of uniqueness and mission that is, or so it appears, basic to all Island internationalist endeavors. Throughout the documents pertaining to international programs, YMCA leaders have repeatedly made reference to the organization's role as a "bridge" between the Eastern and Western parts of the movement and just as frequently stated their conviction that this role is predestined by Hawaii's peculiar geo-cultural circumstances.⁹¹ Hence, despite its global philosophic and organizational affiliations, the local YMCA is essentially dependent on the Hawaiian experience for its inspiration in the international realm.

The YMCA is by no means the only internationalist organization currently active within this sphere of the private sector. For example, the Richards' Friend Peace Scholarship program is still in existence, local foundations led by the several Atherton-related institutions have continued their sponsorship of a variety of internationally related activities, and new groups oriented toward more specialized international concerns have emerged. The Language Bank, operated until recently by the Hawaii International Community Service Organization, is an example of the latter case. Drawing upon the language skills of some five hundred volunteers, the group offers emergency translation services in approximately ninety-five different tongues to stranded tourists, immigrants, students, and others in need.⁹² Unfortunately, contributions have diminished recently and the group now operates on a vastly reduced scale, depending largely upon Judith and Guy Kirkendall—its founders—for funds. In addition, it should be noted that a long-standing effort to establish an Island "think industry" came a step closer to reality when the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies opened an international conference and seminar center on the island of Hawaii late in 1975, Harlan Cleveland, now an



YMCA international program leaders. Left to right: staff members Robert K. Masuda, Hisao Nakamura, Masao Isobe and William Suzuki; lay leader Donald R. Dawson. YMCA photo

Aspen Institute official, is confident that it will bring numerous “intellectual tourists” to the Islands and, in the process, add still another dimension to the local internationalist experience.⁹³

There are, of course, still other organizations such as the military and various service clubs that have contributed to international consciousness in the Islands despite the fact that they are largely unrelated to internationalism as discussed here. While the activities of these groups and no doubt still others have a bearing on the topic at hand, there is little to be gained from further exploration. So many groups are presently active that it is difficult even to survey their general activities and next to impossible to cite their specific contributions. Perhaps it is sufficient simply to note that the contemporary era is, at least to the extent that magnitude of activity is a measure, the zenith of local internationalist endeavor.

So it is that the internationalist tradition has developed for over more than a century, in the process surmounting political revolution, war, jingoism, isolationism, depression, more war,

Elusive Destiny

and social revolution. Now it remains to be seen how well all this has prepared it for the new challenges that most assuredly lie in the future.

VII

The Aura of Mystery and Wishful Thinking

ANOTHER SIDE OF THE MYTH

In discussing the origins and development of the internationalist tradition in Hawaii, the preceding chapters have addressed some of the issues pertinent to this interesting but little-known aspect of the local historical experience. In the process, they have also raised some basic questions about the relationship of myth and reality in Hawaii and, possibly, about the very nature of Island thought. More specifically, they have indicated the existence of obvious differences between the paradisaical perception of the Hawaiian experience and the actual record, but, aside from noting that imaginative and material reality are not always the same, they have left the contrast unexplained. Further, in commenting on the almost wholly American origins of the group most responsible for popularizing this myth, they have inferred, but again not explored, the existence of a much more direct link between American and Hawaiian thought than is generally recognized. As both questions are of elemental significance with respect to the nature of at least the internationalist movement, they must be pursued at greater length.

The contrast between perception and fact can best be illustrated by simply noting that not all observers, whether members of the local elite or visitors from abroad, have been so enthusiastic about the Island experience as those cited earlier. On the contrary, there are others who, while usually a minority, have perceived this experience in largely negative terms, and their pessimism illustrates something of the darker side of Hawaii, just as their counterparts' optimism portrays elements of the happier side. The task here, however, is more complicated than merely outlining and then attempting to explicate two differing sets of perceptions. On a number of occasions, those associated

with the optimistic interpretation of events abruptly changed position in the face of unsettling developments and reacted negatively with what appears to be complete disregard for their original position. This confusing tendency, illustrated by the earlier-noted propensity of the elite to retract its generally enthusiastic interpretation when facing unpleasant racial incidents, must also be explored.

As regards differing perceptions, it is evident that most of the favorable commentary during the nineteenth century concerned the Islands' physical attributes. There were few similarly enthusiastic comments on Island social characteristics. In fact, throughout this period, most social commentary was critical and on occasion openly hostile. A case in point is the missionary Hiram Bingham. Putting aside his previously noted flirtation with paradisaical descriptions and returning to a more characteristic stance, he declared in his reminiscences that the Hawaiians were "stupid, unlettered, unsanctified heathen tribes [and] ... a people disposed to indolence and addicted to falsehood, fraud, and violence."¹ Ironically, Bingham's remarks were echoed a few years later in a harsh criticism of the missionaries themselves by Herman Melville. In a bitter appendix to *Typee*, he charged that "the ascendancy of a junto of ignorant and designing Methodist [*sic*] elders in the councils of a half-civilized king, ruling with absolute sway over a nation just poised between barbarism and civilization, and exposed by the peculiarities of its relations with foreign States to unusual difficulties, was not precisely calculated to impart a healthy tone to the policy of the government."² Developing the attack, he added, "The history of these ten days [following England's renunciation of an earlier attempt at annexation] reveals in their true colours the character of the Sandwich islanders, and furnishes an eloquent commentary on the results which have flowed from the labours of the missionaries. Freed from the restraints of severe penal laws, the natives almost to a man had plunged voluntarily into every species of wickedness and excess, and by their utter disregard of all decency plainly showed, that although they had been schooled into a seeming submission to the new order of things, they were in reality as depraved and vicious as ever."³ Whatever else they may have disagreed on, Bingham and Melville clearly shared the view that Hawaii was something less than a model society.

Other important figures of the times echoed some of Bingham's and Melville's general doubts about Hawaii, if not their more specific objections. Both Robert Louis Stevenson and

the American historian Henry Adams spent time in the Islands during the 1880s and 1890s, and both found them generally unexciting and unremarkable. Neither approved of the changes wrought by westernization nor of the whites they encountered. Searching for alternatives to modern technological society, both found less developed islands elsewhere in the Pacific much more to their liking. As Stevenson put it, "The Sandwich Islands do not interest us very much; we live here, oppressed with civilization, and look for good things in the future."⁴ Adams was more direct. "Third rate places," he said, "seldom attract even third rate men, but rather ninth-rate samples, and these are commonly the white men of tropical islands. I prefer the savages."⁵ Adams did like the scenery in Hawaii but Stevenson found even that wanting.

Additional criticism of Hawaiian society during this era came from local residents. Both whites and Hawaiians were frequently dissatisfied with the course of events and neither group was particularly reluctant to say so. This sense of dissatisfaction was expressed most forcefully as the annexation issue came to a head at the end of the century. An editorial comment in *The Friend*, a sometimes uncharitable publication despite its missionary origins, encapsulates much of the prevailing white perspective. "The whole concern [Hawaii]," the editor wrote, "is like a great steamship, which he [the native Hawaiian] is incapable of commanding or navigating, but in which he is welcome as a passenger, and may enjoy every comfort of the noble ship."⁶ Concerned that the point be made clear to all, the editor continued, observing: "In the nature of things, an aboriginal monarchy in a strong commercial center like Honolulu, was an anomaly. Bishop Willis [who was protesting the growing white influence] probably thinks it no wrong that whites do the governing in such British colonies as Natal, Singapore, or Fiji. He would show more good sense to admit the same necessity here, and would be more useful by striving to reconcile the Hawaiians to that obvious necessity, instead of teaching them to resent it as a wrong."⁷

The native Hawaiian community was well aware of such sentiments and was not optimistic about a future under direct American rule. Partly for nationalistic reasons and partly for social reasons (there was a general awareness of then current American attitudes toward racial minorities, and several Hawaiian leaders had suffered thoroughly humiliating racial incidents while traveling on the American mainland), there was as much resistance to the idea of annexation within the Hawaiian

community as there was support for it within the white community.⁸ As an American commissioner sent to investigate the circumstances of the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and the desirability of American annexation of the Islands reported, "If the votes of the persons claiming allegiance to foreign countries [essentially the white community] were excluded, it [annexation] would be defeated by more than five to one."⁹ His assessment is supported by an anti-annexation petition sent to the United States Congress in 1897 which contained 21,269 signatures or approximately twenty percent of the total population—all races and all ages—of the Islands at the time.¹⁰

While pessimistic comments on local society decreased as the years passed and by the decade following the turn of the century were decidedly in the minority, they did not entirely disappear from the scene. A number of incidents with pronounced racial overtones occurred during the first half of the century that regularly elicited an onslaught of deprecatory commentary from the same community leaders who were otherwise so positive in their remarks about local society.¹¹ The most pronounced cases in this respect involved a series of labor conflicts lasting until after World War II, the Miles Fukunaga murder case of the late 1920s, the Massie rape and murder case of the early 1930s, a dispute over Japanese language schools during the 1920s, doubts about the loyalty of local Japanese during World War II, and postwar arguments over the readiness of Hawaii for statehood.

In the case of labor disputes, every major strike by Hawaii's labor force, always composed primarily of nonwhites, generated a heated and usually racist reaction. In virtually every instance, newspaper coverage, a reasonably accurate measure of elitist response, consisted largely of strident criticisms of labor's motives, charges that Hawaii's Japanese (the principal ethnic group comprising the labor force) were attempting to dominate the Islands, and calls for the importation of white labor to replace the Japanese.¹² Further, at least during the earlier years of the century, these stories were invariably filled with references to "little brown men," "cocky and unreasonable Japs," and the need to "save the white man and the native from that tremendous peril."¹³

A series of strikes following World War II, highlighted by a paralyzing dock strike in 1949, triggered a reaction only slightly less scurrilous than that aroused during the earlier years of the century. The following selections from a newspaper editorial, written in the form of an imaginary letter to Joseph Stalin from

The Aura of Mystery and Wishful Thinking

a semiliterate, pro-Communist and, particularly to the point, alien labor leader supposedly representative of the local labor movement, illustrate:

You know Joe, some people are hoping that the Governor will issue a Proclamation declaring that Hawaii is in a serious State of Emergency. (Ain't it the truth!)

Hope he *won't* do that 'cause it would be headline news in every paper in the country—and that would attract the attention of too many people as to what a dirty *un-American* deal we got going on in Hawaii. That would be bad!

Most of the U.S. press don't even know we got a strike on—and care less—SO FAR. *That's what we want.*

It would give him the opportunity of really laying *all* the cards on the table. And people would read it.

He could comment on how under American law, just a handful of us (2,000 out of 540,000—and only 500 of us citizens) can monopolize control, and restrain the entire trade, commerce and social life of Hawaii—a so-called American community.

He could point out that by a majority vote of guys who *aren't even citizens* of the United States, honest to God, taxpaying law abiding Americans is tied up (legally of course) like no other Americans in history has ever been or ever permitted themselves to be tied up.¹⁴

The Fukunaga case occurred during the 1920s when a de-ranked Japanese youth murdered a Caucasian boy from a prominent local family. The newspapers quite properly reported the case as a tragedy but not as a racial incident. They were not, however, able to maintain this stance for long. Shaded references in news stories, editorials, and letters to the editor made it evident that people of all backgrounds perceived the case in racial terms. Eventually the newspapers had to admit to this reality and, hence, the thinness of the Islands' cosmopolitan veneer.¹⁵

The Massie case of the 1930s involved the alleged rape of a Caucasian woman by a group of Hawaiian, Chinese, and Japanese men. Initial reportage was restrained. However, when mainland American newspapers began reporting on the case following its initial denouement in a hung jury, they displayed such racial animus that all further opportunity for dispassionate public judgment was destroyed. Tensions escalated further when the Massies themselves kidnapped one of the alleged rapists and murdered him. When they were charged with this

crime and found guilty, the reaction among mainland newspapers and politicians was paroxysmal. Stridency, as exemplified by a New York *American* editorial, was common. "The situation in Hawaii is deplorable," it cried. "It is an unsafe place for white women outside the small cities and towns. The roads go through jungles and in these remote places bands of degenerate natives lie in wait for white women driving by."¹⁶ Others were plainly rabid, some going as far as the Oregon paper that inveighed, "The Governor of the islands proposes a law which will make rape a crime punishable by death. That's not enough. It should be death by torture. That's all that protects white women in the South—the fear of torture. Burning at the stake is a horrible thing. So is rape, and the animal that commits it, if he has sense enough to know what may happen to him, will not be so much inclined to go out of his way to satisfy his lust upon a white woman. If you lived in the South, you would be more charitable toward a white mob, uncivilized as it is, and you would, perhaps, condone the murder with which a husband and a mother are charged in Honolulu."¹⁷ When local authorities commuted the Massies' sentence in an effort to defuse the complicated situation (Congress and the military had become involved and there was a movement afoot to replace the civilian government with a military commission), local nonwhites understandably reacted in the negative. As a prominent Hawaiian leader put it, "With this commutation, the verdict of a jury composed of men with intelligence, sound judgment, and good character, with the facts and the law before them, becomes a farce and the truth, as brought out by the prosecution, becomes a travesty. Are we to infer from the Governor's act that there are two sets of laws in Hawaii—one for the favored few and one for the people generally?"¹⁸ While the furor eventually receded, its scars are still evident.

Similar issues arose in the course of a dispute over the regulation of local Japanese language schools during the 1920s and a debate about the loyalty of the local Japanese community in the early years of World War II. In both instances, the failure of the "Japs" to sufficiently "Americanize" themselves was a common if somewhat strange charge in a community that so frequently advertised itself as an example of interculturalism. Undertones of this outlook persisted into the 1950s and became part of the debate over statehood. "The publicity given [local] soldiers of Japanese ancestry," a prominent Hawaiian leader stated in testifying against statehood, "has inflated the ego of the same citizenry.... I will not accept as proof of loyalty, war

service.... I fear Japanese bloc voting and Chinese 'plugging' as a reality in the political future of Hawaii."¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that most of the local opposition to statehood was founded less on racial grounds than on the assumption that statehood would give the labor unions, widely believed to be Communist-led, a greater degree of control over local politics.²⁰

Local observers were not the only ones to note that not all was well in Hawaii during these years. Outsiders also commented on problems, although with far less frequency than during the nineteenth century. For example, the prominent muckraker Ray Stannard Baker visited Hawaii in 1911 and was concerned by what he discovered. "Whether in the South, in connection with the Negro," he reported, "or in Hawaii, in connection with the Oriental people ... the note of pessimism is struck most strongly by the element which has a selfish interest in keeping the Negro or the Oriental 'in his place,' in making him work at low wages, and in preventing him from securing adequate education or opportunities to rise."²¹ However, Baker did see the possibility of improvement. "The note of optimism," he said, "is struck by those who are in some way trying to serve or help; teachers and preachers, especially, who are meeting the other races on terms not of business, but of friendly contact."²²

Later observers found still other things wrong. One person went so far as to characterize Hawaii as little more than a "hedonistic ... provincial, sugar-coated fortress, an autistic Eden, a plastic paradise in which the militarism and racism of the American Empire are cloaked by a deceptive veil of sunshine and of flowers."²³ Even as enthusiastic an advocate of the Islands as Michener had to acknowledge that the social record contained blemishes. A passage of dialogue from *Hawaii* concerning modern race relations illustrates:

"Of course, the other Christians tell us that God loves all men, but we know that's bullshit."

"Kelly!"

"We know it! We know it!" he stormed, "It's as clear as the mountains at dawn. God loves first white men, then Chinese, then Japanese, and after a long pause He accepts Hawaiians."

"Kelly, my darling boy, please!"

"But do you know the one consolation we got? Can you guess? We know for goddamn certain that He loves us better than he loves niggers. God, I'd hate to be a nigger."²⁴

IMAGINATIVE AND MATERIAL REALITY

Like its counterpart process on the positive side, the tabulation of events from the darker side of Hawaii's past is a process that could continue indefinitely. There are numerous other historical incidents that could be cited, and the same is true of literature, religion, education, and, to a lesser extent, even art and music. In addition, a variety of contemporary developments could likewise be cited in this context.²⁵ This, however, is unnecessary. It is sufficiently evident that the paradisaical myth does not present a full and accurate accounting of the Island experience and that the mythic perception of the experience is often at odds with the historical record.

As suggested at the outset, such circumstances are not so much the product of innate contradictions as they are of different ways of reacting to events and, hence, perceiving them. This distinction, it has been argued, is at least in part a function of the oft-mentioned difference between imaginative and material reality. If it were generally understood that people tend to respond to events more in terms of value-laden beliefs than with valueless, objective analysis, it would also be possible to understand how it is that different perceptions of the same events come to pass. Further, in many instances, it would be possible to explain these differences without engaging in acrimonious and often needless debate over motive and intent which invariably leads to equally inappropriate charges of deception, hypocrisy, and even conspiracy.

This observation seems particularly true of Hawaii. Different values have produced different perceptions of the Island experience, and these perceptions have, in turn, generated different responses. So it is that some have chosen to view the experience in paradisaical terms and have reacted positively (one manifestation of which appears to be the internationalist movement), while others have interpreted it in anything but paradisaical terms and have generally responded with criticism. While neither reaction is particularly intelligible from material perspectives, both are at least understandable in imaginative terms.

Unfortunately, such distinctions have seldom been employed in the study of Hawaii. Most scholars have utilized an essentially material approach that recognizes only measurable factors and, when confronted with issues concerning clashing perspectives, have usually endeavored simply to establish the material merits and demerits of the respective sides of the argument. Sociologist Andrew W. Lind's *Hawaii: The Last of the*

Magic Isles is a particularly interesting case in point. Although written primarily as a discussion of local interethnic relations, it is one of very few studies that directly addresses the issue of characterizing the Hawaiian experience. While agreeing that the experience has been relatively happy and progressive, Lind finds the paradisaical rhetoric frequently employed in explaining it disturbing. References to the Islands' unique qualities and special destiny are obfuscatory, he argues, and "the aura of mystery and wishful thinking" must be dispelled if the experience is ever to be properly understood.²⁶ "No experienced observer of the Island scene," he concludes, "can fail to recognize that Hawaiian race relations are the product of those forces—some of them assuredly shared with other regions—which have operated within the peculiar historical and geographic circumstances in Hawaii and that Hawaii holds no magical formula for exorcizing the evil spirits of racial discord and distrust in other parts of the world. No unique principle of natural selection has operated in Hawaii to breed a people without prejudices.... Nor is there reason for believing that a benign climate can absorb the truculence, pettiness, and selfishness in men's dispositions any more in these Islands than elsewhere in the world."²⁷

From a strictly material perspective that recognizes only measurable factors, Lind is, of course, correct. The various "magical" notions people have had about race relations in Hawaii and, more generally, the entire Hawaiian experience, make very little material sense. Yet, Lind's effort to be realistic actually leads him to an entirely unrealistic position. By accepting only that evidence which lends itself to material analysis, he effectively declares the entire matter of paradisaical ideas, so obviously a part of local thought, irrelevant. Put otherwise, he is saying that imagination had no role in determining the course of Island events. This position, as the preceding chapters should demonstrate, is simply not tenable. There is a world of the mind as surely as there is one of matter, and a proper understanding of human events must embrace the realities of both.

While an understanding of imaginative reality may resolve some of the issues surrounding the relationship of mythic perceptions of the local experience to the actual historical record, it does not explain the ease with which traditional proponents of the paradisaical view so frequently and quickly abandoned it in the face of crisis and adopted what would appear to be a wholly inconsistent position. Although there is no standard ex-

planation for this tendency, it seems likely that it is a by-product of the well-developed sense of paternalism which, in concert with various other traits, characterized the old governing elite. Members of this group were in general agreement that justice and decency—matters, to be certain, of genuine concern to them—could be assured in agrarian Hawaii's ethnically and economically stratified society only so long as they themselves were recognized as the community's stewards. As a consequence, an unwritten paternal code, complete with tacit understandings regarding the expected behavior of all groups and laden with racial overtones, governed social intercourse in the Islands during the later part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries.²⁸

Whatever the strengths or deficiencies of this code, the essential point here is that it, like similar codes elsewhere, defined acceptable behavior and sanctioned retribution in the event of violations. Hence, it is understandable that movements supporting such things as labor unionization, greater public political involvement, and equal treatment for all ethnic groups were viewed by the elite as violations of the code and therefore subject to reprisal.²⁹ So it is, provided this speculative analysis is correct, that the same members of the elite who viewed the Island experience in paradisaic terms during periods of tranquility were, without any sense of contradiction, able to switch to a harsh and frequently racist perspective during times of tension and confrontation.³⁰

MYTH AND THE AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN RELATIONSHIP

In addition to the problems of myth and matter in historical interpretation, the preceding chapters have also raised the question of whether or not the central role of an essentially American elite in the popularization of the paradisaic myth in Hawaiian thought suggests a more intimate connection between American and Hawaiian ways of thinking than is usually recognized. More explicitly, they have implied that there are identifiable connections between certain traditional American myths and the physical, social, and teleological components of the Hawaiian paradisaic myth. The answers here are more readily apparent than in the previous case. Such connections do seem to exist, and they suggest that this myth is indeed more the product of American thought than of the Hawaiian ex-

The Aura of Mystery and Wishful Thinking

perience. Although the myth finds expression in ways that invariably suggest its outgrowth from the unique physio-social character of Hawaii, it is, in all probability, a derivative of several myths that are clearly a part of earlier American thought.

To illustrate, the notion of Hawaii as a physical paradise corresponds rather directly with the European discovery of America and the subsequent development of a view of the new land as a "Zion in the wilderness," a "virgin continent," and an ideal setting for utopian experiments in social regeneration. This view, expressed in innumerable religious and secular slogans, poems, songs, tracts, and paintings, underlies the settlement of regions ranging from Massachusetts to the western plains, as well as the creation of hundreds of utopian communities. It is reasonable to suggest, thus, that the original elite, grounded as it was in this way of thinking, consciously or otherwise adapted this perception to the Islands, a lush and gentle land readily associable with prevailing Western notions of paradise.³¹

Similarly, the view of Hawaii as a social paradise imitates the earlier perception of America as a land free from the oppression of Old World prejudices where people of all stations could live together in essential harmony and decency. As St. John de Crèvecoeur, the noted French-American agrarian philosopher of the Revolutionary period, put it, "These provinces of North America ... [are] the asylum of freedom, ... the cradle of future nations, and the refuge of distressed Europeans."³² Continuing, he observed that America has

no aristocratical families, no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one; no great manufacturers employing thousands, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other.... We are a people of cultivators ... united by a ... mild government... respecting the laws ... because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry ... [and] a pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations.... We have no princes, for whom we toil, starve, and bleed: we are the most perfect society now existing in the world.³³

Transformed into myth over the years (which in turn gave rise to such variations as the over-stated but nonetheless attractive portrayal of America as a "melting pot," a nation where, as the

national motto puts it, the many become one), it is reasonable to assume that this outlook likewise influenced the old elite in its assessment of a land where people of widely diverse cultures and backgrounds were able to live together in at least relative harmony.

The belief that the Islands are destined to assume a special role in Pacific and global affairs because of a unique physio-social makeup appears to be a derivative of still another early American myth. In this instance, the association is with the notion of "mission," the belief that Americans, being the sole discoverers of the great truths necessary to make men truly free and having developed a superior society based upon them, must therefore accept the obligation of educating, liberating, and improving the world. As Herman Melville once proclaimed, "We Americans are peculiar, chosen people, the Israel of our times; we bear the ark of the liberties of the world."³⁴ Reaffirmed over the years through both rhetoric and action, this view is now recognized as a factor in the origin of policies and practices ranging from Manifest Destiny and "hemispheric policeman" to foreign aid and involvement in Vietnam.³⁵ It is plausible, hence, to surmise that it too found its way into the Hawaiian paradisaical myth, in the process lending dynamism to an otherwise largely static concept.

These connections, conjectural as they may be, imply that there is a profound relationship between mainstream American perspectives and the intellectual outlook of at least the leaders of Hawaii. While it has long been evident that the Islands' major institutions are modeled after their mainland American counterparts, it has generally been assumed that an important distinction between the two lands has always existed in terms of underlying values and beliefs. As the frequent use of such expressions as "the Island way" and "the Hawaiian ethos" suggests, many believe that this distinction not only exists but is the product of the evolution of a fundamentally new, hybrid way of Island thought. In fact, to complete the circle, the internationalist movement itself has often been cited as one of the principal examples of how this new and special outlook has produced unique forms of activity. Clearly, however, such assumptions must be reexamined. If, as appears to be the case, the roots of the internationalist tradition are more the product of mainland American thought than Island thought, then perhaps the roots of other presumed characteristic Hawaiian practices and attitudes are similarly alien. Indeed, allowing for such obvious exceptions as food and dress, is there any part of the

modern Island cultural experience that could be accurately classified as unique and free of mainland influences? Perhaps there is—certainly conjecture based on the internationalist movement is not grounds for characterizing the entire cultural experience—but the question deserves more thoughtful attention than it has so far attracted.

FUTURE HOPES AND WORRIES

The questions raised above are doubtless basic to a proper analysis of the modern Hawaiian experience. At the same time, they are also doubtless rather academic. It is readily apparent that so long as people in Hawaii perceive their experience as unique, no academic dissertation to the contrary will change much.

This observation is borne out by practice. Even if it can be shown that the roots of the mainstream Hawaiian experience during the past several centuries are not entirely unique, the experience itself has in fact been unique. Nowhere in the world have so many markedly different cultures come together with such a degree of harmony. The result, to be sure, is something less than total pluralism, but cultures are incredibly complex mechanisms that in all probability can never exist side by side without certain trade-offs. In the balance, the Hawaiian outcome has been remarkable in terms of preserving cultural integrity while maintaining social accord, and the fundamental explanation seems to be simply that the people of Hawaii have wanted it this way. Hence, while questions pertaining to the origins of this desire are of considerable academic interest and should be further investigated in an effort to better explicate Island intellectual roots, the practical point remains that Hawaiian society, regardless of the reasons why, has come closer to realizing its mythic self-perception than most societies, and this, in the last analysis, is what really matters.

Returning at last to the point of departure, many of the same things can be said of the internationalist movement itself. Whatever its actual origins and whatever Hawaii's eventual destiny, the movement has justified its existence time and again simply on the basis of the intrinsic value of its assorted undertakings. Bringing the leading citizens of the Pacific nations together in consultation, expanding the opportunities for East-West scholarship, creating an international university staffed and attended by people from all regions of the earth, and estab-

lishing a trans-cultural dialogue across the Pacific are matters that require no external justification. In short, the movement has long been doing the things that must be done in an interdependent world and this, in practical terms at least, is all that is truly important.

However, despite the fact that the internationalist movement has clearly been a positive force both within and beyond Hawaii, it must also be noted that past success is no guarantee of future success. While prognosis is not the intent here, several contemporary tendencies that threaten the future effectiveness of the movement must at least be acknowledged. In general terms, the inclination to view the Island experience in paradisaical terms and to act accordingly runs counter to the twentieth century's increasingly pessimistic view of man and society. In a world where terrorism, chauvinism, and hedonism are accepted and on occasion even praised, internationalist undertakings in the Hawaiian mode face undeniably bleak prospects. Indeed, it is likely that this pessimism has already had an effect. Despite persistent efforts at a serious portrayal of Hawaii, people elsewhere continue to view the Islands as little more than a glamorous playground. Few are aware of the deeper issues and fewer still care enough to take them seriously. Further, it may well be that even the people of Hawaii are succumbing to this tendency. To cite only the most obvious examples, building ethnic tensions and a growing inability to translate paradisaical rhetoric into meaningful action are prominent features of contemporary Island life. What all of these things actually mean for the future remains to be seen, but it is clear that they at least pose the threat of less happy times. Like Shakespeare's "killing frost," they lurk in the background, ever threatening "man's tender leaves of hope."

Notes

Abbreviations used in notes:

AH	Archives of Hawaii (Honolulu)
BPPU	<i>Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union</i>
DB	(Honolulu) <i>Daily Bulletin</i>
HA	<i>Honolulu Advertiser</i>
HG	<i>Hawaiian Gazette</i>
HMCSL	Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library (Honolulu)
HSB	<i>Honolulu Star-Bulletin</i>
IPRC	Institute of Pacific Relations Collection
JPPRI	<i>Journal of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution</i>
MPM	<i>Mid-Pacific Magazine</i>
PCA	<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>
PPY	<i>Pan-Pacific Youth</i>
SB/A	<i>Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser</i>
UHA	University of Hawaii Archives

CHAPTER I

1. *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 21, 1969.
2. Ibid.
3. This assessment is based upon observations by the author at the time of the address.
4. *HA*, February 21, 1969.
5. These activities are discussed in detail in the following chapters. However, it is important to note at the outset that they represent but one of modern Hawaii's many historical trends and are not in any sense the centerpiece of the modern Island experience.

CHAPTER II

1. Many would argue that this assessment is erroneous with respect to at least the military and trans-Pacific commerce. However, in all likelihood the only time Hawaii served a truly crucial purpose in this respect was during the brief period of the early twentieth century when coal-fired naval ships were the dominant form of strategic weaponry. Thereafter oil-fired and atomic-powered ships, strategic aircraft and missiles, intercontinental jet transportation, and instantaneous communications obviated the vital military role that Mahan and others predicted for the Islands. While different conclusions might be in order had the military development of Hawaii occurred sometime during the nineteenth century, this, of course, was not the case. By the early years of the twentieth century when it did happen, the strategic significance of overseas outposts (naval and otherwise) was already diminishing. Hence, the Islands have been important but not essential to the military. Much the same can be said of commerce. While the Islands are often portrayed as the crossroads of Pacific commerce, in fact they have never performed a truly essential function in this respect. Banks, for example, were not even in existence until the middle of the nineteenth century and the mercantile houses of the era were created to serve domestic needs and the short-lived whaling industry rather than international commerce. In short, the Islands were a convenient and much used stopping point but hardly a crucial one. For details on the earlier years of this period, see Ralph S. Kuykendall, "Early Hawaiian Commercial Development," *The Pacific Historical Review* 3, no. 4 (December 1934):365-385. More recent efforts to attract foreign investment and establish a transshipment "industry" (see chap. 6) suggest that similar conclusions are still in order.
2. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York, 1964), p. 264.

Notes

3. There are numerous discussions of the role of social myth in cultural analysis. The summary comments here draw heavily upon Cecil F. Tate, *The Search for a Method in American Studies* (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 9-24. It should be noted, however, that this approach is not restricted to the American studies field. In general terms, it figures prominently in the work of many anthropologists, social psychologists, and psychoanalysts and can also be found in the studies of certain religious scholars, historians, art and literature critics, philosophers, and even some scientists.
4. Tensions between the governing elite and local Japanese-Americans, perhaps the most significant of the various racial problems of the twentieth century, date to the circumstances surrounding the initial immigration of Japanese during the latter part of the nineteenth century. For a detailed study of this issue, see Francis Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Expansion into Hawaii: 1868-1898* (San Francisco, 1973).
5. James Jackson Jarves, *Scenes and Scenery in the Sandwich Isles, 1837-1842* (Boston, 1843), p. 15. Jarves achieved considerable fame in later years as an art collector and critic on the American mainland.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
7. Isabella Bird Bishop, *The Hawaiian Archipelago: Six Months Among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs, and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1894), pp. 382. 46 ff.
8. Charles Warren Stoddard, *A Trip to Hawaii* (San Francisco, 1892), pp. vii, 46.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 25. In fairness to Stoddard, it should be noted that the poems are the work of others, in this case Rollin M. Daggett.
10. Quoted in A. Grove Day, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* (New York, 1966), p. xiv. The novel was never completed.

Notes

11. Quoted in Walter Francis Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* (Chicago, 1947), p. 501. Twain's remarks, however, refer almost exclusively to Hawaii's physical attributes. He felt that little of political or social significance would develop in the Islands until the United States was willing to annex them and, as he put it, array them in "the moral splendor of our high and holy civilization" (p. 500).
12. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 3rd ed rev. (Canandaigua, New York, 1855), p. 191.
13. Ibid
14. Quoted in Abraham Fornander, *Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore: The Hawaiian Account of the Formation of Their Islands, and the Origin of Their Race with the Traditions of Their Migrations, etc., As Gathered from Original Sources*. Translated, revised, and illustrated with notes by Thomas G. Thrum. B. P. Bishop Museum Memoirs, no. 6. (Honolulu, 1916-1920), p. 535.
15. For example, see Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Nā Mele O Hawai'i Nei, 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu, 1970), p. 40.
16. Ibid., pp. 30-31. There are various translations of this poem (which has also been set to music), but the general tone remains the same.
17. For further examples of his work, see Bradford Smith, "The Isles Shall Wait for His Law," *American Heritage* 9, no. 2 (February 1960): 10-21.
18. For a brief review of these and other artists, see "Art in Hawaii," *The Sales Builder* 9, no. 12 (December 1938):2-14. For details on Strong, see Edward Joesting, *Hawaii: An Uncommon History* (New York, 1972), pp. 225-227.
19. Albertine Loomis, *Grapes of Canaan: Hawaii 1820* (Honolulu, 1966), pp. 46, 225.
20. Ibid., p. 46.

Notes

21. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., "Two Years Before the Mast," in *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1851), p. 47.
22. Charles Nordhoff, *Northern California, Oregon and the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1874), p. 37.
23. Quoted in Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 2, 1854-1874: Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu, 1966), p. 245.
24. Pukui and Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, pp. 150-155.
25. This trend is indicated by the number of books and articles about Hawaii with acclamatory titles. The following random list illustrates: John T. Faris, *The Paradise of the Pacific* (New York, 1929); George Leonard Chaney, *Aloha! A Hawaiian Salutation* (Boston, 1879); Clifford Gessler, *Hawaii: The Rainbow Land* (New York, 1924); Terence Barrow, *Incredible Hawaii* (Rutland, Vermont, 1974); Jacques Chegaray, *Hawaii: Isles of Dreams* (London, 1957); H. Spencer Howell, *An Island Paradise and Reminiscences of Travel* (Toronto, 1892); G. Waldo Browne, *The Paradise of the Pacific: The Hawaiian Islands* (Boston, 1900); William Allen White, "The Last of the Magic Isles," *Survey Graphic*, May 1926; Ray Stannard Baker, "Wonderful Hawaii: A World Experiment Station," *The American Magazine*, 1911; Thomas Blake Clark, *Paradise Limited: An Informal History of the Fabulous Hawaiians* (New York, 1941); Olive Wyndette, *Islands of Destiny: A History of Hawaii* (Rutland, Vermont, 1968); Oscar Lewis, *Hawaii: Gem of the Pacific* (New York, 1954); Eugene Burns, *The Last King of Paradise* (New York, 1952); Eloise Engle, *Princess of Paradise* (New York, 1962); Jon Shiroto, *Lucky Come Hawaii* (New York, 1965); Walker Winslow, *Man in Paradise* (New York, 1941); Armine von Tempiski, *Born in Paradise* (New York, 1940).
26. Farrington addressed this point in newspaper editorials from the time he arrived in the Islands prior to the turn of the century. For examples of his early work, see the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 13, 1895, and August 3,

1897. Examples of his later work can be found in *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* editorials and numerous speeches, some of which are cited in subsequent chapters. Ford's career is discussed in chap. 4.
27. Charmian London, *The Book of Jack London*, vol. 2 (New York, 1921), p. 334.
 28. In fact, most of his stories on Hawaii that deal with racial and cultural issues tend to be critical of the emerging synthesis. For example, see Jack London, *Stories of Hawaii*, ed. A. Grove Day (New York, 1965).
 29. Alexander Hume Ford, "Jack London in Hawaii," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 12, no. 2 (February 1917): 121.
 30. Somerset Maugham, *The Trembling of a Leaf* (London, 1921), p. 208.
 31. Clifford Gessler, *Hawaii: Isles of Enchantment* (New York, 1937), p. 307.
 32. Armine von Tempski, *Born in Paradise* (New York, 1940), pp. 3, 118-120, 122, 124.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
 34. For example, see Don Blanding, *Hawaii Says Aloha* (New York, 1955).
 35. Genevieve Taggard, *Origin: Hawaii* selected and published by Donald Angus (Honolulu, 1947), pp. 18-19.
 36. Bess Heath Olmstead, *A Lei of Lays* (Honolulu, 1927), p. 48.
 37. Quoted in Ruth L. Housman, *Hawaii: Music in Its History* (Rutland, Vermont, 1968), pp. 81-83.
 38. Charles E. King, *King's Book of Hawaiian Melodies* (Honolulu, 1920), pp. 18-19.
 39. For example, see the University of Hawaii alma mater.
 40. *Kui Lee: My Hawaii*. Sunbeam Music; Sole Selling Agent. Valanda Music, © 1969 (New York, 1969), pp. 1-3.
 41. "Art in Hawaii" discusses the works of the earlier artists of the twentieth century.

Notes

42. For a more detailed discussion of this film, see Margaret J. King and Sheldon J. Hershinow, "*Blue Hawaii: The Gilded Image*," mimeographed (Department of American Studies, University of Hawaii, n.d.).
43. According to the CBS research division, national viewer statistics on Hawaii Five-0 are as follows:

<i>Season</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Rating</i>	<i>Share</i>	<i>No. of Homes</i>
1968-69	49	18.1	33	10,320,000
1969-70	19	21.1	37	12,340,000
1970-71	7	25.0	44	15,030,000
1971-72	12	23.6	35	14,660,000
1972-73	3	25.2	38	16,330,000
1973-74	5	24.0	36	15,890,000
1974-75	10	24.8	39	16,990,000
1975-76	42	18.4	30	12,810,000

Local viewer statistics show even higher shares. Statistics from personal letter to author from Thomas J. Watson, Supervisor, CBS Television Network Research, September 15, 1976. For still further details, see *HA*, April 18, 1977.

44. For example, see Robert J. Shaw, "Kakio Kid," "Hawaiian Eye," Los Angeles, Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc., July 5, 1962, p. 1. University of Hawaii Archives, "Hawaiian Eye" File.
45. For example, see Alvin Sapinsley, "A Matter of Mutual Concern," CBS Television Network, September 8, 1971. This episode was first aired on November 23, 1971. Information from personal letter to author from Matthew Knox, Assistant to the Producer, Hawaii Five-O, September 8, 1976.
46. The instances cited involve mid-1970s commercials for Aloha Airlines and the Bank of Hawaii, respectively, as viewed on local television. It might be noted that the Bank of Hawaii has branches throughout the Pacific despite the disclaimer.

47. None of this, however, is to imply that this theme is restricted to television advertising. Radio and especially the printed media also utilize it. A recent realtor's advertisement illustrates:

HAWAII... THE CROSSROADS OF THE PACIFIC

PARADISE ... A word that attracts people from the four corners of the world.

They come to discover its beauty ... its history ... its climate.

HAWAII'S PEOPLE ... A blend of cultures enhancing the Aloha spirit.

MIKE McCORMACK, REALTORS ... Representatives of all these people, and eager to help you own part of THIS paradise.

The Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser, June 29, 1975.

48. *MPM* 10, no. 5 (November 1915):426.
49. *MPM* 11, no. 1 (January 1916), inside cover.
50. Joseph Barber, Jr., *Hawaii: Restless Rampart* (New York, 1941), pp. 81-84.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
52. See Hawaii Visitors Bureau series under this title in periodicals of the early 1970s.
53. Albert W. Palmer, *The Human Side of Hawaii: Race Problems in the Mid-Pacific* (Boston, 1924), p. xx.
54. *HSB*, April 14, 1959.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Samuel B. Harrison, *The White King* (New York, 1950).
57. Helen Gay Pratt, *The Story of Mid-Pacific Institute* (Honolulu, 1957), p. 44.
58. *Ibid.*
59. David L. Crawford, *Paradox in Hawaii* (Boston, 1933), p. ii.
60. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 304-305.

Notes

61. Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History from Polynesian Kingdom to American State*, rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961), pp. 37, 87.
62. A. Grove Day, *Hawaii and Its People*, rev. ed., (New York, 1968), p. 236, 292-293, 296.
63. Lawrence Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York, 1961), p. vii.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 449.
65. For example, see Dorothy Quinn, "Hawaii's Future Role in the Pacific," *Paradise of the Pacific* 58, no. 2. (February 1946):17; and Eileen McCann O'Brien, "Hawaii Sets a Pattern for the World," *Paradise of the Pacific* 58, no. 12 (December 1946):1.
66. For several examples, see *HSB* July 20, 1957, and October 3, 1959; *HA* February 22, 1956. Also see *HSB* April 14, 1959, "50th State Edition" for an entire edition written from this perspective.
67. For recent examples, see *HSB*, February 20, 1970; May 23, 1973; January 29, 1975; July 8, 1975; and January 21, 1976. For the most part, these cartoons approach the issue from the "paradise lost" perspective rather than positively.
68. United States, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Hearings on Statehood for Hawaii. 85th Congress, first session, 1957.
69. Quoted in Gerrit P. Judd IV, *Hawaii: An Informal History* (New York, 1961), p. 193.
70. *HSB*, February 23, 1968.
71. James A. Michener, *Hawaii* (New York, 1961), pp. 15-16.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 973. The term "golden man" is, however, Michener's term.

CHAPTER III

1. Jason Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific Under the Hawaiian Kingdom" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1951), p. 2. Horn notes that such relatively recent works as Kathleen Dickenson Mellen's *The Lonely Warrior: The Life and Times of Kamehameha the Great of Hawaii* (New York, 1949) give credence to these accounts, but that they are in fact based upon little more than hearsay evidence contained in such nineteenth century accounts as James Jackson Jarves' *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (Boston, 1843), and Manley Hopkins' *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of the Island Kingdom*, 2nd ed., rev. (London, 1866). Horn further notes that other nineteenth century sources such as William Ellis' *Polynesian Researches: During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands* (London, 1831) deny the accuracy of these accounts.
2. Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 3.
3. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, *1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1968), pp. 97-98.
4. Instructions to Karimoku Commander, November 30, 1829, Archives of Hawaii, Foreign Office and Executive Files, Honolulu, Hawaii (source hereafter cited as AH, FO & Ex.). Also see Horn, "Primacy in the Pacific," pp. 4-6.
5. For one example, see (Honolulu) *Daily Bulletin*, August 23, 1883.
6. St. Julian to Wyllie, December 20, 1851, AH, FO & Ex. In fact, St. Julian had contacted the Hawaiian government earlier when he sent copies of some articles and a book he had published on Polynesia (see St. Julian to Wyllie, April 4, 1851, and Wyllie to St. Julian, July 23, 1851, AH, FO & Ex.). The December proposal was, however, the first substantial contact. It should also be noted here that references to "Polynesia" in this section are in the nineteenth-century

Notes

- style which includes Micronesia and Melanesia as well as Polynesia. For further detail on St. Julian's background, see his obituary in *Illustrated Sydney News*, January 16, 1875.
7. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 17, October 2, 1854, AH, FO & Ex.
 8. *Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations to the Legislature of 1853* (Honolulu, 1852), p. 92 (hereafter cited as *Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations*, by the year).
 9. Wyllie to St. Julian, no. 1, August 4, 1853, AH, FO & Ex.
 10. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 1, January 21, 1854, AH, FO & Ex.
 11. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 13, August 7, 1854, AH, FO & Ex.
 12. St. Julian to Wyllie, November 7, 1854, AH, FO & Ex.
 13. Hopkins, *Hawaii*, p. 505.
 14. *The Friend*, October 9, 1844.
 15. As reprinted in *HSB*, January 29, 1963.
 16. Most studies discussing St. Julian and Wyllie make no essential distinction between their motives and hopes. Both are usually pictured as desirous of creating a more powerful political role for Hawaii in Pacific affairs. It is hoped that the foregoing illustrations will demonstrate that the two men were in fact driven by rather different urges.
 17. Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 9.
 18. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 1, January 10, 1857, AH, FO & Ex.
 19. Strange as it may seem, St. Julian never left Australia until he traveled to Fiji in 1871. He conducted his affairs in the Pacific by mail and through his appointed agents. He invariably informed the Hawaiian government of these actions after the fact, although approval was usually granted. For further detail, see Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 17-18.
 20. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 17-20.
 21. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 1, January 10, 1857, AH, FO & Ex.
 22. Wyllie to St. Julian, no. 3, June 24, 1857, AH, FO & Ex.
 23. St. Julian to Wyllie, no. 2, May 9, 1855, AH, FO & Ex. Also see Horn, "Primacy in the Pacific," pp. 24-25 for further details on this transaction.

Notes

24. Wyllie to St. Julian, no. 7, September 22, 1855, AH, FO & Ex.
25. *Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations*, 1855, p. 4.
26. *Cabinet Council Minute Book 1855-1856*, AH, FO & Ex., p. 62.
27. See Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 25-30, for details on this tum of events.
28. In a vaguely similar although less complicated and less publicized venture at about the same time, the Hawaiian government commissioned Zenas Bent to take possession of Palmyra Island, an uninhabited atoll some 960 miles southwest of Hawaii, in the name of the throne. Bent accomplished the task on April 15, 1862, and a proclamation of annexation was issued on June 18, 1862. (See "Proclamation!" L. Kamehameha, Minister of Interior, June 18, 1862, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Government Proclamations, Broadsides.) Despite assorted conflicting claims of ownership (an American fertilizer company and Great Britain among them), the Hawaiian annexation was recognized and the atoll became an American possession in 1898 when Hawaii was annexed.
29. *Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations*, 1858, pp. 63-64. Some have speculated that the Hawaii-sponsored missionary group in Micronesia (discussed below) decided it did not want to become involved and this is what really caused Wyllie to drop the project. See Merze Tate, "Hawaii's Early Interest in Polynesia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 7 (1961):237. The Stewart Islands remained unappropriated until 1897 when they were made part of the British protectorate over the Solomons. See Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 29.
30. See Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 30-32, for details.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
33. Harris to St. Julian, June 30, 1871, AH, FO & Ex.

Notes

34. Harris to St. Julian, March 11, 1872, AH, FO & Ex.
35. St. Julian to Harris, May 2, 1872, AH, FO & Ex.
36. Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 35.
37. Harris to St. Julian, July 25, 1871, AH, FO & Ex.
38. See Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 35-37, for details.
39. See *ibid.*, pp. 38-40, for details.
40. Harris to St. Julian, May 6, 1872, AH, FO & Ex.
41. Harris to St. Julian, July 3, 1872, AH, FO & Ex.
42. It should be noted that Kamehameha V died without direct heirs and without appointing an heir, thus bringing the Kamehameha line to an end. In accord with the Constitution of 1864, the legislature elected Lunalilo as his successor. The same process would be followed little more than a year later when Lunalilo himself died without heirs and Kalakaua was elected.
43. It is ironic that this era of internationalism should have ended under Lunalilo. As noted in chap. 2, Lunalilo appeared to accept the paradisaical view of Hawaii and Hawaiian society that is, or so this study contends, basic to the entire internationalist undertaking.
44. Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York, 1968), p. 215.
45. For further details on this episode, see Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 215-216, and Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 3, *1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu, 1967), pp. 205-226.
46. Quoted in Daws, *Shoal of Time*, p. 215.
47. Quoted in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:311-312.
48. For further details on the trip, see Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 216-218, and Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:227-234.
49. Part of Kalakaua's newfound ambition may stem from remarks addressed to him at the outset of his journey. Traveling to California in order to board a liner for Japan, he was feted at a banquet hosted by various civic leaders fol-

- lowing his arrival on the coast. Among the toasts was one that predicted an empire of Polynesian powers under the leadership of Kalakaua who would be known, the celebrator prophesied, as the "Colossus of the Pacific." See Joesting, *Hawaii*, p. 213.
50. Other less consequential subjects were also discussed. See Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:229-231, and Dennis M. Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawaii's Japanese Americans* (Honolulu, 1973), pp. 88-106 for details.
 51. Conroy, *Japanese Expansion into Hawaii*, pp. 202-203.
 52. Quoted in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:229-230.
 53. *Ibid.* Given the tone of this letter, scholars might explore the possibility of a connection between Kalakaua's suggestion and Japan's subsequent creation of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
 55. See Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 214-219, for further details on the palace and the coronation.
 56. Horn, Kuykendall, Daws, and others tend to view Kalakaua's "Primacy in the Pacific" policy as the whole of his internationalist policy and, thus, credit the entire endeavor to Gibson. This study suggests that Kalakaua's internationalist policy predates the Gibson era and was motivated by Kalakaua's own views on the nature of Hawaii and Hawaiian society as well as by encouragement from his advisors, whatever their motives may have been.
 57. For a report of one such speech, see *PCA*, July 18, 1861.
 58. Joesting, *Hawaii*, pp. 162-165.
 59. The idea was not original. Earlier Mormon missionaries developed similar plans during the 1850s, but discarded them when they were called back to Utah in 1857 to help during an anticipated confrontation with the American government. Hence, many of the local Mormons already lived in the Maui-Lanai area.

Notes

60. "Diary of Walter Murray Gibson," September 4, 1861, as reproduced in Frank W. McGhie, "The Life and Intrigues of Walter Murray Gibson" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).
61. "Diary of Walter Murray Gibson," January 31, 1862.
62. Ibid, May 23, 1862.
63. Ibid., November 5, 1861.
64. Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 56.
65. Gibson to Kamehameha V, December 7, 1863, AH, FO & Ex.
66. Numerous sources recount Gibson's rise to power in more detail. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:246-256 and Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 220-225 are excellent. Also useful and interesting is James A. Michener and A. Grove Day, *Rascals in Paradise* (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1957), pp. 121-139. In addition, see Esther Leonore Sousa, "Walter Murray Gibson's Rise to Power in Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1942), and Ruth Tabrah, *Lanai* (Honolulu, 1976), pp. 61-77.
67. *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 30, 1872.
68. Letter from Gibson to Lunalilo, published in *PCA*, December 21, 1872.
69. Walter Murray Gibson, "Address to the Hawaiian People" (privately printed brochure, Honolulu, 1876), pp. 7-8.
70. "Resolution regarding a Royal Commissioner to be appointed by His Majesty and to be styled a Royal Hawaiian Commissioner to the States and People of Polynesia," introduced by Walter M. Gibson, June 28, 1880, AH, Legislative Files: Resolutions.
71. Quoted in Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 59.
72. There is persuasive evidence that Gibson was in fact inspired by Wyllie and obtained many of his ideas (from the activities of the Wyllie-St. Julian era. For a summary of this evidence, see Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," p. 55, footnote 2.
73. *PCA*, October 29, 1881.

Notes

74. *PCA*, November 19, 1881.
75. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1881.
76. For a more complete discussion of big power interests in the Pacific at this time, see Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:308-311, and Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands: 1800-1875* (Berkeley, 1941).
77. For examples, see *PCA*, November 18, 1882; September 8, 1883; and March 17, 1885.
78. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1883.
79. The episode is recounted in more detail in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:313-314, and Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 61-63.
80. *DB*, November 16, 1882.
81. See Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 63-67, for details.
82. *HG*, December 24, 1884. The mission was not entirely unproductive. The famed "Hawaiian" grass hula skirt, in fact a Gilbertese innovation, was introduced as a result of Tripp's voyage. Prior to this, dancers wore only *ti* leaf skirts.
83. Quoted in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:315.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 316. It is interesting to note that at the same time Hawaii was protesting and announcing its "Monroe Doctrine," Australians and New Zealanders were meeting at the Sydney Conference to develop a stronger stand in favor of still further annexations and to prepare still another "Monroe Doctrine," this one declaring that all unaffiliated territories south of the equator should henceforth be considered within the British sphere. For details see Merze Tate, "Hawaii's Program of Primacy in Polynesia," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 61 (1960):384-387.
86. Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," pp. 74-75.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
88. *HG*, December 22, 1885.
89. For example, see Carter to Gibson, no. 9, November 10, 1885, AH, FO & Ex.

Notes

90. Carter to Gibson, no. 20, January 16, 1886, AH, FO & Ex.
91. Wodehouse to British Foreign Office, no. 4, December 19, 1885, AH, British Consul Files.
92. *DB*, January 13, 1886.
93. By this point in time, the only remaining independent island groups of consequence in the area were Tonga and Samoa, so the policy was not so broad as it might appear.
94. As an aside, Gibson found time to initiate still another—although minor—venture while planning the Samoan undertaking. He decided to annex all the remaining islands in the leeward chain of islands extending northwest from Hawaii to Midway and beyond. While all were unpopulated, Midway, which the United States had claimed in 1867, was under foreign control and thus conflict loomed. He started this process on September 20, 1886, by claiming Ocean Island to the west of Midway, but left office before taking any further steps. For details, see Horn, “Primacy of the Pacific,” pp. 93–96.
95. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 180.
96. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:329.
97. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 331–332.
98. For a description of this flag, see Jacob Adler, “The Hawaiian Navy Under King Kalakaua,” *Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society: 1964* (Honolulu, 1965), p. 9. For still further details, see *HA*, June 9, 1976.
99. Daws, *Shoal of Time*, p. 238. An unsigned and undated memorandum, perhaps written by Jonathan Shaw, the Territory of Hawaii’s first tax assessor and collector (the memorandum is obviously old but is on Office of Tax Assessor and Collector letterhead and, therefore, from the territorial era) suggests that Kalakaua and Gibson had even more grandiose naval plans in mind. The author remembers attending a reception that supposedly marked the transformation of the reform school into a “Naval Academy.” It ap-

parently was a gala event, as the author recalls Col. C. H. Judd looking “daggers at seeing so much champagne consumed.” He also writes of the style of uniform and sword adopted and notes that the \$ 100,000 payment for the *Kaimiloa* was \$80-90,000 too high. (See HMCSL, Government, Broadsides.) However, Shaw’s figures seem to be too high. Elsewhere it is stated (and without reference to a naval school) that the ship was purchased for \$20,000 and refitted for another \$37,000. (See Adler, “The Hawaiian Navy,” p. 9.)

100. Kuykendall and Day, *Hawaii*, p. 169.
101. Events of the Samoan adventure are discussed in some detail by Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 235-239, and Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3:322-339. For more detailed studies, see Horn, “Primacy of the Pacific,” pp. 97-187, and Paul Kennedy, *The Samoan Triangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations: 1878-1900* (New York, 1974). It might be noted that the *Kaimiloa* survived until 1912 when she was loaded with combustibles and burned to the waterline as part of a Fourth of July celebration in Honolulu harbor. See *SB/A*, December 10, 1978.
102. *HG*, November 2, 1886.
103. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1887.

CHAPTER IV

1. “Announcement,” *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 1 (January 1911), inside cover. This era is discussed in greater detail in Paul F. Hooper, “A History of Internationalism in Hawaii Between 1900 and 1940” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1972).
2. Alexander Hume Ford, “Sabacco,” *MPM* 1-2 (February-December 1911).

Notes

3. Alexander Hume Ford, "The Genesis of the Pan-Pacific Union: Part IX," *MPM* 31 (May 1926):473. This article is one of a series which ran in *MPM* between September 1925 and December 1926. Hereafter cited as Ford, "Genesis: Part [by appropriate numeral]."
4. The Table of Contents from the initial issue illustrates (*MPM* 1 [January 1911]: 1

"Riding the Surf" by Duke Pauoa [Kahanamoku]

"Skiing in Australia" by Percy Hunter

"Halemanu: A Poem" by Mary Dillingham Frear

"Napali" by [Governor] W. F. Frear

"The Most Beautiful River" by H. F. Alexander [A. H. Ford]

"The Restless Fishhooks" by R. and W. Thayer

"Strange Cruises" by A. Marchmont

"Oriental Honolulu" by S. Sheba

"Coasting Down Popocataptl" by A. H. Ford

"Chip's Uloa" by Aleka Poka

"Hawaii: A Poem" by P. Maurice McMahan

"The Changing Status of the Immigrant" by Dr. Victor S. Clark

"The Real Home of Santa Claus" by H. M. Polwarth

"The Americanization of Hawaii" by [Congressman] A. L. Brick

"Around the Pacific" by H. P. Wood

"The Trail and Mountain Club" by Guy H. Tuttle

Ford wrote under a variety of pseudonyms, one of which was H. F. Alexander, as above. Personal interview with Joseph B. Stikney, December 11, 1971 (hereafter cited as Stikney Interview).

5. *PCA*, December 22, 1910. It should be noted that similar publications from Hawaii—in particular *Paradise of the Pacific*—predate *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. However, the latter was the first to show a concern for the Pacific Basin gen-

- erally and to seek an international readership, something it achieved with an approximately thirty-five percent “foreign” subscribership throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s.
6. Alva L. Eakin, “The Passing of Old Hawaii,” *MPM* 1 (April 1911):484.
 7. “Editorial Comment,” *MPM* 10 (July 1915):96.
 8. *PCA*, March 18, 1911.
 9. *Ibid*, March 24, 1911.
 10. Percy Hunter, “The Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club Movement,” *MPM* 3 (May 1912):405.
 11. “A Pan-Pacific Gathering,” *MPM* 10 (July 1915):75.
 12. “Honolulu for World’s Peace Congress,” *MPM* 2 (November 1911), inside cover.
 13. Variations on the theme appear in Ford’s statements and editorials in *Mid-Pacific Magazine* from this time onward. The idea is first broached in “Editorial Comment,” *MPM* 2 (December 1911):596.
 14. Initial honorary officers of the club were: *Presidents*, Andrew Fisher (prime minister of Australia), Sir Joseph Ward (prime minister of New Zealand), William C. Forbes (governor-general of the Philippines), and Walter F. Frear (governor of Hawaii); *Vice Presidents*, James T. McGowen (premier of New South Wales), Francis Wilson (premier of West Australia), David Starr Jordan (president of Stanford University), Percy Hunter (director of the New South Wales Tourist Bureau), and Alexander Hume Ford. See “Announcement: The Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club,” *MPM* 3 (May 1912), inside cover.
 15. This trip is a story in itself. According to Joseph B. Stickney, who accompanied Ford, the December 1912 issue of *Mid-Pacific Magazine* produced a net profit of some \$2,500 which was used to fund the journey. This money was exhausted soon after their arrival in Asia, but Ford, talking glibly and utilizing old journalistic ties, arranged free passes on trains and ships, thus allowing them to travel on to Europe via

Notes

- the Trans-Siberian railroad and then back to Hawaii across the American mainland. To watch Ford accomplish this was, Stickney noted in something of an understatement, "quite an education for me." (Stickney Interview.)
16. "Preaching Pacific Patriotism," *MPM* 8 (December 1914):517-519.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Ibid, p. 519.
 19. Jack London, "The Language of the Tribe," *Pan-Pacific* 2 (July-September 1938):10.
 20. "Pan-Pacific News," *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union*, no. 1 (October 1919), pp. 393-394. However, this event was observed in Hawaii as late as a few years prior to World War II.
 21. Will Sabin, "Pan-Pacific Gathering," *MPM* 10 (July 1915):73-95.
 22. "The Pan-Pacific Industrial and Commercial Museum," *MPM* 12 (November 1916):419.
 23. "Hawaii's Pan-Pacific Club," *MPM* 10 (August 1915):181-183.
 24. "The Pan-Pacific Exposition, Honolulu, 1919," *MPM* 12 (August 1916):117-131.
 25. "Editorial," *MPM* 12 (July 1916):96.
 26. For further details, see Joesting, *Hawaii*, pp. 261-262. A successor, *Honolulu Magazine*, is still published.
 27. Clarence L. Hodge and Peggy Ferris, *Building Honolulu: A Century of Community Service* (Honolulu, 1960), pp. 60-61.
 28. In 1919 the Hawaii Promotion Committee became the Hawaii Tourist Bureau. In January 1945, the name was changed to Hawaii Travel Bureau and in October of the same year it was changed again to Hawaii Visitors Bureau. It remained under chamber of commerce auspices until 1959 when it was reconstituted as a separate corporation. (See Hodge and Ferris, *Building Honolulu*, pp. 63-64.) While its

Notes

- present status remains that of a private corporation, it depends upon a contract with the state government for much of its funding.
29. These were not the first expositions where Hawaii was formally represented. Organizers of the 1867 Paris exposition invited Hawaii to participate and a display was created. (See Joesting, *Hawaii*, pp. 184-185.)
 30. George F. Henshall, "Promotion in Hawaii," *MPM* 7 (January 1914):42-43.
 31. Ibid. Also see *PCA*, May 8, 1908; October 5, 1908; and October 16, 1908. For a thorough review of early promotional activities, see Anson Chong, "Economic Development of Hawaii and the Growth of Tourism" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1963).
 32. One of the Workers, "Pan-Pacific Work," *MPM* 1 (April 1911):421.
 33. In all likelihood, Ford deliberately misrepresented himself while on this journey. For details see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 37-38.
 34. For example, see *PCA*, March 4, 1908; March 19, 1908.
 35. *PCA*, March 26, 1908.
 36. *PCA*, May 2, 1908. For a detailed history of the club, see Harold H. Yost, *The Outrigger: A History of the Outrigger Canoe Club 1908-1971* (Honolulu, 1971). Also see Ben R. Finney, "Hawaiian Surfing: A Study of Cultural Change" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1959). Ford was also instrumental in the formation of the still-active Hawaii Trail and Mountain Club at this time.
 37. This, at least, is Ford's conclusion. (See Ford, "Genesis: Part II," pp. 373-374.)
 38. Ibid., "Genesis, Part IV," p. 569.
 39. Ibid., "Genesis: Part X," pp. 571-572.
 40. "Alexander Hume Ford," in George F. M. Nellist, ed., *Pan-Pacific Who's Who: 1940-41* (Honolulu, 1941), p. 227.
 41. *HSB*, October 15, 1945.

Notes

42. Nellist, *Who's Who*, p. 227.
43. *HSB*, October 15, 1945.
44. Ford, "Genesis, Part I," p. 270.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-275.
46. The Bureau of the American Republics was created in 1890; its title was changed in 1910 as part of a general restructuring.
47. Ford, "Genesis: Part I," p. 269.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.
49. Alexander Hume Ford, "Romance of the Pan-Pacific Union," *MPM* 15 (June 1918):588.
50. Nellist, *Who's Who*, p. 227.
51. Ford, "Genesis: Part V," p. 9.
52. Ford, "Genesis: Part VII," p. 259.
53. The various articles concerning the "Americanization" of Hawaii are most noteworthy in this respect.
54. Alexander Hume Ford, "Russia in Religious Revolution," *MPM* 14 (July 1917): 79-81.
55. For example, see "By the Editor [Ford]," "More About Patriotism of the Pacific," *MPM* 9 (June 1915):563-567.
56. Alexander Hume Ford, "The Pull Together Movement," *MPM* 5 (January 1913): 83-90.
57. For example, see Takie Okumura, "Hawaii's Mission," *MPM* 29 (June 1925):861.
58. In addition to Ford, those listed on the papers were W. F. Frear, C. K. Ai, William R. Castle, F. E. Blake, J. M. Camara, and A. K. Ozawa. See Charter of Incorporation of the Pan-Pacific Union, May 28, 1917, AH, Dissolved Corporation File no. #1131.
59. *Ibid.* A slightly abbreviated, better written version of this document remained as the Union's statement of goals for approximately a decade when, as discussed later, it was revised.

Notes

60. The full listing of officials is as follows: *President*, Walter F. Frear; *First Vice President*, Frank C. Atherton; *Second Vice President*, C. K. Ai; *Treasurer*, F. E. Blake; *Recording Secretary*, J. M. Camara; *Corresponding Secretary*, Alexander Hume Ford; *Trustees*, J. A. Balch, Frank F. Baldwin, George A. Brown, William R. Castle, J. P. Cooke, Richard Cooke, George P. Dennison, John C. Lane, A. K. Ozawa, C. C. Ramirez, Syngman Rhee, George Rodiek, George H. Vicars, and George N. Wilcox. See "The Pan-Pacific Union and Its Activities," *MPM* 14 (September 1917):218-219; for a complete listing of Union officials over the years, see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 269-275. It might also be noted that Rodiek, then head of Hackfield and Co., a prominent local firm owned by Germans, took his internationalism more seriously than even his colleagues. Involved in a German plot to start a rebellion in India during World War I, he was caught and pleaded guilty. This was a factor in the expropriation of the firm and its reconstitution as American Factors under local ownership. See Frederick Simpich, Jr., *Anatomy of Hawaii* (New York, 1973), pp. 166-167.
61. *PCA*, May 23, 1917.
62. *HSB*, May 24, 1917.
63. *PCA*, March 7, 1918.
64. *PCA*, April 1, May 4; May 13, 1918.
65. Ford did not know Lane before the visit but quickly made his acquaintance and hosted a private party for him at the Outrigger Canoe Club (and, incidentally, almost drowned him in a canoeing accident) where arrangements for the subsequent festival were made. Once again, as would be the case repeatedly in the future, Ford's talent for making vital acquaintances paid dividends. See *PCA*, May 11, 1918.
66. *PCA*, May 23, 1918; and "Announcement," *MPM* 16 (August 1918), inside cover.

67. Whether simply to create an honorary position for Lane and the other officials or the result of prior planning, the Union announced a new general organizational scheme at this time as follows:

1. The Hands-Around-the-Pacific Movement (the general international movement).
2. The Pan-Pacific Union (an organization designed to operate at national governmental levels).
3. The Pan-Pacific Association (an auxiliary organization for interested individuals).
4. Pan-Pacific Clubs (local units of the Union and formerly the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Clubs).

Of these various units, only the Union itself and some of the clubs were to be of consequence. The "movement" was seldom mentioned and the "association" was never activated.

68. *PCA*, May 23, 1918.
69. *PCA*, September 2 and 15-20, 1918.
70. *PCA*, September 18, 1918.
71. "Pan Pacific Progress," *MPM* 17 (April 1919):327-332.
72. This publication was issued as a supplement to *Mid-Pacific Magazine* from this point until late in 1935. It was discontinued at this time and the parent publication folded shortly thereafter.
73. Vaughn MacCaughey, "Hawaii's Public Schools and the Pan-Pacific Idea," *MPM* 17 (June, 1919):569. In the main, this took the form of essay contests.
74. "The Paramount Issue," *BPPU*, no. 3 (January 1920), pp. 2-3. The *Nippu Jiji* became the *Hawaii Times* shortly after the outbreak of World War II.

75. See "Act 187," in *Laws of the Territory of Hawaii Passed by the Legislature at its Tenth Regular Session, 1919* (Honolulu, 1919), pp. 254-255 (measure hereafter cited as "Act 187," *Laws, 1919*).
76. As a further measure of this attention, among the other speakers at this gathering was Charles Evans Hughes, the former Supreme Court justice, presidential candidate and subsequent chief justice. Ford was moving in elite company. Hughes, incidentally, spoke on "The Case for Bolshevism" while Ford, as might be expected, preached the gospel of Hawaiian superiority in a talk entitled "Hawaii: The Radiating Center of Pan-Pacific Civilization." See "Pan-Pacific Ideals," *BPPU*, no. 5 (March 1920), pp. 13-14.
77. This, however, was an important contact. An acquaintance of Lane's had discussed the Union with him following his visit to Hawaii and reported back that Lane had said "anything Mr. Ford wanted of him [regarding the Union], he could probably get if he simply asked for it." H. P. Campbell, "Hands Across the Sea," *MPM* 18 (September 1919):217-220.
78. *PCA*, January 31, 1920.
79. *PCA*, February 15, 1920.
80. *PCA*, January 31, 1920.
81. *PCA*, February 5, 1920.
82. Ford, "Genesis: Part I," pp. 267-269. This account, perhaps embellished, is at least basically accurate as the funds were provided and Lodge later sent an autographed photograph which appeared in the September 1925 issue of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. Further, Lodge's support for the Union is not altogether surprising as he, Roosevelt, and others who opposed the League were activists so far as Pacific policy was concerned. For details see A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 87ff.
83. *PCA*, February 11, 1920.

Notes

84. PCA, February 16, 1920.
85. PCA, April 24, 1920.
86. "With the Pan-Pacific Congressional Party in the Orient," *MPM* 20 (December 1920):517-520.
87. "More Pan-Pacific News," *BPPU*, no. 15 (January 1921), p. 16.
88. "What Congress Thinks of the Pan-Pacific Union," *BPPU*, no. 15 (January 1921), p. 14.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
90. Harding to Ford, March 19, 1921, as reprinted in *BPPU*, no. 20 (June 1921), p. 5.
91. "Canada Appreciation," *BPPU*, no. 39 (January 1923), p. 6.
92. At one time or another during this period, the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* reprinted or referenced laudatory editorials and articles from the following newspapers: *La Prensa* (New York); *Sydney Evening Sun*; *Christian Science Monitor*; *Sydney Times*; *Advocate of Peace* (Washington); *Japan Advertiser*; *Chicago Daily News*; *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo); *Vancouver Sun*; *Washington Herald*; *San Francisco Call*; and the *Portland Oregonian* as well as the local Honolulu papers.
93. Ford to McCarthy, March 18, 1920, AH, McCarthy Papers.
94. "A Pan-Pacific League of Nations," *BPPU*, no. 31 (May 1922), p. 16.
95. As quoted from "A Hague of the Pacific," *BPPU*, no. 65 (June 1925), pp. 3-6.
96. *Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921* (Washington, 1921), p. 14.
97. "Pan-Pacific News," *BPPU*, no. 21 (July 1921), p. 3.
98. *Ibid.*
99. "A Spiritual Capital for the World," *MPM* 23 (March 1922):251.
100. For example, see Charles S. Lobinger, "The Pacific in Prophecy," *BPPU*, no. 18 (April 1921), p. 13.

101. The long-awaited 1920 conference was the first such gathering of importance. However, from time to time there are references to earlier conferences such as the Inter-Island Pan-Pacific Conference of 1918 and a similarly structured educational conference in 1919. For details on the latter, see "The Why of the Educational Conference in Honolulu," *BPPU*, no. 4 (February 1920), p. 2. Additionally, the list of conferences proposed but never held is an interesting indication of Ford's willingness to call for a conference on almost any issue. It includes sports, law, art, aviation, music, youth, banking, labor, entomology, ethics, travel, agriculture, fishing, overpopulation, monetary reform, Polynesian development, Pacific leadership, history, roads and parks, and transportation. In addition it was also proposed that various groups convene in Hawaii. On this list are the National Education Association, the YMCA, the Salvation Army, the Boy Scouts, the Red Cross, and the League of Nations Society.
102. "Act 187," *Laws, 1919*, pp. 254-255. As an aside, the latter condition required that all conferences sponsored under provisions of the act utilize the "Pan-Pacific Commercial and Educational Congress" heading. Conferences on more specific topics might be called, but they had to be considered part of the broader undertaking. As a consequence, the formal title for the first conference was the "First Pan-Pacific Science Conference of the Pan-Pacific Commercial and Educational Congress." This confusing requirement was dropped in 1922 when the initial appropriation was exhausted, and reference to the earlier gatherings was changed to the form used here.
103. A. P. Elkin, *Pacific Science Association; Its History and Role in International Cooperation* (Honolulu, 1961), p. 14.
104. *Proceedings of the First Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference* (Honolulu, 1921), pp. 3-4 (hereafter cited as *Proceedings First Scientific Conference*).

Notes

105. "Pan-Pacific News," *BPPU*, no. 8 (June 1920), pp. 5-6.
106. Elkin, *Pacific Science Association*, p. 15. Federal funding lent the gathering quasi-official status and made it possible for the government to issue the invitations. This arrangement prevailed in a number of subsequent gatherings and was a factor in the Union's belief that it would evolve into a governmental agency.
107. *Proceedings First Scientific Conference*, pp. 22-26, 11-21, 27-46.
108. Elkin, *Pacific Science Association*, pp. 18-19.
109. For details, see *ibid.* As an aside, in 1926 the Soviet Academy of Sciences was invited to send a delegation to the Third Pan-Pacific Science Conference meeting in Tokyo. In a remarkable linguistic slip for a Pacific power, the Politburo refused the invitation on the grounds that Soviet scientists did not participate in *pacifist* gatherings. The decision was subsequently reversed, presumably when someone corrected the original translation. See George A. Lensen, *Japanese Recognition of the U.S.S.R.: Soviet-Japanese Relations 1921-30* (Tokyo, 1970), p. 318.
110. "Director Ford to Attend Scientific Conference," *BPPU*, no. 48 (October 1923), p. 12.
111. "The First Pan-Pacific Conference of Education," *BPPU*, no. 10 (August 1920), p. 13.
112. "The First Pan-Pacific Educational Conference," *BPPU*, no. 19 (May 1921), pp. 5-6.
113. *First Pan-Pacific Educational Conference: Program and Proceedings* (Honolulu, 1921), pp. 3-21.
114. For further details, see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 123-131, 150-154.
115. "Mark Cohen's Last Letter to the Pan-Pacific Union," *BPPU*, no. 102 (July 1928), pp. 15-16.
116. "The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, 1928," *BPPU*, no. 62 (December 1924), p. 15.

Notes

117. "The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference," *BPPU*, no. 68 (September 1925), p. 12.
118. The invitations were "forwarded" by the government rather than "issued," thus avoiding difficulties pertaining to formal sponsorship. See Johnson to Satterthwaite, AH, Farrington Papers.
119. "Resolutions and Recommendations of the First Pan-Pacific Women's Conference," and "Plans for the Promotion of Research Projects," *MPM* 36 (December 1928):411-413, 429.
120. Ann Y. Satterthwaite, "Pan-Pacific Women's Conference," *BPPU*, no. 128 (October 1930), p. 7.
121. For further details, see *HSB*, October 22, 1955.
122. For further details on this organization, see Paul F. Hooper, "Feminism in the Pacific: The Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association," *The Pacific Historian* 20 (Winter 1976):367-378.
123. "The Pan-Pacific Medical Conference in 1928," *BPPU*, no. 65 (June 1925), p. 13.
124. "Pan-Pacific Conference to Come," *BPPU*, no. 77 (June 1926), p. 10.
125. "Surgeons Attending the Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference, Honolulu, August 14 to 24, 1929," *Journal of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution* 4 (July-September 1929):16.
126. "Aims of the Pan-Pacific Union," *MPM* 29 (January 1925), inside cover.
127. For example, see George A. Taylor, "Invention and the Peace of the World," *MPM* 28 (July 1924):77-79; Charles W. Baldwin, "The Perpetuation of Peace," *MPM* 27 (October 1924):369-377; and [David Starr Jordan], "Pan-Pacific Peace," *MPM* 31 (January 1926):21-23.
128. "The First Minister of Friendship," *BPPU*, no. 31 (May 1922), pp. 7-8, and "Ministers of Friendship," *BPPU*, no. 67 (August 1925), p. 16.
129. "An International Congress Ground in Hawaii," *MPM* 40 (October 1930):355-356.

Notes

130. "Report of the Director of the Pan-Pacific Union on Conferences Called," *BPPU*, no. 125 (July 1930), p. 3.
131. Governors McCarthy and Farrington were especially active Union leaders. Their collected papers contain numerous letters and documents pertaining to this role, and it is clear that they genuinely cared for the organization. It is also clear that Ford, with his penchant for hasty action, often drove them frantic, and they frequently went to great lengths to humor him onto more acceptable courses. The following passage from a Farrington letter chastising Ford for haphazard diplomatic activities illustrates: "These governments must be approached in a definite, formal way and the only method of doing that properly is through an organized committee with a definitely worded, clear cut plan.... So keep your shirt on and use your thirty pounds additional weight [gained after recovery from an illness] and your improved clarity of brain and steadfastness of nerve to the best advantage." (Farrington to Ford, May 29, 1922, AH, Farrington Papers.)
132. At various times such clubs were formed in Kobe, Los Angeles, Manila, Melbourne, Peking, Perth, Portland, San Francisco, Seoul, Shanghai, Sydney, Vladivostok, Washington, and Wellington in addition to Tokyo and Honolulu. National associations were formed in China and Japan but they, like most of the clubs, accomplished little.
133. Guests ranging from Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Alexandra Tolstoy (daughter of the author) appeared before these gatherings, but even the regular participants came to recognize that they accomplished little. See Roderick O. Matheson, "Trans-Pacific Press Rates," *MPM* 32 (November 1926):429.
134. "Good Relations Clubs Adopt Charter," *BPPU*, no. 44 (June 1923), p. 2.
135. For example see *HA*, April 2, 1924.

Notes

136. Ford made this statement in a Union publication. He apparently never filed the papers, as the State of Hawaii Department of Regulatory Agencies has no record of such a transaction. However, Union records do contain such papers dated December 30, 1920. UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.
137. See "Pan-Pacific News," *BPPU*, no. 16 (February 1921), p. 3, and "Pan-Pacific Information Bureau," *BPPU*, no. 50 (December 1923), p. 13.
138. "Pan-Pacific Women's Club Organizes," *BPPU*, no. 84 (February 1927), pp. 9-10.
139. For example, see entire issue of *Pan-Pacific Youth*, no. 1 (December 1926).
140. "The Pan-Pacific Cosmopolitan Club of the University of Hawaii," *PPY*, no. 5 (December 1927), pp. 3-4.
141. "The Pan-Pacific Cosmopolitan Clubs," *PPY*, no. 6 (March 1928), p. 3.
142. "A Pan-Pacific Cosmopolitan Club in Japan," *PPY*, no. 8 (September 1928), pp. 3-4.
143. The radio program was started in 1924 over station KGU but was soon canceled. See "The Pan-Pacific Radio Service," *BPPU*, no. 53 (March 1924), p. 10. Other undertakings are mentioned briefly in assorted issues of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*.
144. "The Pan-Pacific Scientific Research Council," *BPPU*, no. 17 (March 1921), pp. 9-11. For details on the earlier effort, see University of Hawaii Special Collections, William Alanson Bryan Papers, Pacific Scientific Institute File.
145. "Castle Home to be Nucleus of University," *BPPU*, no. 59 (September 1924), pp. 7-8.
146. For examples of community interest, see *HSB*, July 22, 1924, and *HA*, July 24, 1924.
147. "The Pan-Pacific Research Institution and Some Coming Pan-Pacific Conferences," *BPPU*, no. 63 (April 1925), pp. 3-7.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
149. "Announcement," *MPM* 34 (August 1927), back cover.

Notes

150. See "Student Scholarships at the Pan-Pacific Institution," *BPPU*, no. 81 (October 1926), p. 8; "The Pan-Pacific Garden," *BPPU*, no. 80 (September 1926), p. 3; and "Niniko, 'Garden at Rest,'" *MPM* 37 (May 1929):433-440.
151. "Great International Center is Being Established at Pan-Pacific Institution," *BPPU*, no. 114 (August 1929), pp. 5-7.
152. Alexander Hume Ford, "The Pan-Pacific Research Institution in Japan," *BPPU*, no. 85 (March 1927), pp. 13-14 and "The Pan-Pacific Research Institution in Manchuria," *MPM* 34 (October 1927):363-364.
153. "Hawaii and the Pan-Pacific Union," *MPM* 22 (September 1921):5.
154. "The Director of the Pan-Pacific Union Visits Tokyo," *MPM* 41 (May 1931):428. (For details of the Asian trip, see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 220-227.) It might also be noted that Ford apparently made something of a fool of himself while in Japan. Several years after his departure, an Institute of Pacific Relations official wrote a colleague that, "On my last visit to Japan, the American Ambassador, Grew, told me that the behavior of a representative of the Pan-Pacific Union [almost certainly Ford] was such as to make the visits of its representatives to Japan a matter of embarrassment, both to him and to the Japanese government." Carter to Oakie, March 1, 1938, UHA/IPRC, Personal Papers [E. C. Carter] File.
155. *HSB*, November 17, 1934.
156. Margaret Cook, "At the Osaka Pan-Pacific Club," *BPPU*, no. 140 (October 1931), p. 5.
157. See *Pan-Pacific* 3 (October-December 1939).
158. See *HSB*, December 21-22, 1939, and *HA*, December 23, 1939. The president who resigned was Oren E. Long, later governor of the Territory of Hawaii and still later a United States senator. There is some indication that Japan actually paid for this issue. There is a letter in the Union files that, in commenting on the criticism, says "it was better to have

our friends [the Japanese] give us that money for a magazine than to use it fighting the Chinese." (Satterthwaite to Allyne, June 18, 1940, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File).

159. "Report of the Executive Secretary of the Annual Meeting of Trustees of the Pan-Pacific Union, February 21, 1941," UHA, Pan-Pacific Union, February 21, 1941," UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.
160. Hull to Pan-Pacific Union, November 27, 1940, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File. The Union's pro-Japanese sentiment was strong enough that the FBI briefly investigated the group in 1940. See Satterthwaite [?] to von Heiland, May 26, 1940, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.
161. In many respects, leadership simply collapsed when he left on his trip in 1931. He made some effort to provide guidance from abroad, but without much success.
162. Precise figures are impossible to obtain as formal annual financial statements from nonprofit, eleemosynary organizations such as the Union were not required by the Territory of Hawaii until 1940 and the Union's private records are incomplete. Also, throughout the entire period, Ford apparently took nothing more than expenses (although he was often voted a salary), thus permitting a lower budget than would otherwise have been the case. For example, see the informal annual reports published in the February 1926, November 1927, and December 1928 issues of the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union*.
163. Governmental grants over the 1919-1935 period (from the first to the last grant) totalled slightly over \$100,000—United States, \$9,000; Territory of Hawaii, \$86,250; China, \$1,000; New Zealand, \$1,500; Siam, \$1,000; and Australia, \$1,500—and the remainder consisted largely of dues, contributions, and subscriptions. Of this total, only \$15,520 came in the period after 1930. However, the United States' contribution was actually larger, as the government supported a number of conferences after the

initial scientists meeting but expended the funds directly rather than through the Union as was the case in the first gathering. (See the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* and "Receipts and Expenditures for 4 Years from January 1, 1931 to December 31, 1934," and "Pan-Pacific Union Treasurer's Report: 1938," UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.) It should be noted that some outside help came from the various local foundations and families but in such small amounts, especially after 1930, as to be insignificant. (See "Regular Contributors: Pan-Pacific Union," and "Pan-Pacific Union Donations Received From 1931-1935," UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.)

164. See *Ayer Directory* by year. Figures are incomplete for the 1910s and 1920s, however.
165. See Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 170-171 and 230-232 for details.
166. Honolulu's prestigious Pacific Club merged with the University Club in 1930 and is responsible for forcing the issue over the facility. See Mackintosh to Pan-Pacific Union, September 9, 1934, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.
167. For example, see *HSB*, April 6, 1931, "Pearl Culture in Hawaii," *JPPRI* 6 (July-September 1931):14-16, and "Floating Flower Shows," *BPPU*, no. 140 (October, 1931), pp. 15-16.
168. "Preparing for the First Pan-Pacific Games," *BPPU*, no. 140 (October 1931), pp. 15-16.
169. This is particularly true in the case of the National-Pacific Foreign Trade Conference of May 3-6, 1932, and the Regional World Federation of Education Association Conference of July 25-30, 1932. The Union devoted an entire issue of *Mid-Pacific Magazine* to the former. See *MPM* 43 (June 1932).
170. How he afforded the stay in Europe and the trip to Hawaii is a mystery. He had no savings and apparently no family support. He had requested a pension from the Union in 1936

but there were no funds. (See “Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Pacific Union,” August 5, 1936, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.) The Union did, however, fund him in the sense that it paid his back taxes and outstanding loans while he was away and this amounted to some \$10,000. (“Expense Money Sent Mr. A. H. Ford,” [1937], UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.) Also, Matson Navigation Lines gave him free passage for his final return to Hawaii. (Satterthwaite to Du Ponte, January 15, 1938, UHA, Pan-Pacific Union File.) In all likelihood, he simply finagled his way much as he did on the trip around the world in 1913-1914.

171. Stickney Interview.
172. *HA*, October 31, 1943; *HSB*, February 15 and March 13, 1944; and Stickney Interview.
173. *HA*, October 15, 1945, and *HSB*, October 17, 1945.
174. *HSB*, January 24 and March 18, 1946.
175. *HA*, October 18, 1945. Also see *HSB*, October 16, 1945. Ford has not, however, been entirely forgotten in the years since his death. Yost’s previously cited study discusses him at some length, and the trophy awarded the winner of the annual Waikiki Rough Water Swim is named in his honor.
176. Another part of the Ford record that should be mentioned is the fact that his internationalist interests were selective rather than, as he so frequently implied, catholic. To illustrate, the 1920s and 1930s were a time of intense trade union activity in the Pacific, due in large part to Australian leadership. Although the influence of this effort was largely kept from Hawaii by an antilabor establishment, it was successful enough elsewhere to produce, among other things, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariate. It is not likely that Ford was unaware of this aspect of Pacific internationalism, yet he never discussed it—let alone assisted it—during these years. For details on the labor movement, see Frank Ferrell, “International Socialism and Australian Labor” (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1975).

CHAPTER V

1. Gwenfread E. Allen, *Bridge Builders: The Story of Theodore and Mary Atherton Richards* (Honolulu, 1970), pp. 135-151. A listing of the recipients of scholarships between 1911 and 1940 is provided on pp. 151-157.
2. For further details, see Ray Jerome Baker, *A Brief History of the Lion's Club of Honolulu: 1926-1946* (Honolulu, 1946).
3. Louise H. Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawaii: Its Impact on a Yankee Community* (Honolulu, 1971), p. 166.
4. For details on this assessment, see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 184-216. Other general studies of the organization are John N. Thomas, *The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics* (Seattle, 1974); Thomas Carpenter, "The Institute of Pacific Relations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1968); and Edna M. McGlynn, "The Institute of Pacific Relations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1959).
5. *Institute of Pacific Relations: Honolulu Session, June 30-July 15, 1925* (Honolulu, 1925), p. 8 (hereafter cited as *Honolulu Session*).
6. However, he never graduated from college. Ill health forced his withdrawal after two years. George F. Nellist, ed., *Men of Hawaii*, vol. 5, rev. (Honolulu, 1935), pp. 73-75.
7. Ethan T. Colton, "Frank Cooke Atherton: 1877-1945" (unpublished and undated manuscript, Hawaii and Pacific Collection, Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii), p. 1.
8. Nellist, *Men of Hawaii*, pp. 73-75. Among other things, this web of directorships reflects the interlocking nature of Hawaiian businesses at this time, a subject discussed in various other studies.
9. Colton, "Atherton," pp. 3-4.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
11. For example, see Frank C. Atherton, "Orchid Growing in Hawaii," *Bulletin: American Orchid Society* 2, no. 2 (1933):24-27.

12. Gwenfread E. Allen, *The Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii: 1869-1969* (Honolulu, 1969), pp. 216-220.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
14. Colton, "Atherton," pp. 6-8. All this suggests that Atherton was perfection personified, and some people felt that indeed he was. On at least one occasion he was described in almost precisely these terms. See *ibid.*, pp. 10-11. As good a man as he most certainly was, it should also be noted that he always retained a mix of business acumen and missionary-inspired paternalism that kept his idealism within remarkably practical limits, especially when the subject concerned domestic affairs in Hawaii. While he could approve and support an integrated YMCA, he was not, for example, willing to go so far as to say that the principle should be applied in all sectors of society. To illustrate, in 1940 he addressed a local PTA group on his view of the role of public schools, and he made it abundantly clear that these schools should be concerned with little more than providing basic skills and vocational training. They should worry about providing capable workers rather than prospective leaders. Given the extremely high percentage of non-white students then enrolled in the public schools, no one could miss the racial undertone in his remarks. See Frank C. Atherton, "What Does Industry Expect from the Public Schools?" *The Friend* 110, no. 8 (August 1940): 146-145, 153. Indeed, such remarks led one scholar to conclude that he was "an almost perfect personification of the Gospel of Wealth." See Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawaii*, p. 168. This is not, however, as damning a conclusion as it might seem. Such views were common among the Island elite at the time, and Atherton did represent a considerably more enlightened position than many of his contemporaries. As another writer once put it, he was both a "product and a creative force in this remarkable milieu [of early twentieth century Hawaii]." See Colton, "Atherton," p. 1.

Notes

15. *Honolulu Session*, p. 11.
16. "Tentative Statement Concerning a Proposed Pan-Pacific Conference on a Christian Program for the Pacific Area," UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File. Publication details unknown.
17. "Minutes of the General Calling Committee of the Pacific Conference, Haddon Hall, Atlantic City, N.J., U.S.A.," September 21, 1924, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File. This theme also appears in much of the correspondence of the period and was clearly the central idea at least so far as the Hawaii participants were concerned. For example, see F. C. Atherton to General Education Board, April 24, 1924, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
18. "Minutes of an Informal Conference held at the Yale Club, New York," February 22, 1925, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
19. *Honolulu Session*, pp. 26-27.
20. Arthur L. Dean, "Scope and Aims of the First Institute of Pacific Relations," May 24, 1925, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
21. *Honolulu Session*, pp. 23-24.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-40.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-34. The matter of immigration policies was of special concern as the United States had just adopted the discriminatory Immigration Act of 1924 which was offensive to Asians in general and Japanese in particular.
24. "Handbook of the Institute of Pacific Relations," in Bruno Lasker, ed., *Problems of the Pacific, 1931: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai, China, October 21-November 2* (Chicago, 1932), p. 521. For a complete listing of Institute officials between 1925 and 1936, see Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 279-281.
25. *Institute of Pacific Relations* (Honolulu, 1925), p. 10.

Notes

26. He raised \$25,700 from various sources (not in the least his own accounts) in Honolulu, \$21,825 from various American mainland sources—including J. D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s contribution of \$10,000, the World Peace Foundation's gift of \$5,000, and Bernard Baruch's subscription of \$1,000—and some \$25,000 in Asia, \$11,500 from Japanese participants and the remainder from participants from other countries. See *Institute of Pacific Relations*, p. 9.
27. "An Inside Story of the Institute," unidentified manuscript, UHA, IPRC, 1925 Conference File.
28. *Institute of Pacific Relations*, p. 10.
29. *HSB*, July 1, 1925.
30. F. C. Atherton to Carter, July 23, 1925, UHA, IPRC, 1925 Conference File.
31. There is virtually no mention of Ford or the Union in any of the documents surrounding the formation of the Institute.
32. "The Pan-Pacific Conferences," *BPPU*, no. 53 (March 1924), p. 11.
33. Allen, *Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii*, p. 99.
34. Alexander Hume Ford, "The Pan-Pacific Union's Welcome," *BPPU*, no. 67 (August 1925), p. 7.
35. *Ibid.*
36. "The Origin of the Institute of Pacific Relations," *MPM*, 30 (October 1925):302.
37. "A Statement of the Relationship Between the Pan-Pacific Union and the Institute of Pacific Relations," *MPM* 34 (August 1927), inside cover.
38. This situation deteriorated in the late 1930s when the Union was on the verge of collapse. Then the Institute took pains to disassociate itself from the Union so as not to jeopardize its own reputation. See assorted documents 1935-1940, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
39. "Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization," July 27, 1927, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.

Notes

40. Charles F. Loomis, "The Institute of Pacific Relations," n.d., UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
41. "Committee on Permanent Organization."
42. *Institute of Pacific Relations Financial Reports: 1929-1931* (Honolulu, 1931), p. 18. The Rockefeller grant was in two parts, one of \$10,000 and the other of \$15,000. The latter was the first part of a three-year grant totaling \$45,000. It was the first of many large grants from the various Rockefeller foundations.
43. J. B. Condliffe, ed., *Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii July 15 to 29, 1927* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 591-593.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 597-602.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-593.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 607-610. It might also be noted that the local community participated rather fully in this gathering. Some one hundred citizens, including Governor Farrington, were invited to attend as observers and did so. Others, including Union members, volunteered to assist with such matters as entertainment, and still others helped with more specific tasks such as public relations. It is amusing to note that Riley Allen, later to become a well-known Honolulu newspaperman, agreed to oversee publicity and then proceeded to run wild with the responsibility. He issued over a hundred press releases on the two-week event, many of which were, perhaps for lack of anything substantial to report, little more than promotional pieces on Hawaii's cultural and social attributes. Even his own newspaper returned one of these releases with the notation "contains no information and is utterly without news value." See Elizabeth Green "Memorandum to the Editorial Board," July 21, 1927, UHA, IPRC, 1927 Conference File.

47. So far as the American delegation to this gathering was concerned, it might well have started by changing its own attitudes. The subject of integrating the group was broached, and it was suggested that Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University and a respected black scholar, be named a delegate. This suggestion was talked down on the grounds that America should not air its racial problems abroad, blacks had played no role in Pacific affairs, Asians might feel that Americans regarded them in the same fashion they regarded blacks, and it would be impossible to invite a black without inviting a white person from the South. (See "Minutes of the Joint Meeting of Executive and Delegates Committees," April 14, 1927, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.) However, it should be noted that James Weldon Johnson, a well-known black author and NAACP official, was a delegate to the next conference in Japan during 1929. (J. B. Condliffe, ed., *Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 28 to November 9, 1929* [Chicago, 1930], p. 628.)
48. "Summary Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, 1925-1950," n.d., UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
49. Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pp. 100-119.
50. Condliffe, *Problems of the Pacific, 1929*, pp. 666-668.
51. *Institute of Pacific Relations Publications on the Pacific: 1925-1952* (New York, 1953). The list of titles is actually in excess of fifteen hundred. Although under attack by the McCarthy movement, the organization continued to sponsor research during the 1950s and some forty additional titles appeared during this decade and in the early years of the 1960s.
52. Carter to National Councils, January 29, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
53. Loomis to Nelson, January 6, 1931, UHA, IPRC, National Councils (Canada) File.

Notes

54. See *Publications on the Pacific* for details.
55. Condliffe, *Problems of the Pacific, 1929*, pp. 670–671.
56. McCarthy once termed him “the top Russian espionage agent [in the United States]” and said that his own anti-Communist campaign would “stand or fall” on the Lattimore case. Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, p. 68.
57. The newsletter service extended in earlier issues of *Pacific Affairs* was not simply dropped. A new publication, *I.P.R. Notes*, was started in 1934 to provide institutional news. It was published until 1938. It should also be noted that the American Council’s *Far Eastern Survey* also gained broad respect.
58. *Ayer Directory, 1937–1970*. The publication is not listed prior to 1937.
59. Yen and Yamasaki left the Institute after a year, apparently because of a lack of administrative funds. Their positions were never again filled. See Davis to Eggleston, July 18, 1930, UHA, IPRC, National Councils [Australia] File.
60. Condliffe, *Problems of the Pacific, 1929*, pp. 674–676. Participation by the Soviet Union, of special interest given the diplomatic estrangement of that country during the 1920s and early 1930s, was something Institute leaders went to great lengths to obtain. On a number of visits to the Soviet Union, Institute officials virtually courted the Soviet government. The results were hardly worth the effort. Although a Soviet Council was formed in 1931 and formally affiliated with the Institute in 1934, Soviet participants attended only the 1936 conference and took little part in other Institute activities. This, it appears, is due in part to Soviet suspicion of the Institute—a “bourgeois” institution funded by “monopoly capitalists”—and in part to the Stalinist purges of the 1930s that eliminated many of the Soviet Council members. (See Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pp. 11–15.) However, the Soviet Council was not formally dissolved until 1950.

Notes

(See "To the Chairman and Members of the IPR Review Committee," September 24, 1953, UHA, IPRC, American Council File.)

61. Although Korean delegates were present at earlier conferences, pressure from Japan, then the colonial ruler of Korea, prevented any formal affiliation.
62. Kyoto and Nara, Japan (1929); Shanghai and Hangchow, China (1931); Banff, Canada (1933); Yosemite National Park, USA (1936); Virginia Beach (Virginia), USA (1939); Mt. Tremblant (Quebec), Canada (1942); Hot Springs (Virginia), USA (1945); Stratford-upon-Avon, England (1947); Lucknow, India (1950); Kyoto, Japan (1954); and Lahore, Pakistan (1958).
63. Personal interview with Janet Bell, Curator, Hawaiian and Pacific Collection, UH Library, December 10, 1971. Also see Crawford to Loomis, March 30, 1937, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
64. Davis to Eggleston, July 18, 1930, UHA, IPRC, National Councils (Australia) File.
65. Although the American Council clearly spearheaded this effort, there was support from other national councils. For example, see Takaki to Carter, August 20, 1935, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
66. Quoted in "Minutes of the Annual Meeting: Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations," January 25, 1932, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
67. Loomis to Frazier, December 22, 1931, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. In all likelihood, these charges of provincialism—that Hawaii lacked the facilities, the connections, and the sophistication to make the organization effective at the international level—must be accepted as fundamentally correct. The Islands simply did not have the research capacity, the pool of skilled manpower, the access to government officials and opinion makers, the knowledge of the international process, and above all the image of a cos-

mopolitan international center that would be necessary for the venture to succeed. While many of these deficiencies have been remedied over the intervening years, it is worth noting that they still remain a matter of concern. As recently as 1973, for example, the American Psychological Association met in Honolulu and its leaders made similar charges when delegates appeared to find the distractions of Waikiki more interesting than the scheduled meetings. See *HSB*, January 26, 1973.

68. See assorted letters in UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
69. Loomis to Agee, December 21, 1931, and Royal N. Chapman, "Personal Reactions to the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations," December 21, 1933, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. It might be noted that the Hawaii Tourist Bureau did not simply ignore these comments, but made an effort to create a more serious image of Hawaii by sponsoring at least some advertising which referred to the Islands as the "Geneva of the Pacific" and mentioned the work of the Institute and the Union. For example, see "Press Release No. 14," approximate date June 10, 1932, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
70. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Advisory and Executive Committees," February 28, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
71. Quoted in Carter to Chapman, July 16, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
72. F. C. Atherton to Baker, January 14, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.
73. Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pp. 3-11. Also see "The Tokyo Research Conference," *I.P.R. Notes*, no. 3 (June, 1935), pp. 1-27.
74. F. C. Atherton to Baker, January 27, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File.

75. However, the new leaders always recognized Atherton's contributions despite this disagreement. For example, when Atherton died in 1945, the Institute passed a resolution stating that "the Institute of Pacific Relations owes its existence and its twenty-year record for research on the problems of the Pacific area to the foresighted vision of Mr. Atherton and others like him who, when the attention of the world was centered on Europe and on European problems, insisted that coming American development and coming international tension lay in the problems of the great countries and peoples surrounding the Pacific Ocean." Quoted in Colton, "Atherton," p. 14.
76. See Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pp. 36-140, for a review and assessment of subsequent developments within the Institute.
77. Carter to Davis, February 5, 1929, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. Also see "Minutes: Meeting of Members of Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations," November 26, 1928, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
78. An unhappy side effect of the control of the group by the local elite was that participation never expanded far beyond the white community. From time to time, the group actually made an appeal for names of people from other ethnic communities in order to create a more balanced membership. For example, see Loomis to Metcalf, March 2, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
79. "Constitution: Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations," 1929, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. It might be noted that membership was originally restricted to fifty persons. This restriction was later dropped and membership rose to approximately two hundred where it remained thereafter. Hooper, "History of Internationalism," pp. 282-284 lists the officials of this group for the years after 1935 but the listing contains certain errors.

Notes

80. "Report of Meeting Held by Hawaii Research Committee," September 10, 1930, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
81. *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* (Honolulu, 1933). The Kamehameha Schools, a private institution with considerable resources, published the book.
82. It should be noted that Institute leaders were conscious of the matter of participation by women and proud of the responsible roles they did perform. They actively solicited female participation just as they did ethnic participation, but with somewhat greater success. For example, see untitled letter to local women, October 17, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
83. Peng-chun Chang with the assistance of Helen Gay Pratt, *China: Whence and Whither* (Honolulu, 1934).
84. "List of People Receiving the China Text Book Other Than High Schools," September 5, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
85. For example, see Goodrich to Field, October 1, 1934, and Latourette to Field, October 3, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
86. "Provisional Plan for Preparation of Book of Readings on Japanese Civilization," n.d., UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
87. For example, see Holland to Loomis, February 5, 1935, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. Like the Union leaders, local Institute leaders could not seem to bring themselves to admit that Japanese-American relations were deteriorating rapidly. As in the case of the Union, this seems to be due both to long-standing ties with Japan and a better than common understanding of Japanese ambitions and policies.
88. "Petition to the Senate and House of Representative [*sic*], Regular Session of 1935, Territorial Legislature," March 27, 1935, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
89. See various sources under the subheading "1930s Textbook Project," in UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.

Notes

90. McLaughlin to Lindner, June 17, 1935, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
91. "Summary of Meeting on 'Standards of Living'," November 27, 1933, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
92. Chapman to Loomis, February 12, 1934, and "Supplementary Report—Standard of Living Study Hawaii," April 9, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
93. Field to Wentworth, November 19, 1935, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
94. Wentworth to Loomis, February 13, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
95. Bond to Simpich, May 9, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
96. Simpich to Loomis, May 15, 1936, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
97. Bond to Simpich, May 9, 1936, and Simpich to Loomis, July 7, 1937, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
98. "Minutes: Executive Committee Meeting, July 14, 1937," and Field to Loomis, December 2, 1937, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
99. *HA*, April 23, 1937.
100. However, the issue was still controversial enough that Loomis requested that this publication not be mentioned in any American Council mailings to the local members. Loomis to Greene, May 1, 1941, UHA, IPRC, Personal Papers (Katrine R. C. Greene) File.
101. Jean Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil* (Stanford, 1935).
102. See annual summary reports for the 1930s generally titled "Report of Activities," UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. As an aside, another of the occasional participants in these programs was Lewis B. Hershey, then an army officer stationed in Hawaii and more recently a controversial military draft administrator.
103. See assorted documents, 1938-1941, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.

Notes

104. See assorted documents classified as "General Activities" UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
105. George E. Fisher, Jr., "Student Institute of Pacific Relations: History, Organization, and Proceedings," 1933, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
106. See assorted documents classified as "General Activities," UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
107. Shepard to Greene, August 29, 1931, and "Report of Activities for 1937," UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
108. For example, see Martin to Loomis, June 28, 1932, and Sinclair to Mitchell, February 23, 1934, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
109. "D. L. Crawford Memorandum," June 1940, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. The Pacific Council earlier issued a confidential memorandum on efforts to halt the war that might have encouraged such an undertaking. However, there is no evidence that a direct link exists. See "An Inquiry to be Organized by the International Secretariate of the Institute of Pacific Relations," February 9, 1938, UHA, IPRC, Pacific Council File. An earlier American Council research proposal on the same topic might also have played a role, but again there is no evident connection. (See Carter to Loomis, November 30, 1937, UHA, IPRC, American Council File.)
110. "Frank E. Midkiff Memorandum," December 4, 1941, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
111. Personal interview with Frank E. Midkiff, January 29, 1973.
112. Midkiff to Allen, December 5, 1941, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
113. "Peyton Harrison Memorandum," March 25, 1949, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
114. Ibid.
115. For a more detailed examination of this episode, see Paul F. Hooper, "A Footnote on the Pacific War," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 9 (1975), pp. 121-127.

116. *I.P.R. in Wartime: Annual Report of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Incorporated, 1941-43* (New York, 1944), pp. 34-35. The American Council was, however, extremely active during the war. In addition to lending many of their top staff people to the government for various tasks, they published some five hundred thousand informational pamphlets for servicemen, produced thirty-five scholarly books and seven textbooks, and completed several unpublished research projects during these years. (*HSB*, June 29, 1945.)
117. Speech of Senator Pat McCarran of July 2, 1952, as quoted in *Congressional Record* (7):8859. 82nd Congress, first session. To balance the record, it should be noted that Lauchlin Currie, one of President Franklin Roosevelt's aides, once made almost as strong a positive endorsement. He said, "The work of the Institute of Pacific Relations is more necessary now [during World War II] than ever before.... I do not know of any agency inside the government or out of it which is in a position to do the work which the Institute has been doing." See "Some Quotes," March 24, 1944, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
118. See Thomas, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pp. 36-140, for further details.
119. See "Minutes: Pacific Memorial Foundation," May 14, 1946, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. However, such discussion did contribute to the creation of local interest in such an undertaking which was in turn a factor in the subsequent establishment of the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii. This subject is discussed further in chap. 6.
120. For example, see Chamberlin, Dean, Dillingham, Emeny, Gilchrist, Herod, and Jessup to members, March 17, 1947, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
121. For example, see open letter by J. B. Atherton, August 18, 1952, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.

Notes

122. "Press Release: Honolulu Chapter, Institute of Pacific Relations," April 17, 1948, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
123. "Minutes: Annual Meeting of Members," March 15, 1951, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
124. *HSB*, July 5, 1952.
125. For example, see Conant to J. B. Atherton, September 12, 1952, and Conant to Little, March 30, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
126. *HSB*, August 13, 1951, and J. B. Atherton to Swope, April 9, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
127. See de Grassi to Conant, September 29, 1953, and "Minutes of the Board of Governor's Meeting," December 7, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
128. For example, see Kohlberg to Leebrick, April 28, 1947, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
129. Mott to Loomis, July 3, 1947, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
130. Brother Carter to Loomis, April 4, 1947, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
131. White to Gerbode, January 24, 1948, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
132. Dole to Institute of Pacific Relations, December 18, 1952, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
133. Allen to J. B. Atherton, August 3, 1953, and Midkiff to J. B. Atherton, November 20, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File. Midkiff had been very concerned about the Communist issue for several years. As early as 1949 he commented on the necessity of cleansing the Institute of "any Communistic or 'pinkish' tints." Midkiff to Castle, August 8, 1949, UHA, IPRC, Personal Papers (Midkiff) File.
134. Loomis to Wrenn, November 5, 1951, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
135. See *HSB*, November 24, 1952, for an account of Loomis' service and retirement.

Notes

136. The local chapter of the Institute had actually changed its title to Pacific and Asian Affairs Council in 1950. (See "Territory of Hawaii, Charter of Incorporation," June 20, 1950, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.) Hence, they were technically independent of the American Council from that time. However, they did not sever connections and did not begin using the new title until 1953.
137. Shoemaker to Martin, November 9, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
138. "Notice of Special Meeting of the Members of the Institute of Pacific Relations of Hawaii to be Held on December 15, 1953," December 8, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
139. J. B. Atherton to Membership, December 11, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
140. Franklin to Conant, January 8, 1953, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch (PAAC) File.
141. Conant to Macadam, January 27, 1955, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch (PAAC) File. There is proof of contact only with British Prime Minister Anthony Eden.
142. Script for radio show "Pacific Commentary," September 1, 1958, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch (PAAC) File. As a measure of student response, the graduating class of McKinley High School, one of Honolulu's major public schools, regularly contributed to the Institute (usually \$25) during the late 1940s and early 1950s. See assorted financial records for the period, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch File.
143. For example, see "Minutes" June 28, 1956, UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch (PAAC) File.
144. See voluminous correspondence during the late 1950s. UHA, IPRC, Honolulu Branch (PAAC) File. Among other things, the "Friends of the East-West Center," a local support group which still flourishes, was organized by Pacific and Asian Affairs Council activists.

CHAPTER VI

1. For a more complete summary, see Advisory Council on the International Relations of the University of Hawaii, "Hawaii International: The University of Hawaii and its International Relations," mimeographed (Honolulu, 1974).
2. For further details on the years leading up to this change, see David Kittelson, "The History of the College of Hawaii" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1966).
3. William Kwai Fong Yap, *The Birth and Founding of the University of Hawaii* (Shanghai, 1933), p. 5. Also see T. S. Hardy, *Wallace Rider Farrington* (Honolulu, 1935), pp. 80-85.
4. E. C. Carter, ed., *China and Japan in our College Curricula* (Chicago, 1930), p. 187.
5. *The Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii: Prospectus* (Honolulu, 1935), pp. 7-8.
6. "The Report of the President to the Board of Regents," *University of Hawaii Bulletin* 21, no. 1 (December 1941):17 (hereafter cited as "Report of the President" by the respective year).
7. See assorted issues of *Oriental Institute Journal*, 1937-1939. It should be noted, however, that most of the students enrolled were undergraduates merely taking courses of interest rather than graduate scholars. Throughout the last half of the 1930s only several advanced degree candidates (for the M.A. only as the Ph.D. was not offered) were graduated from the program. See "Report of the President," 1936-1941.
8. *The Oriental Institute* (Honolulu, 1935), preface.
9. "Report of the Director, Oriental Institute," *Oriental Institute Journal* (June 1937), p. 4.
10. United States, House Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West (East-West Center)*, p. 4. 87th Congress, second session, 1962.

Notes

11. Charles A. Moore, ed., *Philosophy East and West* (Princeton, 1946), p. vii.
12. Charles A. Moore, ed., *Philosophy and Culture East and West: East-West Philosophy in Practical Perspective* (Honolulu, 1963), p. 3.
13. The 1969 conference met with some financial difficulties which raise doubts about the likelihood of subsequent gatherings. However, the University of Hawaii has assumed responsibility for the periodical, thus assuring the survival of at least one aspect of Moore's work. Moore died in 1967 and was spared the agony of witnessing the probable collapse of his grand hope.
14. Moore, *East-West Philosophy in Practical Perspective*, pp. 3-11.
15. Charles A. Moore, "The Second East-West Philosophers' Conference: A Preliminary Report" University of Hawaii Occasional Paper No. 52 (December 1949), p. 3.
16. For further details see "Report of the President," 1941-1945.
17. "Report of the President," 1943, p. 17.
18. Ibid. Also see *HA*, July 27, 1976.
19. Technically, this was a mistake. The school was chartered in 1907 so its fortieth anniversary should have been celebrated the previous year.
20. For details of the lecture series, see William Wyatt Davenport, ed., *The Pacific Era: A Collection of Speeches and Other Discourse in Conjunction with the Fortieth Anniversary of the Founding of the University of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1948).
21. For further details, see Arthur L. Andrews, "Graduate School of Pacific and Asiatic Affairs: University of Hawaii," Proposal prepared for the Board of Regents, University of Hawaii, n.d., UHA, Graduate School of Pacific and Asian Affairs File. Also see other materials in this file and UHA, Sinclair Papers File.

Notes

22. Personal interview with Agnes Niyekawa, February 9, 1976.
23. "The Role of the International Student, Scholar and Visitor at the University of Hawaii," mimeographed (draft proposal of the Task Force on Future International Activities of the University of Hawaii, February 23, 1976).
24. Personal interview with Lorrin Gill, June 17, 1971.
25. "American Universities Field Staff" (informational brochure prepared by the American Universities Field Staff, n.d.), pp. 11, 14.
26. "Hawaii's Role in Foreign Training," mimeographed (Office of Contract Training, University of Hawaii, 1974), pp. 12-15. Also see R. C. Dionne, comp. and ed., *Hawaii's Training Resources: A Report for the Governor's Advisory Committee on the Proposed International Center* (Honolulu: Office of the Governor, October 19, 1959). Another three thousand individuals were trained under East-West Center auspices between 1960 and 1973.
27. United States, House Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Background Information on the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West*, pp. 13-16. 87th Congress, first session, 1961 (hereafter cited as *Background Information on the Center*).
28. Territory of Hawaii, Legislature. *An Act Establishing an Integrated Program Combining a Curriculum of Overseas Operations and Asian Studies at the University of Hawaii*. Act 152. Thirtieth Legislature, 1959.
29. Quoted in Gordon Ring, "Fifteen Years to Maturity: A History of the East-West Center," *East-West Center Magazine* (Summer 1975), p. 7.
30. Flanking Interviews Nos. 2-4 (Dan Aoki), John A. Burns Oral History Project, UHA (hereafter cited as Aoki Interviews), The John A. Burns Oral History Project began late in 1974 and is still underway. It involves interviews with leading local political figures concerning the rise of the modern De-

- mocratic party in Hawaii and the role of John A. Burns in that process. The initial interviews were with Burns himself and are termed simply the "Burns Interviews." Subsequent interviews with his supporters, opponents, and various political observers are called "Flanking Interviews."
31. See United States Department of State. *A Plan for the Establishment in Hawaii of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West: A Report submitted to the Congress by the Secretary of State in accordance with the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1959*, chap. 6, December 30, 1959 (hereafter cited as Department of State, *Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange*). The recommendations of the Hawaii groups are included in this report as an appendix.
 32. Ring, "History of East-West Center," pp. 7-8.
 33. The East-West Center provides graduate level scholarships for study at the University and elsewhere, but does not offer courses or grant degrees itself. This is the University's responsibility under the cooperative relationship between the two institutions. Only advanced research programs and technical training programs are directly administered by the Center. However, students on scholarships are directly affected by a series of transcultural programs sponsored by the Center and their academic progress is closely monitored.
 34. See Ring, "History of East-West Center," pp. 8-12 and 17 for a good overview of the Center's history. Also see the various annual reports of the Center for statistical data.
 35. To date no full-scale analysis of the Center has been undertaken. Ring's summary article (cited above) is a useful introduction which, it is hoped, will be expanded to a full-length study. The account in the present study is at best only a summary of the several most basic issues and topics.
 36. United States, 86th Congress, second session, 1960. *Congressional Record* 106 (6):8118-8120.

Notes

37. Quoted in *Background Information on the Center*, pp. 53-54. It should be noted that the first annual report published by the Center is much more general than the version cited here and is apparently a summary version of the full document. See East-West Center, *First Annual Report* (Honolulu, 1961).
38. As regards Johnson's political motives, see Aoki Interviews. For examples of the Cold War argument, see United States, 86th Congress, second session, 1960. *Congressional Record* 106 (6):8118-8120; and *Congressional Record* 106 (7):8854-8855.
39. Aoki Interviews.
40. United States, 86th Congress, second session, 1960. Senate. "A Bill to Promote the Foreign Relations of the United States by Providing for the Establishment of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West in Hawaii." S.3385, p. 2.
41. Quoted in *Background Information on the Center*, p. 3.
42. Department of State, *Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange*, p. 15. There is a certain irony in all of this. Despite the success of the venture, Burns, in one sense its creator, was never particularly happy with it. He had envisioned some form of a "people-to-people" program rather than the essentially academic institution that ultimately emerged. Burns himself made this clear in informal comments during the course of the oral history project.
43. This surge relates directly to Center-inspired programs in some instances and in other instances to programs that were, in all likelihood, simply inspired by the existence of the Center. Language programs for non-English speakers and community support groups for the Center are examples of Center-related programs while the Peace Corps and Agency for International Development training programs are examples of Center-inspired undertakings.

Notes

44. Programs were offered for volunteers assigned to Borneo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Fiji, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Micronesia (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands), Nepal, the Philippines, Samoa, Thailand, and Tonga. Unfortunately, no general assessment of the program has been prepared. Assorted records are in the files of the Advisory Council on the International Relations of the University of Hawaii.
45. Personal interview with John Stalker, January 30, 1976 (hereafter cited as Stalker Interview).
46. For summary details, see "Asia Training Center: A Five Year Proposal," mimeographed (Asia Training Center, University of Hawaii, April 25, 1969).
47. Stalker Interview.
48. Stuart Gerry Brown with the assistance of Guy R. Kirkendall, "Plan: A Center for Cross Cultural Training and Research," mimeographed (proposal prepared by the Advisory Council on the International Relations of the University of Hawaii, December 19, 1969).
49. "Hawaii International." This is no accident. Beginning with a master plan developed in 1964 and continuing to the present time, the University has deliberately focused its attention upon the areas where it has the greatest natural advantages. This, obviously, has formalized and strengthened its concern for Asian and Pacific related issues.
50. *SB/A*, September 7, 1975.
51. For further details, see "Hawaii International."
52. Stuart Gerry Brown, "The Building of the ACIRU: A Cast Study," *Educational Perspectives* 14, no. 2 (October 1975):3-6.
53. With respect to the problem of preserving the gains of the past, a particularly worrisome tendency on the part of the University has been its general reluctance to provide direct institutional support for externally funded activities such as the Peace Corps and Agency for International Development

training programs. This has meant that the programs have generally failed to survive the withdrawal of external funds. Some observers have suggested that this failure to meaningfully institutionalize the programs demonstrates a less than total commitment to underlying internationalist principles on the part of the school.

54. In the educational sector, the bulk of both pre- and postwar activity centered around the University. This is not to say, however, that other schools have contributed nothing. The public secondary school system continues to cooperate with the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council and some ten thousand students per annum now participate in some fashion in the latter's program. Private secondary schools such as Mid-Pacific Institute and Punahou have long sponsored international student summer programs. Private colleges such as Hawaii Loa College and Brigham Young University-Hawaii also sponsor programs. The latter's scholarship program for Pacific island students and its Polynesian Cultural Center are particularly good examples. However, none of this changes the conclusion that the University has dominated within the educational realm so far as international activities are concerned. For details on other programs, see Mary Gray, "Hawaii's Needs in the Pacific Community," mimeographed (report for the Hawaii International Services Agency, August 1971).
55. While Quinn is often overlooked in this arena, he should not be. The previously cited (chap. 2) remarks from his 1959 inaugural address are an example of his feelings on the subject. In addition, he was governor during the time of the East-West Center's creation and lent considerable support to the effort. It is also worth noting that state legislator Toshio Serizawa, one of the state's more vocal internationalists during the 1960s, credits Quinn with inspiring his concern despite the fact that he was a close associate

Notes

- of Burns. Interview with Toshio Serizawa by Sharon Narimatsu, June 13, 1974 (hereafter cited as Serizawa/Narimatsu Interview).
56. For example, see his testimony before Congress in 1957 as cited in chap. 2, n. 70.
 57. Quoted in *HA*, December 4, 1962.
 58. John A. Burns, "The Quest for a Pacific Community," speech delivered before the Pacific Trade and Development Conference, Honolulu, January 9, 1969; and untitled speech delivered before the 41st Annual Propeller Club Convention, Honolulu, October 13, 1967 (former hereafter cited as Burns, "Pacific Community").
 59. John A. Burns, untitled speech delivered before the Governor's Luncheon on Hawaii's Pacific Trade Year, 1970, Honolulu, January 22, 1970.
 60. John A. Burns, untitled speech delivered before the American Bankers Association Convention, Honolulu, September 30, 1969.
 61. Serizawa/Narimatsu Interview.
 62. Interview with Shelley M. Mark by Sharon Narimatsu, July 24, 1974 (notes in author's possession).
 63. See Myron Thompson to Sharon Narimatsu, August 6, 1974, and interview with George Kanahele by Sharon Narimatsu, July 18, 1974.
 64. This conclusion is reinforced by the various interviews conducted in the course of the John A. Burns Oral History Project. Although Burns died before the topic was directly addressed, his remarks on other subjects frequently demonstrated his internationalist perspectives and his belief that Hawaii was achieving a long-deserved international stature. See Burns Interviews Nos. 1-11, John A. Burns Oral History Project, UHA. However, as with Kalakaua, it may be that his internationalism was designed to boost local morale as well as achieve more conventional international ends.

Notes

65. Interview with John A. Burns by Sharon Narimatsu, November 9, 1974 (hereafter cited as Burns/Narimatsu Interview). The book in question is Joseph C. Furnas, *Anatomy of Paradise: Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas* (New York, 1948).
66. Burns/Narimatsu Interview. Furnas' book was sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations.
67. For greater details on Burns' life, see Burns Interviews. As regards the point on political power, although Burns eventually became something of a traditional "political boss," there is little to suggest that a desire for power was his original motive. In fact, he turned down an opportunity to gain great power at the time he started in politics. At that time Roy Vitousek, a major force within the Republican party, offered him a significant position if he would join the Republicans. Burns rejected the offer despite the fact he liked and respected Vitousek. See Burns Interview No. 5 and Flanking Interview No. 4 (Ed Burns), John A. Burns Oral History Project, UHA.
68. For the views of one qualified observer on this point, see Daws, *Shoal of Time*, p. 393.
69. See State of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, "Final Status of Bills and Resolutions," 1950-1972. This percentage of passage is approximately in line with the overall percentage of passage. It should be noted that the year 1955 is the first year the Democrats controlled any portion of the Legislature and is further indication of the aforementioned connection between reform and internationalist sentiment.
70. State of Hawaii, Legislature. *An Act Making an Appropriation for the Expansion of Programs*. Act 198. Fourth State Legislature, 1967.

Notes

71. State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, *Hawaii's Leadership Role in Pacific Affairs: Report to the Fourth Legislature of the State of Hawaii on House Concurrent Resolution No. 39* (February 1968), pp. 1-4.
72. For further details, see the listing of activities in State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, *Hawaii International Services Agency*, January 1973.
73. George Chaplin and Glenn D. Paige, eds., *Hawaii 2000: Continuing Experiment in Anticipatory Democracy* (Honolulu, 1973), pp. 334-355. Chaplin is also one of the leading figures among contemporary Island internationalists.
74. For example, see Burns, "Pacific Community."
75. The effort is discussed in greater detail in George S. Kanahale and Michael Haas, "Prospects for a Pacific Community," *Pacific Community* 6, no. 1 (October 1974):83-93. Also see George Kanahale, "A Pan-Pacific Community?" *Impulse* (Winter 1976), pp. 38-39. In addition, this urge periodically manifests itself in calls for an expanded Hawaii embracing at least the other American possessions in the Pacific.
76. For a more detailed review of this evolution, see Frederick Simpich, Jr., *Anatomy of Hawaii* (New York, 1971), pp. 147-181.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-177. Also see *HSB*, February 20, 1973.
79. *HSB*, February 20, 1973.
80. State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, "When You're Planning Your Profit in Numbers, Think 9: A Concise Report on the Advantages of Using Hawaii's Foreign-Trade Zone No. 9," n.d.
81. For details, see *SB/A*, February 19, 1978, and June 4, 1978.
82. *HSB*, February 20, 1973.

83. Shelley M. Mark, "Impact of Japanese Investments in Hawaii," *Hawaii Overseas*, supplement to vol. 1, no. 5 (January 1973), pp. 2-5.
84. For example, see *HSB*, December 29, 1972, and *HA*, July 2, 1973; July 28, 1973; September 8, 1973; September 28, 1973.
85. For example, see State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, "Hawaii: Heart of the Pacific Family of Nations," 1970; and *HSB*, February 20, 1973.
86. See Allen, *Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii*, pp. 55-68, 103-109, 117-136, 170-186.
87. Honolulu YMCA. Membership Bulletin (March 1940), p. 6.
88. Conclusions based upon the author's involvement with the YMCA's international program since 1971.
89. For a general summary, see Paul F. Hooper, "Diversity, Identity, Unity," *YMCA Today* 50, no. 6 (Early Fall 1974):11-12.
90. For details, see Honolulu YMCA International Staff, "Activities of the YMCA of Honolulu in the Trust Territory of the Pacific" (memorandum prepared for internal YMCA use, Honolulu, January, 1976).
91. Assorted documents in the local organization's files pertaining to the Asia-Pacific YMCA Consultation on International Cooperation illustrate this observation.
92. For details, see Gray, "Hawaii's Needs," pp. 52-53.
93. For details, see *HA*, November 4, 1975.

CHAPTER VII

1. Bingham, *A Residence*, pp. 18, 226.
2. Herman Melville, *Typee* (London, 1934), p. 317.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
4. Quoted in A. Grove Day, ed, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Travels in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1973), p. 119.

Notes

5. Quoted in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Letters of Henry Adams: 1858-1891* (Boston, 1930), p. 409.
6. *The Friend*, September 1896, p. 67.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
8. Although the native Hawaiian community's point of view was not as widely published as that of the white community, this sentiment, as a variety of studies show, existed. For a summary example, see Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii 1842-1898* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945), p. 73. For a more detailed examination, see Merze Tate, *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (New Haven, 1965).
9. From the Blount Report, quoted in Tate, *United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom*, p. 235.
10. United States, 55th Congress, second session, 1897. *Congressional Record* 31 (1):45. Unfortunately, this document was simply received and not referred for printing. Apparently there is no extant copy.
11. A noteworthy exception here is a small group of commentators, largely from elsewhere, who objected to the positive characterization not because they felt it inadvertently misperceived but rather because they believed it to be a contrived scheme designed to render an imperialist venture more palatable. For example, see Samuel Weinman, *Hawaii: A Story of Imperialist Plunder* (New York, 1934).
12. For example, see *PCA*, January 17, 1906; January 20, 1906; and *HSB*, February 13, 1920.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *HA*, June 10, 1949, This is one of a series of such editorials. For a general survey of labor strife, see Daws, *Shoal of Time*, pp. 311-317, 357-367.
15. See *HSB*, October 17, 1928. For a general survey of the Fukunaga case, see Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po*, pp. 113-149.
16. Quoted in Theon Wright, *Rape in Paradise* (New York, 1966), p. 195.

Notes

17. Quoted in Peter Van Slingerland, *Something Terrible Has Happened* (New York, 1966), pp. 188–189.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 295. See Wright and Van Slingerland for a detailed discussion of the Massie case.
19. *HA*, January 18, 1946.
20. This may be a simplistic qualification. While the point cannot be firmly ascertained, the suspicion lurks that this argument was, at least on the part of some, merely a veneer covering the real issue that was in fact a deep-seated reluctance to accept nonwhites as equals as would be necessary should statehood be granted. For one example, see testimony delivered during the 1953 statehood hearings as reported in *HSB*, July 3, 1953. On the other hand, there is virtually no question but that the Communist charge was largely valid. For further details, see Flanking Interviews Nos. 18 and 19 (Jack Kawano), John A. Burns Oral History Project, UHA.
21. Quoted from W. Storrs Lee, ed., *Hawaii: A Literary Chronicle* (New York, 1967), p. 385.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Francine du Plessix Gray, *Hawaii: The Sugar-Coated Fortress* (New York, 1972), p. 121.
24. Michener, *Hawaii*, p. 1010.
25. For several pertinent examples of contemporary incidents, see the controversy over the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in Hawaii as reported by local newspapers during the summer and fall of 1975, and the debate stirred by a *Honolulu Advertiser* series on “local advocacy” which ran between November 16 and November 19, 1975.
26. Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii: The Last of the Magic Isles* (London, 1969), p. viii.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
28. For further detail, see the whole of Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*.

29. If such a conclusion is indeed in order, it is worth noting that further research might reveal some interesting parallels between pre-World War II Hawaii and the antebellum American South. In both cases, a governing elite concerned with maintaining a genteel way of life was committed to plantation agriculture for economic reasons and utilized paternalism as one means of controlling an ethnically different labor force. For further thoughts on this point, see such works as John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1972). There are also findings in more recent psychological studies on perception indicating that people tend to perceive events in accordance with their immediate needs or interests and, thus, ignore conflicting evidence. For a summary discussion, see Adam Smith [pseud.], *Powers of Mind* (New York, 1975), p. 245.
30. This question is also connected with the well-documented but nonetheless confusing existence of contradictory strains in American thought that have from time to time divided the nation over such issues as free will vs. determinism, piety vs. intellect, virtue vs. law, innocence vs. maturity, nature vs. civilization, and agrarianism vs. technology. These contradictions form an intricate and dynamic arrangement of opposites that makes historical if not logical sense and points to still another area where much additional research is in order regarding the Hawaiian experience.
31. For further discussion of this notion, see Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*.
32. Quoted in Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 127.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.
34. Quoted in Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1957), p. 1.
35. For further discussion, see *ibid.*

***** Production Notes**

This book was designed by Roger Eggers and typeset on the Unified Composing System by the design and production staff of The University Press of Hawaii.

The text and display typeface is Compugraphic Caledonia.

Offset presswork and binding were done by Halliday Lithograph. Text paper is Glatfelter P & S Offset, basis 55.