

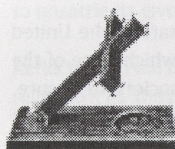


The military has left its changing inscriptions on Hawai'i for over a century.
In my long residence here, two marks were the most ominous:

the 1950s atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons
in the Pacific, giving us great sunsets and
strontium—90 in kids' milk,
and the sound of scores of re-fueling
tankers taking off over Honolulu when
Nixon began bombing Cambodia in the
early 70s.

How today's military successfully rewrote itself as a
neighborhood helper commands my attention.

—Phyllis Turnbull



I found myself in Hawai'i studying militarism in much the same way that I came to study bureaucracy on the mainland:

realizing it was all around me, and that closing my eyes
wouldn't make it go away.

To help change it, I decided to try to understand it,
with the analytical tools provided by feminism and
political theory. The military and bureaucracy
have much in common.

Studying them is like watching an accident
—horrifying, but I can't stop looking.

—Kathy E. Ferguson

Military Presence/Missionary Past: The Historical Construction of Masculine Order and Feminine Hawai'i

PHYLLIS TURNBULL AND KATHY E. FERGUSON

Hawai'i has the dubious distinction of being the most militarized state in the United States (Albertini, Foster, Inglis & Roeder 1980:1); it is also a state in which none of the weapon-producing industries are located. One index of a militarized society, to be sure, is the pervasive presence of arms and the arms industries, troops and installations.¹ But we want to argue that the militarization of a society is a dynamic, contested process of constituting a particular kind

"...the militarization of a society is a dynamic, contested process of constituting a particular kind of order."

of order. It works through the social and economic insinuation of the military into other institutions, and the cultural imbrication of military codes, symbols, and values into daily life. We want to show how the practices that shaped and continue to shape such an order in Hawai'i also naturalize and legitimate it, while simultaneously undermining competing possibilities of other orders. We are saying there is a larger pattern at work in the militarization of Hawai'i than might first be

evident from such facts as: Honolulu International Airport sharing runways with Hickam Air Force Base; the Arizona Memorial and Punchbowl Cemetery serving as "must see" tourist stops; news of the military saturating local newspapers; interstate freeways connecting military bases; JROTC and ROTC flourishing in high schools and at the University of Hawai'i; retired military personnel pursuing second careers on governing boards of various local institutions; military vehicles competing with commuter traffic; military names serving as freeway exit signs. We contend that facts such as these do not speak for themselves; instead, their meaning accrues through the narratives by which facts are recruited and made available for comprehension and contestation.

Telling our history of the militarized present of Hawai'i entails paying attention to the process of how these observations are facts, of how they qualify to enter into discourse, to be spoken and understood, contested or taken for granted. Our genealogy of the present order departs from the usual narrative of development and betterment, and finds instead a history of the present to be one of "unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats, moments of intensity...lapses...extended periods of feverish agitation [and] fainting spells" (Foucault 1977:145). We find this perspective more dynamic, more capable of representing the confluence, both interactive and discontinuous, of several centuries of the order-producing narratives of strangers to these islands who saw what was new to them through the gendered lenses of what they expected to see. In their eyes, Hawai'i was notably passive and lacking, in need of their projects to fulfill its promises, supplement its voids, and evade its entrapments. The military installations that saturate Hawai'i and mainland civilian weapons megaliths participate in a hegemonic narrative of hierarchy, bellicosity and control. Both mark the world ruthlessly in terms of dyadic oppositions, projecting masculine entitlement onto themselves and feminine otherness onto those spaces in need of mastery and appropriation.

The most significant narrative productions have been those by explorers, missionaries, sugar planters, soldiers, and tourists. Each has carried multiple and intertwined accounts about what Hawai'i offers and what it lacks, and about how they could supply Hawai'i with what it needs. Historically, their projects have entailed the enforced movement of a variety of kinds of bodies across different borders, and the persistent transgression and frantic reinforcement of a range of critical boundaries. These movements have been attended by multiple and persistent violences: the material violence of displacement, uprooting, and resettlement; the discursive violence involved in reading a place through the lenses of their own desires; and the ontological violence of writing a particular kind of order onto bodies and spaces. We aim at reconnecting those violences to the present, to unsettle its givenness, to question the violences of the present militarized order.

Reflecting on the militarization of the United States in the last fifty years, Michael Sherry refers to it as "the process by which war and national security became consuming anxieties and provided the memories, models, and metaphors that shaped broad areas of national life" (1995:xi). The most recent consolidation of control over the weaponry of war reaffirms the validity of the anxieties over the "dangers" the world presents to our country. Yet this view leaves unspoken, untouched by doubt, any other readings of the nature of the international order, the American place in it, and the American state itself. Freud made it easy for modern writers and critics to recognize that views left unspoken are often views that cannot be spoken lest they expose the gossamer origins of received truths. What we call a national state is neither natural nor god-given but a relatively modern social production; it is not a thing, despite our language, but a set of social practices, a ritual of power "in which things are constituted in the process of dealing with them" (Campbell 1992:4). A state bears itself into existence through discursive and social practices that produce its identity by defining it against difference. State boundaries, discursive as well as physical, mark "domestic" from "foreign," "inside" from "outside," safety from danger. These distinctions turn on representational acts and, as Campbell observes, "the ability to represent things as alien, subversive, dirty or sick, has been pivotal to the articulation of danger in the American experience" (1992:2). Curry's "memories, models, and metaphors" are among the interpretative acts that have naturalized national security and shaped us as citizens rather than raising questions about the emperor's clothes.

The dependency of these interpretative acts upon an unacknowledged debt to female otherness both hides and paradoxically points to the crucial role of gender in militarization. Elizabeth Grosz, reading Luce Irigaray, assists in understanding another aspect of the anxieties which generate the bellicosity/insecurity that is understood as national security. Masculine modes of thought, she writes, tend "to deny and cover over the debt of life and existence that all subjects, and indeed all theoretical frameworks, owe to the maternal body, their elaborate attempts to foreclose and build over this space with their own (sexually specific) fantasmatic and paranoid projections" (1995:121). The violence of the denial and the ontological scale of the debt generate the anxieties as men "hollow out their own interiors and project them outward" as a knowable universe, as forms of valid knowledge and practices (i. e., philosophy, science, religion, geography, urban planning),

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yet always requiring "women as supports for this hollowed space (Grosz 1995:121). Hawai'i has played this critical support role for successive waves of colonizing order, including contemporary military and tourist orders. Hawai'i is coded as a soft, feminine, welcoming place, waiting and receptive. In tourist discourse, the spaces of Hawai'i are primarily

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marked as seductive female, as places of pleasure. In military discourse, the erotic appeal is more convoluted. At one interpretative level, Hawai'i appears as a weak female needing manly protection from a dangerous world; it is a

feminine space awaiting the masculine other to know her and use her. At another level, suggested by Klaus Theweleit (1987), it is less about heterosexual desire than homoerotic.

In a sense, homoerotic attraction is the necessary and, at the same time, repressed Other to heterosexuality. It is common, within military forces, to talk about male bonding among soldiers, to legitimate affection among men while still embracing homophobia and patriarchy. It is common, between military forces, to have soldiers express admiration for a worthy opponent or contempt for a weak one. Both configurations of fear and anxiety interact to produce the unique gendered opportunities, in war, for men to both love each other and kill each other, usually in the name of something coded feminine—motherland, home, family, motherhood, freedom, fortune, destiny.

Colonization takes place, in part, when powerful military men are able to take a great deal of authority away from previous, often local, elites. When the powerful military men are mostly white, and the local elites are mostly men of color, colonial race relations are intertwined with power's erotic horizons and zones. The metaphoric place of Hawai'i in colonial encounters is not only the damsel in distress, but also the attractive, desirable site that provokes men to fight for her.

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On yet another level, of course, Hawai'i is simply valuable real estate, a great piece to be possessed. Gendered metaphors circulate madly in the colonial encounter, typically encoding a suppressed homoeroticism into a framework of patriarchy. The result is not usually good for women, or the land, or for any who are vulnerable or marginal.

Thinking/Writing Order

Central to the streams of order that converge and rebound on Hawaii's present are particular organizations of sex, race, and class as triads of vectors of power: sex/gender, race/ethnicity, and class/property.² As Anne McClintock demonstrates, these three critical dimensions of power relations in colonized places act as "articulated categories" which "come into existence in and through relations to each other" (1995:5). Each is always already marked with the historical patterns and practices, the cultural coherence and ambiguity, the institutional distributions and erasures carried by the others. Race/ethnicity always affixes itself to laboring or non-laboring bodies and to gendered relationships; sex/gender always marks persons to whom particular colors and classes are simultaneously attributed and enforced; labor is always organized, and property defined and distributed, among groups also ordered around reproductive functions, sexual practices, and color codings. Imperial conquest is inter-digitated with the cult of domesticity and the global political economy (McClintock 1995:17).

The terms of these energetic, interactive triangles chase and dodge around one another, powerfully enabling each other while sometimes getting in each other's way, confounding their dance steps even while producing the following triadic permutations: male power, white power, and commodity capital; female sexuality, cannibalism, and plunder; child-rearing practices, missionary schools, and plantation labor; population control, origin stories, and the market; penetration/emasculaton, conquest/engulfment, and appropriation/absorption.

Tracking these three interanimating, mutating axes of power requires simultaneous attention to the tangible productions and distributions of land, labor, schools, churches, families, and wars, and to the acts of speech and silence which produce and enforce meaning claims in discourse. Discourse does not relate to the material realm as a hidden meaning standing behind the surface, but as an "unsublatable dialectic of saying and seeing" (Jay 1994:398) encountering both the persistent "muteness of objects" as well as their availability (Foucault in Jay 1994:398). What can be said/written/understood is always already interacting with what can be seen/grasped/seized in ways that are both mutually constitutive and condemned to incompleteness.

Colonial Encounters: Fear and Longing

There is an uneasy combination of fears and longings in the colonial encounter arising from the tension between the availability of Hawai'i to the newcomer's eye and the resistance of Hawai'i to the colonial gaze. The emotional registers in which colonial discursive and institutional practices were most commonly intoned reflected the restless mixture of desire and anxiety identified by Grosz and McClintock. In the latter's words, "the inaugural scene of discovery becomes a scene of ambivalence, suspended between an imperial megalomania, with its fantasy of unstoppable rapine, and a contradictory fear of engulfment, with its fantasy of dismemberment and emasculation. The scene, like many imperial scenes, is a document both of paranoia and of megalomania" (McClintock 1995:26-27). The colonizers of Hawai'i brought with them both a profound sense of entitlement and a fear of engulfment. While the information they gathered and the relations into which they entered were largely guided by the seizures they sought, there remained an unsettling incompleteness. They were both animated and disturbed: Hawaii's perceived deficiencies provoked both desire (take it, fill it, make it ours) and anxiety (it's different, it's not like us, it's looking back at us). In sexual terms, like the vagina (dentata) that is thought both to require the penis for fulfillment and simultaneously threatens to sever it, Hawai'i both beckons and disturbs its newcomers.

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The history of the present in Hawai'i emerged from its encounters with Western explorers, missionaries, entrepreneurs, and sugar planters, all propelled by different mixtures of longing and trepidation. The explorers encountered a place they defined as largely empty of meaning, lacking in culture, and therefore available for Western expansion. The missionaries found a people they defined as dark, mysterious, lacking civilization but capable of being domesticated. Entrepreneurs and sugar planters found the people lacking industry, the land uncultivated, but a promising venue for profit once an appropriate labor force could be secured. The military saw/sees Hawai'i as strategically important

and in need of defense which imported American soldiers can supply. The traffic in workers and soldiers finds parallel in the commerce of bodies across borders that tourism produces and celebrates. Each of these vectors of conquest knits Hawai'i more firmly into a masculine colonized discourse of darkness, availability, and lack.

Missionaries, Mission, and Megalomania

We read the footprints of the missionaries back into the particular political scene of Hawai'i via their contributions to the phallic, colonial gaze on the Island Other. Where planters and entrepreneurs were to see an empty or virginal land, capable of great fecundity, the New England missionaries foresaw a space filled with persons who for "long and dismal ages of darkness" had been "perishing for lack of knowledge." In the instructions issued in 1819 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) (1819:x) to the first company of missionaries to leave for Hawai'i anticipated a population upon whom the "Sun of Righteousness" had never risen, and who were living in the "rudest state of uncultured man." For the 73 missionaries who constituted The Mission, that vision was to become father to the fact. Carriers of the colonial order, they violently elaborated the narrative of their Instructions which legitimated supplanting the indigenous social order with their own through an interplay of intractable maintenance of boundaries and boundary assaults. That their good works benefitted them the most has not gone without notice.³ Less has been said about the male megalomania and the paranoia of the gendered order of The Mission itself.

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For McClintock, the megalomania announces itself in the feminization of land, a strategy she terms a "violent containment" (1995:23). The Mission's representation of Hawaiians as heathens was similarly a manic act, cohabited by paranoia. The darkness which the missionaries had pledged themselves to end was at the same time boundless and threatening, arousing the fear of loss of their own boundaries. To avoid their engulfment by the disorder of the unknown, they zealously rode shotgun on their own perimeters and organized mapping expeditions into the liminal space of darkness. Their efforts at neutralizing what McClintock terms the fears of "narcissistic disorder by reinscribing, as natural, an excess of gender hierarchy" (1995:23)

were written all over the institutional practices of the governing board of the missions and were constitutive of the daily practices of missionary families in Hawai'i.

The ABCFM refused to send single men as missionaries because, as Patricia Grimshaw writes, "[t]he experience of celibate men in the Tahitian mission of the London Missionary Society had established clearly that, in the midst of a Polynesian community, celibate men were at risk from the sexual openness of the society" (1989:6). Fearing the moral contamination and decline threatened by sexual congress with native women, yet requiring the services of women who could be counted on to "[serve] discreetly at the elbow of power...upholding the boundaries of empire and bearing its sons and daughters" (McClintock 1995:6), the Board mandated that missionaries be married prior to their departure. Faced with this hurdle, some of them set about acquiring a wife much as they must have gone about equipping themselves with the other "[a]rticles necessary as an outfit to the Sandwich Islands" (Simpson 1993:28). But rather than purchasing brides, they interviewed for them. Grimshaw credits the ABCFM with brokering some of the

marriages. Some indication of the excess of this aggressively gendered order is evidenced in the marriage of Dwight Baldwin and Charlotte Fowler, who sailed for Hawai'i one week after their first meeting (Grimshaw 1989:12). Nothing was left to chance in bringing order to the missionaries' erotic lives before inserting them into Hawai'i's spaces.

Missionary Reproductions

Once in Hawai'i, the patriarchal spatialization unfolded. Boundary patrols were established, a new technology of knowledge instituted, and bourgeois domesticity urged upon the indigenous people even as the [Mission] order quickly begat itself. Seventy of the total of seventy-six missionary wives who lived in Hawai'i for more than several years bore children at regular intervals (Grimshaw 1989:89). Missionary wife Sarah Lyman, as a recent history of the family reveals, was evidently a bit out of step since it was thought remarkable that she "did not get pregnant for more than a year after the Lymans arrived in the Islands" (Simpson 1993:62). Thirty-eight wives who lived in Hawai'i during their fertile years bore two hundred and fifty infants (Grimshaw 1989:89). In positioning them as helpmeets, as the ABCFM did in its Instructions (1819:ix), the wives reproduced "the gender division of labor reminiscent of the domestic economy of many small business or professional households in New England" (Grimshaw 1989:101). The women's boundary maintenance work supported the men's hallowed space: creating a comfortable home as a reassuring basis for the work of the male, and providing a "suitable" environment for the children of his name. One danger entailed in childrearing was the constant appearance of evil in the actions of children. Then, as now (we are told), eternal vigilance was the price of security; mothers sought to prevent their children from playing with native children, assumed to be naturally depraved, or acquiring their language, thought to be heathen and lewd.⁴

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Hawaiian bodies were particularly threatening: comfortably large, half-clad in the eyes of the beholders, and bearing none of the confining marks of a familiar order as they went about their hedonistic and heathen ways of life.⁵ The hula in particular seems to have represented a threat of engulfment and anxiety of tidal wave proportions. Understanding few, if any, of the words of the chants accompanying the hula, neither could the missionaries see the beauty and grace in the erotic vigor of the dance and dancers. Instead, they read it as pornography on the hoof. Keeping this threat of bodies at bay, but never fully overcoming it, consisted of two kinds of restrictions: clothing the offending Hawaiian bodies and discouraging hula on the one hand; on the other, rigorously restraining their own bodies, foreign alike to themselves and to these shores, in long-sleeves, high collars, cravats, trousers, long skirts, bonnets, and bound hair.

A final manic move in the effort to map domesticity on the social space of the Hawaiians was the attempt to introduce the concept of marriage and female submissiveness among those native to Hawai'i. The bourgeois family order—conjugal, autonomous, exogenous—promoted by The Mission was no match for the dense Hawaiian kinship relations through which children were cared for and food was caught, grown and pooled. Frequent visits among these rich social networks involved much travel about and between the islands by the natives whose shifting about was interpreted as shiftlessness by their would-be tutors. But missionary gestures toward domestication suggest the interactive enablement of patriarchal domestic order and racist imperial order. Dark people are figured in colonial discourse as "gender deviants, the embodiments of prehistoric promiscuity and excess, their evolutionary belatedness evidenced by their 'feminine' lack of history, reason, and

proper domestic arrangements" (McClintock 1995:44). It was hierarchical relations between women and men in European domestic space that offered just the right model, in imperial eyes, for organizing relations between dark people and white men in colonial spaces.⁶

By 1832 it had become apparent to the missionaries who conducted the first rough census that much of the traffic by native bodies had become one-way.⁷ The number of the indigenous population had plummeted to 130,000. Whether the number plunged from the 400,000 estimated by Cook's expedition or the 800,000–1,000,000 figure set by

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David Stannard is, despite its significance otherwise, not at issue here.⁸ Rather, it is that the reordering of the land and people was enormously facilitated by the loss of those thousands of bodies, and the rupture of the social relations and ways of life of a people. What Hawaiian bodies lacked was not the proper order—Christian, mercantile, or literate—but the crucial antibodies against the invading bodies.

This dramatic drop in population made clear to the missionaries that the licentious ways of the Hawaiians had caught up with them and confirmed both the wrongness of the Hawaiian way of life and the rightness of the Mission's re-ordering goal. The discursive violence continues today in various forms of denial and victim

blaming and an emphatic view that we must "put the regrettable accident behind us."⁹ To make roadkill of the Hawaiians is to deny the violence of the explorers' feminization of the land and its recapitulation in the heathenization of its people by the Mission. For both, as for the later planters, the military, and tourism champions, their gaze strategically encompassed the rulers and chiefs, while the people were motes in their eyes at best. Lacking personhood, the natives were a distorted screen upon which the carriers of the new orders projected their desires and rages. The dilemma inherent in the missionaries' gaze is illustrated in Susan Griffin's distinction between two senses of grasping. One is "to *seize*, and *grip*, as in *wrest power from the grasp of or grasp a woman by her waist*" [Emphasis in original] (Griffin 1992:212). This is the power of dominion, the commanding grip or the judging gaze. The other way of understanding is enacted more by a mobile glance than a fixating gaze (Jay 1994:56–57).¹⁰ It lies in grasping a truth which is "a delicate gesture, like taking a hand in greeting. A lightness of touch is needed if one is to feel the presence of another being" (Griffin 1992:212). The lightness of the touch (of the Other) was precisely the boundary crossing simultaneously most desired and feared by the missionary males and their grasping fellow scribes who sought the seductive promise of encounters with difference while simultaneously pushing the frightening difference to the forbidden category of absolute Other (Connolly 1991). In order to shore up their nearly breached perimeters, males in the mission overzealously imprinted their truth, an "excess of gender hierarchy," on the realm of dark Hawai'i instead.

Military Traffic

Waves wash up on beaches and then recede; some of the flotsam is carried up far enough to resist the suction of the water which takes the rest back. The deposits on the shore are subject to continual suction and movement, but some also become embedded in the sand. There is rarely a specific moment in the usual work of the ocean when an object

can be said to be washed up on the shore; rather, that occurs over time. Similarly, it is difficult to name a moment when the military order became embedded in Hawai'i. It occurred in a series of developments, some of those "moments of intensity...lapses...periods of feverish agitation...fainting spells" (Foucault 1977:145).

From the outset, the haptic military gaze was more focused on Hawai'i itself than its people. European ships, soon followed by American ones, were the flotsam carrying the first intimations of such an order. James Cook and George Vancouver, the earliest of the European explorers, were commissioned officers in the Royal Navy, and British Marines sailed with Cook. Cook supplied Kamehameha I with Western military technology. British ships visiting within a few years carried on a regular arms trade with various chiefs, and the trading ships themselves were usually armed. Some Britons coveted both Hawaiian land and commercial advantage and ridiculed the narrow order American missionaries were attempting to shape, but Hawai'i ultimately proved not to be an object of British imperial lust.

American military interest in Hawai'i was first signalled in 1826 when American naval warships began to call at Hawai'i. They joined French and British warships in doing so (Kuykendall 1957:91-92). As it grew and sharpened, American military desire for Hawai'i was often systole to the diastole of the economy. Both forces found Hawai'i lacking and in need of their project(ion)s for it. The planters' trajectory of desire propelled them through land acquisition to sugar cultivation to annexation via a Reciprocity Treaty which assured both duty free entry into the United States for their sugar and exclusive American rights to Pearl Harbor. The military's desiring arc, sheathed as the duty to say "Hands off Hawai'i!" to all other nations, represents desire for Hawai'i itself (Schofield, Beardslee & Egan 1898:8). Duty's path was episodic but focused; it included the extensive mapping and surveying of the islands carried out by the United States Exploring Expedition led by Navy Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. Maps are portraits, laced with power, and groaning with land use commitments. These new visions of land were soon to rewrite the Hawaiian land violently, replacing the ways of Hawai'i where land had been mapped in language and kapu.

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The end of the American Civil War made it possible to intensify the scopic gaze. An early version of the modern "revolving door" circulation of military bodies among various kinds of governing boards saw generals and colonels from that conflict turn up in Hawai'i as American diplomatic officials, as official couriers disguised as cotton planters, and as veterans seeking to regain their health but actually ordered to carry out a survey of Hawaii's defensive capabilities, commercial facilities and any other information that might be useful to the United States in case of a war "with a powerful maritime nation" (Kuykendall 1966:248).¹¹ It freed up enough warships to constitute a Pacific Squadron which called often at Honolulu. A rehearsal for the overthrow of the Hawaiian government occurred in 1874 when one hundred and fifty American Marines were landed to quell protests and a small riot that occurred after the defeat of Queen Emma in her election race with David Kalākaua (Daws 1968:198-199).

Military desire again intersected with economic interests in the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty that gave the planters free entry of their sugar into American markets and the United States (military) exclusive access to the resources of Pearl Harbor (Lind 1984/85:28). The U.S.S. Boston, a state of the art warship, was a frequent caller in Hawai'i at this time. The steps leading to the forcible abduction of Hawai'i became increasingly bolder. The most violent occurred in 1893 with the American military as a guarantor¹² in the overthrow of the reigning monarch by a small band of American and other foreign businessmen. Rather than risk armed combat and the shedding of Hawaiian blood, Queen

Lili'uokalani surrendered her land to the United States, not the local schemers, voicing her confidence that once the United States government knew of the crime, the land would be restored as had been the case with England in 1843. The Queen was tragically wrong; Hawai'i was an object of American desire.



Since annexation, the continuing arrival of boats and planes loaded with military equipment, materials, personnel and families has relentlessly written military order onto Hawaii's geographic and social spaces. On O'ahu today a significant amount of the land and the population are military.¹³ "Hula girls" greet incoming ships which discharge soldiers onto the bases or often into the pleasures and inducements of Waikiki, Ke'eaumoku Street, and other districts where commercial and erotic desire intertwine. Hawaii's continuing appropriation and organization according to military desire construes Hawai'i sometimes as welcoming, sometimes as seductive, and routinely, in international contexts, in need of defense, but always within the parameters of the haptic masculine gaze.

The "mobile army of metaphors, metonymies, anthropomorphisms" that have played across the history of Hawaii's militarized present configure and reconfigure the tropological territory through the engines of anxiety and desire (Nietzsche 1956:180). Historically contingent on one another, the gazes of explorers, missionaries, planters, soldiers, and tourists (partly on Hawai'i and partly on themselves) function as mobilizing phallic, racial, and property signifiers to know, to relate, and to seize—recruiting Hawai'i, its land and its people, into the supporting cast of the historical "play of dominations." We question the price of this hegemonic order.

Notes

Parts of this essay are taken from Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh Say, Can You See? The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis:University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming).

1. Best-known in Hawai'i are Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Hickam Air Force Base, Kāne'ohe Marine Corps Base Hawai'i, Schofield Barracks Military Reservation, Fort Shafter Military Reservation, Fort Ruger Military Reservation, Wheeler Air Force Base, and Camp H. M. Smith. There are scattered holdings elsewhere in the state. Estimates of the military's landholdings in the state are notoriously inexact, ranging from 5-10%. A recent accounting by the military puts the figure at 3.4% (U. S. CINCPAC 1995:1). Similarly with the number of military personnel and dependents where numbers range from 40,000 to 100,000. Of course this number varies with military changes. The point is that with this, as with other important data such as landholdings, the state of Hawai'i, according to its recently retired State Statistician, "regrettably lack[s] exact knowledge of either the numbers of military personnel and dependents or total defense expenditures in Hawaii." (Schmitt 1995:7). *The State of Hawaii Data Book: A Statistical Abstract* (1990) further warns readers that "considerable caution is necessary in comparing statistics from different sources on land use, ownership, or tenure" (Hawai'i DBEDT 1995:171). Regardless of these differences, one need only drive persistently around the island of O'ahu, or consult the aerial map of military holdings at the front of the telephone directory of installations on the island, to be impressed with the extent of the military's use of Hawaii's land.
2. These elisions of sex/gender and race/ethnicity are taken from DiPalma (1996).
3. The accumulated literature about the missionaries in Hawai'i is extensive and ranges from the self congratulatory to the severely critical. We do not attempt an annotated bibliography

here but offer a selection of the range: Bingham (1981); Dibble (1830); Simpson (1993); Kuykendall (1957); Grimshaw (1989); Buck (1993); Kent (1983); Trask (1993); Kame'eleihua (1992).

4. This border leaked also. While the first missionary children were packed off early to families in New England, by the 1840s they stayed in Hawai'i and went to Punahou, a school newly-founded for them and some chiefly offspring. Many missionary children were bilingual, but did not display this language ability within the missionary circle.
5. Sarah Lyman wrote of the "prodigious" waste of time spent surfing: "You have probably heard that playing on the surf board was a favourite amusement in ancient times. It is too much practised at the present day, and is the source of much iniquity, inasmuch as it leads to intercourse with the sexes without discrimination" (Simpson 1993:42). Kathie Kane is not the only one to read unadulterated (pun intended) desire! prohibition! desire! into such passages, but we thank her for not being able to pass it up.
6. Noenoe Silva (see her article in this volume) has recently recovered the importance of the Hi'iakaikapoliopole legend for understanding how gender was constituted in the Hawaiian order. This legend celebrates a strong, inventive, and reflective woman. Linnekin (1990) documents the strength, autonomy, and high rank of chiefly women.
7. Venereal disease spread from Kaua'i to Hawai'i in the ten months between Cook's first call at the northwest island and his return to the southeast one from the Pacific Northwest. It was a time in Foucault's "effective history" language of domination as "the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it..." (Foucault 1977:154). The traditional Hawaiian way of assuring rightness was not working. Although the Hawaiian people showed considerable shrewdness in dealing with the new ways of commerce being introduced by the early tourists—traders, whalers—they were being silently undone by the germs the early tourists had brought with them. It was into this time of discontinuities, reversals, etc., that the missionaries had stepped.
8. This merits an extended discussion not possible here. See Bushnell (1986); Stannard (1989).
9. Onetime Territorial Governor Walter F. Frear wrote that owing to psychological causes, the Pacific people were on a toboggan before the whites came; thus, their decline was inevitable (1935:6-7). A. A. Smyser had great praise for the missionaries for "planting Christianity here by acts of goodness," and countering the immorality and license of Western traders "who had preceded them with arms, alcohol, and disease" (1995:A-13).
10. Jay is discussing Norman Bryson's analysis in *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).
11. Gens. B. S. Alexander and John M. Schofield were among the poorly disguised spies assessing the military needs of the islands. Their report emphasized the value of Pearl Harbor and discussed means of enlarging it for naval and commercial purposes. Among their recommendations was one first proposed by Lieut. Wilkes: a survey of the coral bar at the entrance to provide for easier penetration by naval vessels (Kuykendall 1966:296).
12. Four boatloads of Marines from the U.S.S. Boston landed near the Palace and government buildings, not near the American properties a few blocks away.
13. See note 1.

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