

Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center and The University Press of Hawaii, 1980. Pp. 389, illustrations, index, glossary. \$20.00.

If it is possible to consider any work definitive, Professor Glick's exhaustively researched book on the Chinese in Hawai'i up to 1950 deserves that accolade. Certainly anyone mining this topic in the future will have to consult this monumental effort as the author appears to have left no stone unturned in constructing this fascinating story. Indeed, if the book has a major flaw, beyond its lack of a bibliography, it may be that some readers will find it too encyclopedic, expecting more interpretation from an author trained in sociology rather than history.

Glick began his research more than fifty years ago, interviewing migrant leaders in 1929, picking up a feeling, at least, for the various K wangtung dialects, and even visiting that province in 1932 in an effort to acquire a better sense of the socio-cultural matrix of these migrants to the "Sandalwood Mountains." Organized around traditional sociological categories, the book examines rural and urban living and working conditions, the many social, economic and political organizations, familial and socialization systems, and the processes of acculturation and integration as these immigrants developed a sense of nationalism that they, or their parents never had in China. In part, this last phenomenon was a function of a gradual regrouping around new common interests that transcended older kinship, dialect, and district divisions. Prejudice and discrimination directed at the Chinese enhanced this process. Ironically, when the Sam Yup, See Yup, Hakka, Punti, Christian and non-Christian finally became united as "Chinese," they soon became fragmented politically as Sun Yat-sen republicans, constitutional monarchists, supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai, or opponents of Chiang Kai-shek.

One of the author's great strengths is his ability to select sympathetic illustrative material depicting the hopes of these migrants as well as the realities of isolation, hard work and discrimination. One letter from a wife left behind in China is particularly moving (p. 162). Overall, the story is one of even greater and more accelerated success than that achieved by Chinese immigrants on the US mainland, which Glick attributes to the absence of "overwhelming competition from Caucasian workers" (p. 83). A cultural price was paid for this success as hoary traditions gave way to new tastes and a different language developed in American schools. He illustrates this process beautifully with the Cantonese theatre which soon went the way of the Yiddish one in New York. This is the dilemma for all

immigrant groups which must choose between American success and cultural self-preservation, if, indeed, there actually is a choice.

I have but one minor argument with this impressive work. Glick contends early that “whatever anti-Chinese feeling did appear later among Hawaiians was as likely to be a reflection of, if not actually instigated by, Caucasian agitation as a result of any grievance toward the Chinese” (p. 13). He offers no evidence in support of this, and much of what follows in his own book seems to challenge this contention, which smacks too glibly of the currently popular myth that racism is a white monopoly. The almost exclusively male Chinese migrants frequently married Hawaiian women, competed successfully with Hawaiian males for unskilled jobs, were perceived as a health threat, probably looked upon Hawaiians as cultural inferiors, and soon made up almost half of the total adult male population in the islands. The Hawaiians, particularly the males, would have to have been saints not to have reacted angrily with little prodding from Caucasians. Intermarriage is not necessarily a viable index for good racial relations. The despised Chinese in the Philippines also intermarried with Filipinos, and the highly successful mestizos that resulted from such unions were not immune to violent anti-Chinese outbursts. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Chinese migrants in Hawai‘i fared much better than did their compatriots in the American West, or in the Philippines.

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