

## Book Reviews

*Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change From Hawaii to Iraq.* By Stephen Kinzer. New York: Times Books, 2006. 384 pp. \$27.50 cloth; \$15.00 paper

Americans shocked at the Bush Administration's rush to war in Iraq in March 2003, were partly appalled by the apparent unilateral break with Republican Party caution in engaging in foreign aggression, especially in wars of choice. But a recent book by the former *New York Times* foreign correspondent Stephen Kinzer argues forcefully and often persuasively that Americans shocked by Bush's seeming reckless abandonment of U.S. foreign policy protocol are suffering from short memories. As Kinzer sees it, the invasion of Iraq was not an isolated incident, but rather the culmination of a 110-year period during which the United States overthrew fourteen governments that displeased it for various ideological, political, and economic reasons.

In wonderfully readable prose, Kinzer describes three periods of American intervention: first the "Imperial Era" between 1893 and 1910 (in Hawai'i, the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, and Honduras); second, the "Covert Action period" between 1953 and 1973 (in Iran, Guatemala, South Vietnam, and Chile); and third, the overt "invasions" since 1983 (in Grenada, Panama, Afghanistan, and Iraq). Kinzer further argues that the reasons for the overthrows were often cloaked in idealistic language, such as the desire to assist anti-colonial elements in some of these countries, to advance democracy, or to protect U.S. security. In practice, however, the principal aims were to establish the right of U.S. business to act as it wished, to satisfy new national ambition for expansion, to access needed resources or to obtain new markets, and to strengthen the U.S. economy at the expense of competitors.

Drawing mainly on secondary sources, Kinzer shows that most regime

change operations achieved their short-term goals of displacing local rulers. In overthrowing the government of Guatemala in 1954, for example, the multinational conglomerate United Fruit was free to operate as it wished and successfully convinced the Eisenhower administration that their interests were consonant with U.S. interests.

The tragedy of the regime change dance has, however, been profound and Kinzer believes U.S. interests were hurt in the long run as America was distrusted by substantial numbers of people around the world. Moreover, the ability of the country's "soft power," or America's ability to obtain international change without war by being respected for its ideals and values, was eroded.

In deciding which countries to include this study, Kinzer includes only those regimes in which the U.S. played a decisive role in their overthrow. To that end, he argues that the long involvement of the U.S. in regime change begins with the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893. This, he argues, was the first of the imperial overthrows in which government officials did not hide their leadership role and articulated a coherent rationale for their efforts. Relying heavily on secondary sources, including the studies of William Russ and Helena Allen, Kinzer argues that the overthrow "was a tentative awkward piece of work, a cultural tragedy staged as comic opera: it was not a military operation, but without the landing of American troops, it probably would not have succeeded. The president of the United States approved of it, but soon after it happened, a new president (Cleveland) took office and denounced it. Americans were already divided over whether it was a good idea to depose foreign regimes" (p. 2).

Kinzer's chapter on Hawai'i is, by his own admission, problematic, as he believes that the overthrow led to improved conditions and greater political liberty for Native Hawaiians and improved labor conditions for immigrant labor largely from Asian countries. He notes, ironically, that more Native Hawaiians could vote after annexation than ever could under the Hawaiian Kingdom. Indeed, Hawaiians controlled many of the elected and appointed offices after 1900. Kinzer is a bit reluctant to see the events in Hawai'i from 1893 to 1900 as typical of his paradigm for the iniquities of U.S. intervention elsewhere in the world.

Scholars of the 1893 overthrow will note a number of small errors in his recounting of events. For example, Kamehameha III did not study as a boy under Amos Starr Cooke; William R. Castle, Sr. was a lawyer, not a land baron, and was not pivotal to the success of Castle and Cooke; the "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887 was not the first to impose property and literacy qualifications on the electorate (the 1864 Constitution promulgated by Kamehameha V had implanted these restrictions as part of his claim that Native Hawaiians were

not ready for full democracy); the Great Mahele of 1848 was not forced on Kamehameha III by Amos Starr Cooke but passed a legislature dominated by Native Hawaiians; Kinzer's description of missionary ideas, values and activities reads like a Hollywood caricature; and the role of Queen Ka'ahumanu in encouraging the spread of Christian religion and missionary influence throughout the Kingdom is ignored. Indeed, much of the chapter depicts Native Hawaiians as oddly passive victims who were not able to at least partially shape foreign ideas, technology, religions, and values to fit their needs.

More importantly, however, Kinzer's chapter on the Hawaiian case of regime change characterizes it as a simple matter of sugar interests, conspiring with the Republican Harrison administration, overpowering a popular queen. Furthermore, he sees that the landing of the 162 marines and sailors to protect American lives and property as the definitive reason why the unpopular overthrow, which had support mainly from the "American and foreign communities," succeeded. Careful historians of the overthrow will immediately decry his confusion of the "sugar interests," most of whom, like Claus Spreckles and T. H. Davies, were opposed to the overthrow for fear of endangering existing labor contracts. Kinzer also overestimates the unanimity of anti-royalist thought among missionary descendants. The professional elite, many of them lawyers, businessmen, and doctors, was a diverse lot who frequently disagreed with sugar interests and among themselves.

Kinzer's compilation of regime changes is timely and useful given the events in Afghanistan and Iraq in the first years of the 21st century. His inclusion of Hawai'i's regime change, however, overestimates the American role in the affair and misses the nuance, complexity, and ambiguity associated with it.

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*Longitude and Empire: How Captain Cook's Voyages Changed the World.*  
 By Brian W. Richardson. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005. xvi + 240 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Index.  
 \$85.00 cloth; \$29.95 paper

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of academic publications on European voyages of exploration to the Pacific. Captain James Cook remains the most famous Pacific explorer in the popular imagination, and most of these recent studies have concentrated on his voyages. Two stand out: Nicholas

Thomas's *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (2003) and Anne Salmond's *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (2003). Both focus on the drama of cultural contact between Pacific Islanders and Europeans, and to a lesser extent, how these contacts changed each group.

Brian Richardson adopts a different perspective in *Longitude and Empire*, which is based on his dissertation at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Neither Thomas nor Salmond appear in the book's substantial bibliography, suggesting a long production process rather than negligence on the part of the author. Richardson concerns himself with the intellectual ramifications of the voyages, or more precisely, the publications arising from the voyages, and proposes that the knowledge gained transformed European perceptions of the world from a dangerous world of uncertain dimensions to one that was ordered and able to be mapped and eventually controlled. He asserts that the voyages thus marked a crucial watershed between European early modern and modern ways of viewing the world and its peoples. For the first time, the world was conceived of in a single coherent vision.

By largely freeing himself from discussing the "messy entanglements" (the title of a Pacific history edited collection) of cultural contact, Richardson is able to present a coherent, tightly knit intellectual vision. According to the author, this vision evolved out of the voyages and transformed history: "In the end, Cook's voyages created a mathematical, scientific, and textual vision of the world's places that transcended the opinions and guesses offered by his predecessors" (p. 7). This vision not only affected European geographical vision, but also deeply influenced and altered European political and moral philosophy.

Chapter one demonstrates how the ability to plot longitude as well as latitude first demonstrated in Cook's voyages allowed locations to be mapped precisely without reference to landfalls and coasts. Every location could be mapped accurately in relation to every other location. Chapter two builds on this to show that longitude also allowed island shapes to be mapped accurately. Richardson asserts that as the Pacific was the first location on earth mapped in this new, precise way, islands and oceans exercised an influence on the mapping of later, more continental locations. Interiors of continents were envisaged as seas and locations as islands (p. 75). Chapter three takes this idea one step further and asserts that locations and nations also came to be envisaged like islands as bounded, discrete entities. Cook described these entities in their entirety and collected as many botanical and cultural specimens from them as possible. This universal scheme allowed comparison between entities and the realization that there was considerable variation between different non-Europeans in contrast to Dr. Samuel Johnson's often cited remark to the contrary. In referring to Cook's published *Voyages*,

Johnson claimed, "There can be little entertainment in such books; one set of savages is like another" (p. 80).

Chapter four suggests that the island analogy soon afterwards influenced political philosophy and concepts of the state as a bounded, coherent entity. The author perhaps overstates the novelty of this, as islands had been used as settings for ideal political orders and societies in European literature for a considerable time before this. However, Richardson does make the important observation that European state borders were not accurately mapped until after Cook's voyages and that the association of nations with states also increases after the 1770s. Chapter five discusses how a global system of knowledge emerged based on descriptions and collections of these entities that allowed Europeans to conceive the possibility of global empires. Richardson asserts that this intellectual framework was the necessary prerequisite to the great age of European empires in the nineteenth century, which is described in the last chapter, chapter six.

The author is heavily influenced by Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay* (1988), which elevates the importance of texts on human history, some would say at the expense of actions. This is particularly true for the last two chapters of *Longitude and Empire*. While Richardson eruditely links the publications of Cook's voyages to what was published before and after, he perhaps assigns too much influence to the written word and intellectual fashions and not enough to more sanguine and pragmatic considerations behind individual and state actions. Bernard Smith's analysis of literary and artistic descriptions of the voyages is noted, but not the influential works of Pacific historians such as Kerry Howe and Ian Campbell. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Howe and Campbell demonstrated that European-based scholars' musings on the moral and political implications of the information contained in Cook's journals existed alongside more empirically-based, and at times xenophobic attitudes towards Islanders expressed by those who were in contact with them, and that any intellectual preconceptions that might have existed soon gave way to pragmatic flexibility in the field on both sides of the cultural divide. *Longitude and Empire* is a creative examination of a neglected aspect of Cook's voyages, but also an incomplete vision that is open to challenge and will hopefully stimulate debate and further research to resolve the ongoing methodological tension between the influence of, and interaction between, processes on the ground and cultural structures displayed in institutions and texts.

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*Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760–1860.* By Steven Hooper. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. 287 pages. Timeline. Illustrated. Maps. End Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$42.00 paper

First things first: From a strictly aesthetic standpoint, *Pacific Encounters* is a beautiful book. Nearly 270 items gathered from throughout Polynesia are presented in full color, many in multiple orientations to highlight key elements. Each piece receives a detailed accounting in terms of place of creation, original use and “collection” history, and in their presentation as a whole, all—fishhook and feather cloak, gong drum and “god image”—are elevated to the status of high art.

This should come as no surprise: The book is first and foremost the catalog for a 2006 exhibition of the same name, curated by Steven Hooper and staged at the University of East Anglia's Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts. (Hooper also serves as director of East Anglia's Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas.) Close to half of the items shown are held by the British Museum, and the overall majority is rarely, if ever, on public display, which makes each piece's detailed documentation all the more valuable. At the same time, the book's layout underlines one of Hooper's central points: That these objects, in both their initial indigenous context and following their acquisition by European voyagers, whalers, missionaries, et al., have in their lifetimes had multiple uses, meanings and values (among them, as museum pieces and increasingly valuable *objets d'art*).

Art and divinity: On their own, these are ambitious themes to grapple with, and they're made all the more daunting by the diverse societies and traditions that fall under the rubric of Polynesia (which for this text also includes Fiji, one of the author's areas of specialization). Hooper also seeks to address a century's worth of interaction between this extremely diverse set of island societies and an equally diverse set of foreign arrivals. Needless to say, this is a lot of ground (and ocean) to cover in an introductory narrative of three chapters and barely seventy pages. For those familiar with Hooper's previous work (for instance, the extensive *Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas: The James Hooper Collection*, published in 1976 under the name Steven Phelps) the main text of *Polynesian Encounters* will seem somewhat lighter. But to his credit, given the limited space and the challenge of writing for multiple audiences—some of whom will no doubt be arriving at the subject with little or no background to draw on—he has constructed an engaging narrative, and one that does an admirable job of summarizing and synthesizing the extensive work of Adrienne Kaeppler, Patrick Kirch, Marshall Sahlins

and a host of others. And while Pacific scholars might find the narrative to be largely familiar ground, one of the “value-added” aspects of this book is its fairly extensive bibliography. Another is the inclusion of roughly 100 thumbnail biographies and descriptions of various collectors, dealers, and institutions, which spans from the 18th century through the present and serves as a useful reference tool. (As do such touches as the “selected” timeline of European voyages between 1519 and 1865.)

As Hooper notes, the century in question was one of great upheaval for the Pacific. While Europeans had ventured into and across these waters prior to the mid-eighteenth century, their landfalls in Polynesia to that point had been relatively limited. As far as this region is concerned, the 1760s thus mark the beginning of a major push in European voyaging. As the author also tells us, by the end of the era in question, “. . . every part of Polynesia was locked into relationships of a colonial or pre-colonial kind with European powers, and most Polynesians had been, nominally at least, converted to one of various competing forms of Christianity” (p. 13).

The book thus aims to understand this period by addressing two central themes: the original role of the display objects in their indigenous contexts and their subsequent roles once transferred to a European context. “This,” writes Hooper, “is a story of shifting meanings, of valuations, evaluations and re-evaluations” (p. 14). And it is particularly in the discussion of shifting ownership and value that this narrative succeeds. Beyond the actual item descriptions—which account for roughly two-thirds of the 287-page text and is its single most valuable aspect—the three-chapter narrative is most enlightening when it is discussing the history of select objects in terms of their production, gathering and accession to various European collections, as well as how those various collections themselves changed hands over time. To his credit, Hooper also takes up (though to a limited and somewhat guarded extent), the sensitive issues surrounding provenance and “ownership” of indigenous material by European and American museums.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, Pacific scholars expecting a more in-depth discussion might find the narrative a bit thin in places—a useful summation, rather than a groundbreaking new work. There are also points where, minus the space for a fuller exploration, the theme seems to be stretched a small bit. For instance, in discussing the London Missionary Society’s introduction of a printing press to Tahiti in 1817, Hooper writes, in part,

“. . . Pomare insisted on inaugurating its operation, and there was enormous demand for printed texts. It is tempting to view this piece of machinery, in Polynesian terms, as a kind of god image—a composite and impressive object sited in a special restricted place, producing by a mysterious

process materials in which god's word and power were said to reside, and which were distributed to regional shrines under the control of priests. This process paralleled in key ways those associated with images of the deity 'Oro in *pa'iatua* rites. It is not surprising that Pomare was insistent on presiding over its first operation, and keen to keep it in his own domains" (p. 64).

In a footnote to this passage, Hooper goes on to write: "Sheets of paper could be interpreted as being equivalent to red feathers: brought to the main shrine, transformed/printed and redistributed" (p.75).

It might be tempting to imagine the printing press as a kind of god image but Hooper doesn't provide any evidence to support such a vision. In reality, as G. S. Parsonson documents in "The Literate Revolution in Polynesia," (*The Journal of Pacific History*, 2 (1967): 39-57) Pomare II (the Pomare referred to above) had been reading and writing in English with at least marginal fluency for more than a decade; he had also renounced the 'Oro cult for the first time publicly in 1810 and made at least a nominal conversion to Christianity in 1812 (this latter fact Hooper does note earlier in his text, though without mentioning the parallel decline of the 'Oro cult). Pomare was also well aware of the benefits of European material culture, having used western weapons to fight a decisive battle at Fei Pi in 1815 (in the name of Jehovah, no less). All of which points to a man who would not easily confuse the worldly power of the press with the divine power of a largely abandoned god. Whether Hooper is merely using the press as a means of introducing a brief discussion of earlier ritual practices, or meant to imply that Pomare was in fact seeing the press in terms of its utility in further solidifying his reign over the Society Islands, in either case musing on the machine as a god image somewhat masks the reality. In the process it also seems to be attributing an unjustified level of naivety to the Tahitian populace in general.

As mentioned earlier, one of the hallmarks of this book is its attention to detail, particularly in its item descriptions. At the same time, one finer point was missed. In his introduction, Hooper notes that *Pacific Encounters*—both the book and exhibition—were put together over the course of a single year, as part of a larger research project. No easy task . . . and unfortunately, in one key place, it shows. To put it gently, the Hawaiian orthography is less than perfect. 'Okina (glottal stops) are sometimes present and sometimes absent—cf. the map on page 78, in which they are apparently applied at random—and *kahakō* (macrons) are missing altogether. In all cases but one, the 'okina is also printed backwards, as an apostrophe. (The one exception being on the title page, where the University of Hawai'i Press is itself spared.) This sense



of confusion is further compounded by the practice of spelling Hawai'i without an *'okina* when referring to the entire Hawaiian archipelago, and with an *'okina* when speaking of Hawai'i Island. A footnote midway through the text, several pages after this alternate spelling first appears, describes this as a "widely accepted practice," which may come as news to many Hawai'i-based writers and publishers. This may strike some as a minor point, but for those concerned with Hawaiian language preservation and use—or anyone who works with Hawai'i-related materials on a regular basis—it's impossible to ignore. And a shame, because it subtly takes away from both the perceived authority of the text's creator and what would otherwise be a largely flawless book design.

All of this said, it bears repeating that *Pacific Encounters* is a valuable work. In its visual presentation and detailed description of the material, as well as its narrative synthesis of previous research on the subject, *Pacific Encounters* can only add further depth to scholarship on Polynesia. And, given the fact that it gathers such a geographically diverse, culturally important set of objects under one roof (so to speak), it is all the more important an undertaking.

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*All Men Are Brothers: The Life & Times of Francis Williams Damon.* By Paul Berry. Honolulu: Cyril Press, 2005. 125 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography.

To celebrate and document the life of an illustrious ancestor, some members of the Damon family commissioned Honolulu author Paul Berry to write a biography of Francis Williams Damon (1852–1915). Frank Damon, as he styled himself, is remembered by too few today as the "visionary" father of Mid-Pacific Institute, the Kindergarten Children's Aid Association, Pālolo Chinese Home, and 'A'ala Park, among other benevolent enterprises. For Damon's service to Hawai'i, King Kalākaua named him a knight commander of the Royal Order of Kamehameha.

So strong was Frank Damon's faith in Jesus Christ, and so great his dedication to good works, that many people thought he was an ordained minister and dutifully following in the footsteps of his famous father, Samuel Chenery Damon, chaplain of the American Seamen's Friend Society and pastor of

Bethel Union Church at Honolulu. His mother Julia Sherman Mills Damon, no less a tireless worker in Christ's service, was first president of the Stranger's Friend Society.

Frank was born in 1852, just as the great migration of Chinese laborers to Hawai'i sugar plantations modestly but earnestly began on January 3 of that year with the arrival from Amoy of 175 Fukienese field laborers and 23 house-boys. By 1863, during his school years at Punahou, the population of Chinese grew to 1,306. By the close of 1878, the Chinese were more than ten percent of the population, 6,000 out of fewer than 60,000.

Ameliorating the plight of these exploited indentured servants, and later their children, became Damon's life's work when he became, at age 29, superintendent of Chinese Missions in Hawai'i. Chinese were by then almost a quarter of the population of Hawai'i, and the vast majority of them were male. Realizing the social perils of a primarily male ethnic group, Frank advocated bringing Chinese women to Hawai'i as field laborers, as was done in other places. His arguments fell on deaf ears.

Frank's efforts to convert Chinese laborers to Christianity and provide them with pastoral care met with more success. His marital partner in this important work was Mary R. Happer, the blonde, blue-eyed daughter of medical missionaries in the Pearl River Delta, who spoke fluent Cantonese. They met in Canton on his return from Hawaiian diplomatic service in Berlin in 1881, and were married on his return to China in May of 1884.

On three occasions, Frank suffered severe breakdowns from "overwork" and retired to the mainland, once for four years, to recover. At these stressful times, Mary assumed his leadership role and set things in order at Honolulu before joining him in California to assist in his recovery. The author speculates about the possible nature of the illness, but, because of lack of evidence, wisely comes to no conclusions.

Also important to the success of Damon's mission work were generous charitable donations and personal financial assistance from his powerful older brother, Samuel Mills Damon, banker and business partner of Charles Reed Bishop and manager of his wife Bernice Pauahi Bishop's estate. In her will, Samuel Mills Damon was bequeathed the more than 7,000 acre *ahupua'a* of Moanalua. Frank and Mary occupied a house on the property, in which she continued to live after her husband's death in 1915.

By his biographer's account, Frank Damon was a good and decent man whose vision continues to have an obviously positive impact on Hawai'i. His descendants can be justifiably proud of the man who demonstrated the belief that all men are brothers, and it is altogether to their credit that they brought this volume into being.

Appropriately nostalgic by design, I think, the book's format gives the work

the appearance more of a family album and scrapbook than a scholarly tome. The generously illustrated book is not for sale, but, through the courtesy of its sponsors, is available for loan at most public libraries in Hawai'i.

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*Broken Trust: Greed, Mismanagement, & Political Manipulation at America's Largest Charitable Trust.* By Samuel P. King and Randall W. Roth. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. xi + 324 pp. Illustrated. Appendix. Index. \$26.00 cloth; \$16.00 paper

The Estate of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a perpetual charitable trust, has undergone a number of name changes. For most of its history, it was known as the Bishop Estate; later, it identified itself as Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate, then for a brief period (six years) as Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate (without the slash). Since January 1, 2000, it has called itself Kamehameha Schools. Despite its eleemosynary origins, its enormous wealth (\$6.8 billion in fiscal year 2005) has been the source of enough controversy and scandal to validate the Parable of the Needle's Eye.

Established in 1884 upon the death of Bernice Pauahi Bishop (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop), the major portion of the estate consisted of 378,569 acres, over ten percent of the land in Hawai'i. In her will, Mrs. Bishop named the five members of the first board of trustees, which included her husband, a prominent *haole* businessman. Future trustees were to be selected by the justices of the Hawai'i Supreme Court. Fiduciary duty required the trustees to manage the estate prudently and to carry out, among other things, the mission of Article 13 in the will: to establish two boarding schools, one for boys and one for girls, to be known as the Kamehameha Schools.

*Broken Trust*, contrary to one of its several back-cover blurbs, does not chronicle "a 100-year saga about politics, law, and native rights in the Fiftieth State." Its focus is narrower, the turbulent period that began in late spring of 1997 with a protest march against the then-current trustees and ended on December 16, 1999, with the resignation of trustee Lokelani Lindsey. Central to the book's narrative is the August 7, 1997, meeting between one of the book's authors, Randall W. Roth, a professor at the William S. Richardson School of Law, and the managing editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Roth sought publication of a long essay he had written with the help of Samuel P. King, a senior Federal District Court judge and coauthor of the book; Wal-

ter Heen, a retired judge of the State Intermediate Court of Appeals; Gladys Brandt, a former principal of the Kamehameha Schools; and Monsignor Charles A. Kekumano, a retired Catholic priest and chairman of the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust. (The book is dedicated to the memory of Brandt and Kekumano.) The *Star-Bulletin* published the essay, under the banner headline "Broken Trust," on August 9, and business and politics in Hawai'i underwent a long-overdue catharsis.

When the essay was published, the Bishop Estate had been in business for 113 years. The trust was established during the reign of King David Kalākaua, when the Supreme Court was part of the judiciary of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. At the time, the sugar industry was still growing, aided in part by Bishop Estate trustees who were appointed from the ranks of the *haole* oligarchy. Three-quarters of a century later, the economy of post-statehood Hawai'i was driven less by agriculture than by land development, tourism, and military spending. With the appointment of Hung Wo Ching in 1968, Matsuo Takabuki in 1971, and Myron Thompson in 1974, the trustees began to look less *haole* and more like Democratic Party loyalists.

The "Broken Trust" essay, more than 6,400 words long, took aim at the then-current trustees. The trustees had been selected by the members of the Supreme Court of the state of Hawai'i, headed by Chief Justice Ronald Moon, acting not as members of the court but in an "unofficial" capacity. Over a ten-year period, the justices selected the five trustees, all part-Hawaiian, who became the target of a May 15, 1997, protest march: Henry Peters (1984), Oswald "Oz" Stender (1989), Richard "Dickie" Wong (1993), Lokelani Lindsey (1993), and Gerard Jervis (1994).

By the end of 1999, all five trustees had resigned, the result of Herculean efforts on the part of the five essayists; Kamehameha Schools students, teachers, and alumni; the attorney general's office; the probate court, and the Honolulu media. King and Roth provide a lively account of the trustees' many alleged breaches of trust. Their summary of the "disturbing conclusions" of a financial and management audit by Arthur Andersen illustrates how terribly broken the trust was:

under the regime of the five lead trustees, planning had been sporadic and piecemeal; investment decisions were sloppy and were often made without due diligence; and there were no benchmarks for measuring performance, especially in special situations where Bishop Estate was heavily invested. Andersen also identified issues the IRS was sure to question, including excessive trustee compensation and expenses, the small percentage of resources devoted to the trust's tax-exempt mission, illegal involvement in political campaigns, questionable transactions between the tax-

exempt trust and its wholly owned for-profit companies, and employment of high-priced lawyers for work that appeared to benefit individual trustees rather than the trust itself (pp. 230–231).

Other back-cover blurbs compare the book to James Michener's *Hawaii* and to the social satire of Tom Wolfe. *Broken Trust*, however, purports to be nonfiction. Despite publication by the University of Hawai'i Press, it is neither a scholarly book nor free of error: Joe Tanaka was never a Honolulu city councilman (p. 221). In addition, the book lacks references to incidents and claims that cry out for clarification. Two examples: Oswald Stender's threat to kill Lokelani Lindsey (p. 244) and the claim that statistics are available showing "more than half the [Kamehameha Schools] graduating class of 1997 with SAT scores that would not qualify them for admission to the University of Hawai'i" (p. 177). Despite its serious public-affairs purpose, *Broken Trust* often reads like tabloid journalism. Too often the feuding parties are depicted as a version of Vice or Virtue or, on occasion, Virtue Compromised. To ensure that their message is not misunderstood, the authors have spiced the text with more than two dozen editorial cartoons.

More than yet another name change, the Estate of Bernice Pauahi Bishop needs an authoritative reminder of its charitable mission. It deserves a clear, accurate, and fully documented account of the disgraceful actions of the five trustees who resigned in 1999, as well as of the machinations of the Supreme Court justices, acting "unofficially," who did the trust no favors by appointing them.

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*Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity, and Culture in Hawai'i's Cherry Blossom Festival.* By Christine R. Yano. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. viii + 294 pp. Photographs. Notes. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. \$55.00 cloth; \$25.00 paper

In a well-researched and engaging study about the Cherry Blossom Festival pageant in Hawai'i, anthropologist Christine Yano investigates the complex role of female spectacle and the politics of "niceness" in the Japanese American community from post-World War II to the present. *Crowning the Nice Girl* uses the beauty pageant as a starting point to discuss larger issues about gender, ethnicity, race, and what the author calls the "emplacement" of

Japanese Americans in Hawai'i (p. 5). The book begins with Yano's personal reflections on the world of beauty pageants and the communal pleasures of spectatorship. Her memories of watching the Miss America pageant allow her to contextualize and compare her subjects of study, arguing that the Cherry Blossom Festival (CBF) pageant exists as a "separate-and-parallel" activity in the Japanese American community (p. 24). Yano provides a valuable overview of Asian American beauty pageants—highlighting their importance in cultural practice and honing in on the CBF pageant in particular, as a site where the politics of banality and niceness reveal a larger story about the assimilation of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i.

Yano traces the history of the CBF pageant alongside the emergence of the Honolulu Japanese Junior Chamber of Commerce as an organization that catapulted into popularity in the aftermath of the Second World War. Like most Americans in the 1950s, the Japanese American community in Hawai'i found itself caught up in the pursuit of the American Dream. This manifested in the Jaycee movement and the inception of the CBF, which "from the outset and variably throughout its development was both an expression of citizenship—that is emplacement within the American sphere—as well as a showcase of carefully crafted difference" (p. 40). The CBF pageant negotiated contested meanings of ethnicity, culture, and beauty amid increased commercialization, racial mixing, and tourist interest in the local Japanese community as part of this public display of civic citizenship and racial difference. As an ethnic beauty pageant originally conceived to celebrate Japanese heritage and tradition, the CBF had an ambiguous relationship with Japan. Moreover, the young woman chosen to be queen not only acted as a "cultural ambassador" but also signified a gendered, non-threatening representational figure (p. 68). Yano's astute observation reveals that the CBF inevitably was a Japanese American cultural production. She writes:

Few local Japanese Americans had ever seen the actual flowers [in 1962, live cherry blossoms were flown in from Japan]. Far more important were the symbolic uses to which the flowers were put, suggesting images of Japan, femininity, beauty, and nature. Cherry blossoms constituted the invention of performance of "Japan" in postwar Hawai'i and beyond, replacing memories of Pearl Harbor with that of beauty queens (p. 92).

In her research, Yano finds that "niceness" or "the stage projection of being nice, defined here as amiable, pleasing, pleasant, tactful, congenial," was a quality that all CBF queens consistently shared (p. 234). But niceness and the poetics of banality, Yano argues, functioned differently through time and underwent various "permutations." For example, the "nice girl" that fem-

inized the Japanese American population to render it “harmless” to the general public in the postwar years, became a conservative image that minimized ethnic tensions as the Japanese American community gained political and economic power in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s and 2000s, niceness grew to become synonymous with the popular “aloha spirit” known throughout Hawai‘i (p. 240).

*Crowning the Nice Girl* employs a variety of different methodological tools of analysis that balances the author’s subject position as a community member and a scholar. The body of evidence that Yano gathers comes from a wide range of sources including participant-observation, archival research, close readings of souvenir books and photos, and personal interviews or collections of what she calls, “herstories” of those involved with the CBF. The strength of this book comes from the richness and depth of the oral interviews and the analyses of material culture. It is from the interviews that we learn about the complex nature of local racial politics and controversies over racial mixing with which the community grappled.

*Crowning the Nice Girl* reconsiders the histories of Asian Americans as middle class subjects and the strategic ways in which Asian immigrants attain power in the places of their settlement. While Yano’s study of the emplacement of Japanese Americans in the Hawai‘i context diverges from previous scholarship<sup>1</sup> that has examined racial inequality, ethnic conflict, harsh conditions and labor struggles of the Asian American experience, it is an important study that adds to our understanding of the dynamics of cultural assimilation. Moreover, this insightful book serves as a good model for interdisciplinary study that deals with questions about race, class, and gender in the formation of middle class identities.

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#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> A number of studies that focus on Hawai‘i reveal an intense history of racial and ethnic conflict in the Islands. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920*. Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1984. Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945*. Philadelphia: Temple U P, 1992. Research on Japanese Americans on the mainland has also informed Christina Yano’s project. Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival in Los Angeles, 1934–1990*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2002.

*Combat Chaplain: The Personal Story of the World War II Chaplain of the Japanese American 100th Battalion.* By Israel A. S. Yost. Edited by Monica E. Yost and Michael Markrich. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. xv + 308 pp. Illustrated. Appendix. Works Cited. Index. \$45.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper

*Combat Chaplain* is a memoir of a twenty-seven-year-old Lutheran minister from Nazareth, Pennsylvania, who in October 1943, became the chaplain of the 100th Battalion (part of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team), virtually all of whose men were Americans of Japanese ancestry (AJAs) from Hawai'i. In 1984, after retiring from nearly four decades of serving as a parish pastor in the U.S., Yost wrote an account of the nineteen months he served in World War II, based on a diary he had kept during that time, as well as the hundreds of letters he had written to his wife. Intended as a gift to his children, to help them understand "their father's experiences and feelings while he served in the military," (p. 281) the manuscript was eventually prepared for publication by his daughter, Monica, and Michael Markrich, both of whom served as editors.

Yost's memoir provides insight into the evolution of the chaplain's role in the U.S. Army. From the beginning of the Army Chaplain Corps, many commanders treated the chaplains as "handymen," assigning them a multitude of collateral duties—everything from teaching in post schools or managing the post exchange to serving as camp postmaster, treasurer, or recreation officer—despite chaplains' complaints that they interfered with their primary, religious duties. Yost encountered this problem, but solved it by engaging in collateral duties that conformed to his ideas about his proper role. In an interview with an official of the Army chaplaincy, who asked why he was requesting assignment with an infantry unit, Yost answered, "Sir, an infantry chaplain stays close to his men even in combat. I want to share as completely as possible the life my men have to lead" (p. 41).

Yost recalls that he received no instructions regarding the duties of a combat chaplain—for the very good reason that the U.S. Army Office of the Chief of Chaplains (OCCH) had not yet defined them. On the day the 100th Battalion began moving into combat for the first time, Yost did garner some advice from "an older padre" who told him he had three choices: stay at the motor pool with the vehicles, attach yourself to the commanding officer's staff, or "stick close to the medics at the battalion aid station" (p. 12). Two days later, Yost found himself standing in front of the medical detachment. "When I saw that the medics needed help in evacuating the wounded, I volunteered as a litter bearer and for the first time came under enemy fire. It suddenly



dawned on me that I had discovered the proper spot for the chaplain to be” (pp. 13–14).

From that night on, he spent most of his time during combat operations assisting litter teams by finding and evacuating wounded and dead soldiers (including Germans and civilians), often under heavy shell-fire. At the battalion aid station, he comforted those awaiting medical treatment. For a time he served as Graves Registration Officer. During the lulls between skirmishes, he visited the men in their dug-in positions, talking with them and, when they requested it, holding private devotions.

Yost points out that many of the activities he engaged in during combat, on his own initiative, were similar to those of other World War II chaplains who, upon observing “a particular need with no one near to perform it, promptly assumed responsibility” (p. 82). He also notes that when the OCCH finally issued a booklet titled *The Chaplain Serves: Chaplain Activities, 1943*, discussing the combat chaplain’s duties, in March 1944, instead of approaching the question theoretically, it simply described what the World War II combat chaplains had actually been doing.

Morale building is another collateral duty Yost describes throughout the memoir. Mainly it involved providing an example of cheerfulness and faith—in the Allied cause as well as God. In a conversation with an infantryman troubled by the conviction that killing Germans violated the Biblical commandment against killing, Yost declared that by working to sustain his men’s morale, he, too, was involved in killing. “Killing is wrong,” he said, but it is necessary to stop the “greater evil” of Nazism (p. 266).

Yost considered seeing to the religious welfare of his men his primary duty. As a pastor to AJAs who were mostly Buddhist, he scrupulously followed OCCH guidelines that forbade proselytizing and required chaplains to hold non-denominational services. He also availed himself of the option, sanctioned by OCCH, of offering denominational worship services and religious instruction to any soldiers who chose to attend. A significant number of his men requested Christian baptism. Yost’s account of them and the testimony of some of the men and officers in the 100th suggest that he won converts as much by his Christian example as by his preaching of Lutheran theology. He called himself an “evangelical Christian,” (p. 255) but his mode of evangelizing contrasts sharply with the high-pressure tactics adopted by the chaplains from evangelical and fundamentalist denominations whose numbers have steadily increased since the end of World War II.

Markrich points out in the preface to the memoir that the 100th suffered severe casualties, thereby earning the title “Purple Heart Battalion.” Yost presents compelling descriptions of the brutality and misery of war from the perspective of a noncombatant who performed his duties in the middle of

combat and was himself twice wounded. He does not discuss campaign strategy. “Like most ordinary GIs,” he points out, “I knew nothing of the overall plans” of regimental and higher headquarters. “Once an engagement began I was concerned only with what went on in the 100th” (p. 113). Much of his memoir treats what might be called the social history of men in battle, with emphasis on the demographics and ethnic culture of the AJsAs who made up the 100th. As his daughter observes in the afterword, *Combat Chaplain* is not only a personal narrative but a “tribute” (p. 281) to the men Yost served and obviously admired.

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*Hawaiian Volcanoes.* By Clarence Edward Dutton; foreward by William R. Halliday. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005. xix + 235 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Appendices. \$22.00 paper

There are two Volcano Schools—the artists, for whom the word was originally intended, and a second one, observers who wrote of Hawaiian volcanic phenomena. The term is applied to the painters Charles Furneaux, Joseph Strong, and Jules Tavernier, and later came to include artists such as D. Howard Hitchcock and William Twigg-Smith, whose stunning depictions not only found global appreciation but also provided a wealthy visual record of Hawaiian volcanism (especially after Tavernier's 90 foot mural of Kilauea in full and glorious eruption was displayed in Hawai'i and San Francisco.) Their art followed earlier depictions by Titian Ramsey Peale, John Sykes, and others who were on 18th century exploration journeys. All gave this astounding message: magmatic activity that one could walk right up to, safely, was a days' horse or buggy ride from Hilo or Keauhou Landing. Lodging was nearby at the old Volcano House. Thus the appeal to writers, scientists, and such, to get there and observe. Thus came James Dwight Dana and Thomas A. Jagger (scientists), Charles Wilkes (a ship's captain), Isabella Bird (a tourist), William Ellis (a missionary)—and Clarence Edward Dutton (another scientist), whose observations are now republished in this delightful book.

To have this book reprinted is wonderful for all of us, for me as a scientist and educator as much for the historian, anthropologist, and anyone interested in Hawaiian landscapes, culture, history, and, of course, volcanism. Dutton's important account was increasingly rare and difficult to find but is

now on bookshelves for contemporary readers. It is as much a read on geological phenomena as it is a take on a past now gone—a trip around an island that still preserved so many Hawaiian traditions and styles.

Dutton was an astute geologist. His observations were excellent and some did not see retelling for a hundred years and then often without credit to Dutton. For us in science, credit is critical—we must know what our predecessors observed and interpreted, not simply for fairness but really for a foundation for our own scientific work, and the republishing of Dutton's work is important. His sketches are intellectual and artistic treasures that complement the colorful paintings of the same period (maybe there really is only one "Volcano School" . . .), except that those by Dutton are not fanciful impressions but can be assumed to be accurate depictions in terms of scale and proportions for geomorphic features. *Hawaiian Volcanoes* is a stunning compilation of geographic and geologic information too long buried in old literature that is not easily accessible. Dutton was not an original observer of Hawaiian landscapes, and he does contrast his observations with those of Wilkes, Dana, and others. It is the rate of landscape change observed between the 18th and 19th centuries that is also wonderfully fascinating, especially when adding in contemporary observations. A volcanic landscape is perhaps the only landscape that changes at rates equivalent to human lifetimes rather than those of geological times—take this book on your next trip to the Big Island and see for yourself.

There is quite an extensive and lengthy introduction by William R. Halliday, a medical doctor with interests in earth science. His comments are interesting from a historical perspective of Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture, as much as of the history of geology towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. I would take issue with some of his commentary on contemporary geological thought: scientific writing styles and techniques certainly have changed, as Halliday laments (which accounts for the abrupt ending of the book that is made much of in the comments); there is no "reciprocity" between the eruptions of Mauna Loa and Kilauea; reference to the Great Crack on Kilauea's southwest rift zone as a conduit for directing subterranean flows to the sea is odd; and some other minor items.

But the biographical sketch by Halliday of Dutton's life is a wonderfully welcome addition, as are his remarks on Dutton's relationship with the U.S. Geological Survey. Dutton was a remarkable geologist during a remarkable time both scientifically and politically in terms of U.S.–Hawaiian Kingdom relationships. Could there be intrigue (geologists often wind up doing field work in political hot-spots) in Dutton's assignment to Hawai'i? Could this have been an attempt by the U.S. to appease foreigners in Hawai'i by demonstrating an American interest in the landscape as a prelude for annexation?

We tend today to see ghosts everywhere regarding this issue, yet contemporary happenings do little to think the U.S. would not be above such a tack.

Nevertheless, good history and science came with Dutton's work. Interested in Hawaiian history, landscapes, natural history, volcanism, geology? Then this book should be read, and on your bookshelf. Whoever/however this reprinting came to be by the University of Hawai'i Press, it is wonderful to see it reappear for contemporary readers.

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*Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement.* By Moon-Kie Jung. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. xii + 292 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$45.00 cloth

Moon-Kie Jung has written a detailed and ground-breaking book documenting the formation of an interracial working class in Hawai'i. Social science literature has often merely stated that workers in Hawai'i made a transition sometime in the first half of the twentieth century in seeing how their "class" position could be more important and effective than "race" in organizing against their employers. Instead, Jung's book is a careful reexamination of the labor movement, thoroughly explaining how this very crucial transition took place by the late 1940s when workers "reworked and aligned their previously disarrayed racial and class interests to imagine a new interracial political community" (p. 189). *Reworking Race* is a distillation of social science literature on Hawai'i's working class, infused with classic theories of prominent labor historians and racial/ethnic studies scholars, that is ultimately offered up with Jung's own insightful theoretical approaches and empirical analyses.

In a concise argument of less than two hundred pages, Jung manages to reexamine Hawai'i's labor movement of the entire first half of the twentieth century. (An additional sixty-five pages of footnotes and a twenty-one-page bibliography are also testimony to the impressive volume and range of archival, primary, and secondary sources that he has pored over.) In chapter one, "Introduction," Jung reconceptualizes the sociological concept of *inter-racialism*—"the ideology and practice of forming a political community across extant racial boundaries" (p. 3). In researching this book, Jung finds that "race" did not fade away as workers forged class solidarity "but instead took on altered meanings and practices" (p. 6). Workers' ideologies and practices

were *rearticulated*, and “notions of class conflict were stretched and molded to reinterpret and rework race” (p. 7).

In chapter two, “Origins of Capital’s Contentious Response to Labor,” Jung uses E. P. Thompson’s definition of class in arguing that it was during the 1940s that sugar, pineapple, and dock workers, through the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), were able to “feel and articulate the identity of their interests” as being “different from” and “opposed to” that of their employers. Jung details the centralization and concentration of capital in the sugar industry with the formation of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association (HSPA) and the formation of the “Big Five”—an oligarchy of companies, agencies, and interconnected prominent *haole* families and family trusts that would extend its reach into pineapple and shipping by the early twentieth century.

In covering the “Great Strike” of Japanese workers in 1909 and the “Dual Union Strike of 1920,” Jung focuses not only on the well-known workers’ stories, but also on what the sugar industry itself learned in firming its resolve against workers’ efforts to unionize. The entire sugar industry adopted “the HSPA’s position of no compromise, no concession, no negotiation, and no recognition” (p. 32), thus organizing themselves as a unified class. The industry’s internal solidarity was especially powerful, due to an effective loss-sharing agreement among plantations. The specifics of the pineapple and stevedoring industries were slightly different from that of the sugar industry, but all three were unified in fighting workers’ unionization efforts in the pre-World War II period. In the 1920 strike, Japanese and Filipino workers showed the possibility of interracial struggle, but before World War II, the makings of an interracial working class were far from complete. The cooperation between Japanese and Filipino workers in 1920 was only a “temporary marriage of convenience between two unfamiliar parties that ended in a quick annulment after their sound defeat by the sugar plantations” (p. 55).

In chapter three, “Race and Labor in Prewar Hawai’i,” Jung shows why and how workers were racially divided. From 1910 onward, Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino laborers were the most numerous groups in the sugar industry, and employers and workers applied differential racisms toward one another. Portuguese were considered European, but not “*haole*”; Japanese sought to “Americanize” yet were continually identified with the strength of the Japanese nation-state; and Filipinos were colonized as U.S. “nationals,” seen as “childlike” and as “savages” prone to violence. As Jung carefully notes, the racial category of “Asian” (much less, the later term “Asian American”) was not salient in prewar Hawai’i, and in HSPA reports, the “Oriental” category largely meant the East Asian groups of Japanese and Chinese, but did not include Filipinos who were racialized differently. The fleeting, yet success-

ful, Vibora Luviminda labor organization appealed to the racial and national unity of Filipino workers in the 1930s. Rather than reductively portraying the Vibora Luviminda's successful 1937 strike of Filipino sugar and pineapple workers on Maui and Moloka'i as Hawai'i's "last racial strike," Jung finds its lasting significance in the union's ability to find allies in the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and the future organizers of the ILWU.

In chapter four, "Shifting Terrains of the New Deal and World War II," Jung explains the role of nation-state intervention in reshaping the dynamics between employers and workers in Hawai'i. Martial law in Hawai'i during World War II seemed to make Hawai'i "an improbable setting for the large-scale interracial labor movement of the mid and late 1940s" (p. 107). From the mid 1930s to World War II, Hawai'i's local unions became tied more closely to unions on the continental U.S. West Coast and workers benefited from the passage of the National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act) and its enforcement by the NLRB. Other scholars of Hawai'i's labor history have suggested the significance of these events, but Jung provides the empirical evidence to show how the ILWU/CIO's network of organizers spread in the islands and how the NLRB's enforcement of the Wagner Act affected the dynamics of labor relations between workers and employers. Workers' discontent grew during Hawai'i's martial law when wages were frozen and when Big Five employers and the military assisted each other in keeping their respective labor supplies viable. By the end of these war years, labor organizers commonly held meetings in multiple languages (mainly English, Japanese, Ilocano, and other Filipino dialects, as necessary.) They also used ethnic newspapers and widely circulated labor union pamphlets in creating a narrative of "racial unity" and anti-discrimination among workers that was carried on from the mid-1940s onward.

Though the Wagner Act was primarily focused on protecting industrial laborers, many non-harvesting workers in Hawai'i's sugar and pineapple plantations were able to argue successfully that the NLRB hear its concerns. Furthermore, though the ILWU nationally focused on "industrial" workers, Hawai'i's agricultural workers signed up in droves during the mid-1940s. By 1946, the ILWU represented nearly all workers in sugar, pineapple, and longshoring, and signed contracts in all three areas of industry.

Jung's most significant contribution, in this reviewer's opinion, is his explanation of "The Making of Working-Class Interracialism" in chapter five. In many other works, scholars argue that workers first *deracialize* their identity and politics, only later finding the increasing significance of their class position. In other words, other works assume that workers make an "abrupt ideological conversion from 'race' to 'class.'" Jung contends that in Hawai'i,

workers' ideology "had to deal with existing racial divisions; it could not simply erase or ignore them" (p. 146). Jung provides ample empirical evidence to show how workers' class ideology was able to *rearticulate* race to their advantage during and after World War II. Anti-Japanese racism, for example, could not be used effectively by the Big Five or the military, given the general positive public response to the heroic efforts of Japanese American soldiers in the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Employers and the mainstream press in the post-World War II period were less able to deploy anti-Filipino racism as well. Labor organizers also began explicit attempts to organize interracially, "regardless of race, color, or creed" (p. 148). In the ILWU organizing drive of 1944–1946, for example, the union also had the important innovation of "the race-conscious election of leaders, what we would now refer to as 'affirmative action'" (p. 164).

During the mid-1940s and onward, union activists were able to link "the current struggle to past struggles in the minds of workers who may have experienced or, more likely, heard about them, while at the same time distinguishing the current effort from the inadequacies of the past" (p. 150). Among these historical struggles and injuries, Jung notes, were the "Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike" of 1924–25, the 1924 Hanapēpē Massacre, and the 1938 Hilo Massacre.

Ultimately, the sugar strike of 1946 proved to be the turning point: the ILWU finally emerged as an interracial, working-class organization. The union's insistence on the equality of Filipino migrant workers and on anti-discrimination in general was also "a seldom recognized turning point in relations among Hawai'i's workers" (p. 169). One contemporary negotiator on the employers' side even admitted: "[the 1946 strike] frightened the employers, and it created a general awe of union power, on the part of the workers, employers and the public. For the first time in Hawaiian history the employers had been soundly and definitely thwarted" (p. 173). The ILWU would face future challenges in the years to come, but the cooperation among workers would serve to be a "durable interracialism" with lasting impact.

Hawai'i's workers recognized a common class and racial foe in their *haole*-dominated employers, but that fact, in and of itself, did not allow for Portuguese, Japanese, Filipino, and other workers to form "a coherent collective, given their racially divided history" (p. 161). These laborers themselves were able to create a historical narrative of labor struggle that minimized racial rivalries among workers while also identifying their employers as ones who (correctly or not), had used racist "divide and rule" practices. Workers viewed their strikes and the labor movement as a whole as a fight for racial equality. The narrative of struggle that workers had crafted was "not empirically com-

plete or accurate” says Jung, since an “efficacious ideology need not be good sociology or history” (p. 163).

Jung’s *Reworking Race*, on the other hand, is remarkably good sociology and history. It presents solid empirical research while also recognizing the importance of the collective history that Hawai‘i’s workers had reimagined by mid-century. It is an excellent contribution to the fields of labor history, racial/ethnic studies, American studies, and sociology that is of benefit to readers both in Hawai‘i and well beyond its shores.

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*Islands in a Far Sea: The Fate of Nature in Hawai‘i.* By John L. Culliney. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006. Revised edition. xi + 420 pp. Illustrated.

Marine biologist John Culliney has written a stunningly beautiful book. Structurally, it is a well-documented, thick-textured history of the geological formation of the Hawaiian archipelago, and of the uncountable forms of biodiversity evolving along with humans, of thousands of those irreplaceable species of that vast unique ecosystem. The author’s radiant prose, the page layout of the book, its extensive annotation, the delicate illustrations and beautiful photos, are aimed at preventing the same cataclysmic waste of the remainder of the archipelago. The Northwest Hawaiian Islands are, in his words, an “evolutionary library” (p. 158); unique, beautiful, and fragile beyond imagination.

The first chapter presents the geological formation of the Hawaiian archipelago. If writing about melting rocks, enormous ocean depths, and the slow millennial trudge of islands to the northwest does not seem the stuff of poetry as well as science, read this book and change your mind. Each of the next four book parts recounts the complex origins and development of the vast exceptional biota inhabiting or constituting the ocean, reefs, shores, forests, and mountains. Today as we sit or crawl along on H-1 it is hard to see the landscape around us as having ever been a unique theater of creation.

Central to an understanding of that uniqueness are the complex biological processes of speciation and evolution. Darwin saw that each species of life carries within it variations of itself, some of which are more successful at survival than others. Building upon Darwin’s ideas, modern genetics has identi-



fied changes in DNA (the nucleic acid that carries the genetic code of organisms) as the means by which organisms produce that variety of forms, some better suited than others to a particular environment and able to improve their adaptive features. The particular isolated location of the Hawaiian archipelago made it an expansive ("a one-million-square-mile circle of ocean," p. 113) and undisturbed nursery for the dramatic evolution of the uncountable, originating forms of life that drifted, blew, or swam in over the millennia.

Until the arrival of the first Polynesians, likely to have begun sometime between A.D. 300 and 600, changes in the land forms and impacts within and upon species were brought about by the natural forces of geologic activity, atmospheric changes, and evolution. Hawaiian chants and legends suggest that the earliest Hawaiians lived and worshipped it as a sacred place from which life came and to which the spirits returned after death.

Later voyagers landed on the main islands and there the effect of humans on the ecosystem seems to have been more pronounced. Some of the knowledge about the arrival and settled life of these voyagers is inferential, based on modern paleontology and archaeology investigations. These indicate that after their landing, the voyagers were, in the author's words, "no different from any other people who began as determined pioneers and expanded their culture onto a yielding landscape." (p. 312) But using the term "pioneer" generically flattens the cultural meanings of those practices. Here it occludes the vigor and the range of such practices as voyaging, fishing, growing food, dancing, chants, and carving. Their chants metaphorically call into existence a wholly different register of the origins of the earth and relationships among living creatures. Their culture enabled them to live here well and theirs was a mode of production for use. They supped from the incredible largesse they found in the ocean and on land. For their usual starches, they had but to wait for their variety of "canoe plants" to grow in this new place.

This is not to say that they lived lightly on the land. The biggest impact by these voyagers was the large-scale destruction by fire of the lowland forests over several centuries. The gain for them was cleared land for growing food; the loss was the destruction of the lowland ecosystems and their countless interdependent species. The resultant erosion silted the streams and near-shore lowlands and marshes, impacting those systems as well. It was neither pretty nor tidy. Archaeological and paleontologic studies made in sinkholes, caves, and other excavations disclose the wide-scale disappearance within a very few centuries of endless numbers of established species of birds, snails, fish, grasses, insects, trees, and ferns, to name only a few.

While the species loss was high, it was relatively spatially confined, and minor compared to that which occurred after the Westerners came to stay

and when the mode of production changed to that of exchange. In place of a vibrant culture whose tools were bone, rock, and wood came one whose tools were steel, whose agricultural scale was that of the plantation, whose understanding of land was property, and for whom water was a commodity. Along with Westerners also came hundreds or thousands of foreign plants and scores of animals and birds whose destructive ways impacted the further reaches of the ecosystem. It is difficult to sum in a few words the negative impacts on the ecosystems of the major islands this newer way of life wrought. Referring to data listed on species loss in the 1988 edition of this book, Culliney writes “[t]oday, all of those numbers [of species extinction] have been adjusted upward.” (p. vii) Furthermore, it should be noted that among the species devastated by the introduction of foreign forms of life were the Hawaiians themselves, decimated by foreign microbes.

This unforgivable holocaust came about because nobody was minding the ecosystem. Paleontologic studies were not required to see the damage caused by large scale cultivation of crops; it was a logic of land clearing and the major re-shaping of natural waterways, for instance. This destruction was acceptable because it was profitable. In addition to such monumental commercial exploitation of resources (i.e. the whole ecosystem), the author also faults all levels of government for their participation in this holocaust through action as well as inaction. Many examples are familiar to us: importing “game” animals for “sportsmen” to shoot; lack of protection for the few remaining native forests from introduced hooved animals; live firing and off-road use by heavy military vehicles on several islands; failure to protect delicate ecosystems from damage by vehicular or other “sporting” activities; weak protection for fishing stocks, and so it goes.

While the ecosystems of the main Hawaiian Islands in the archipelago are but very pale ghosts of their forms, the author reminds us that the Northwest Hawaiian Islands (NWHI) remain relatively pristine, incalculably valuable because they are irreplaceable; “unique in all the world . . . [t]hey were the first Hawaiians.” (p. viii) In the past several decades, some units of government, as well as private organizations, have joined to preserve the remainder of that “exuberant biodiversity.” Since the book’s publication, the Bush administration has named the archipelago a national monument—The Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument. Culliney can have reason to feel good about the part he has played in securing this recognition of the area. We can hope that this national status will reinforce the privacy and protection of this most original birthplace of life. Despite the designation, it remains vulnerable to the tons of abandoned or lost fishing equipment and jettisoned junk of all kinds that wash up on the shores annually. The nets, hooks, and

lines ensnare marine mammals and fish while other kinds of jettisoned junk are often ingested by these creatures, causing death in both cases. Finally, its small size of 140,000 square miles makes it vulnerable. The Navy, which has already acknowledged that the Monument can be affected by missile tests, is seeking blanket permission to use midfrequency sonar within the 2.3 million nautical square miles of ocean around Hawai'i.

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